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King Henry the Eighth.

PART III.

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AT a Board of Commissioners for printing and publishing State Papers, held at His Majesty's State Paper Office, on the 18th day of February, 1831 ;

PRESENT,

The Right Honorable Charles Manners Sutton,
Speaker of the House of Commons,
The Right Honorable Sir Robert Peel, Bart.,
The Right Honorable Henry Hobhouse;

Ordered,

That the Irish Correspondence during the Reign of King Henry VIII. be forthwith printed, in the same manner and form as they are at present transcribed and submitted to the Board.

Robt Lemon, Secretary.

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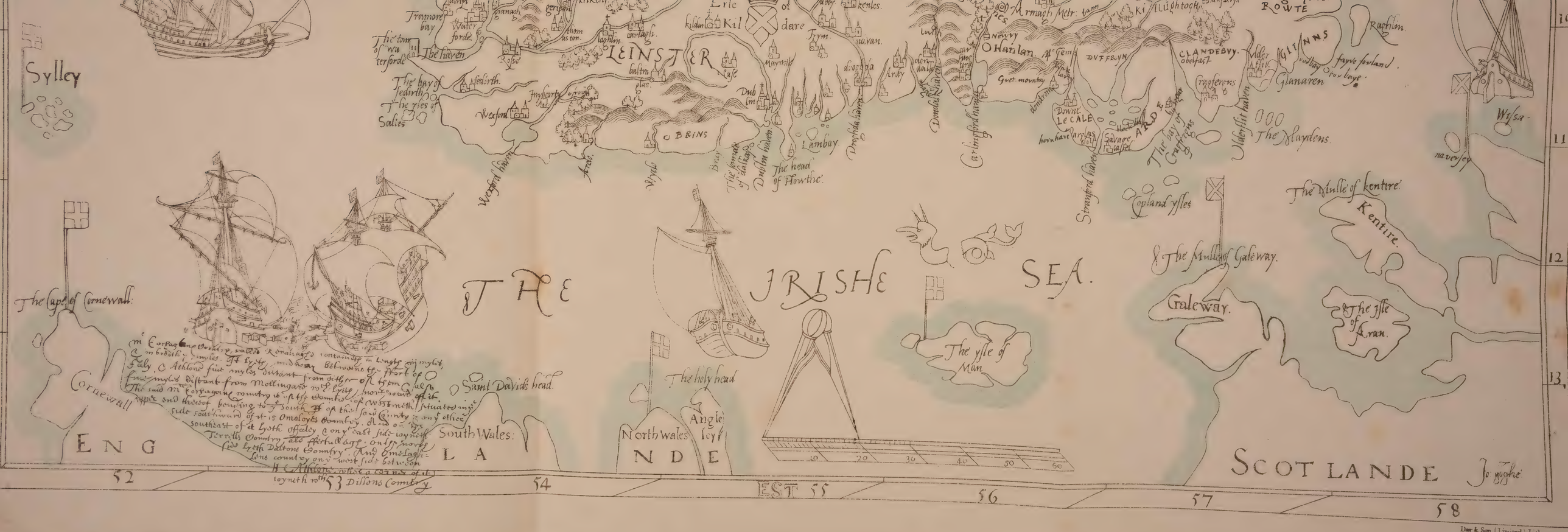
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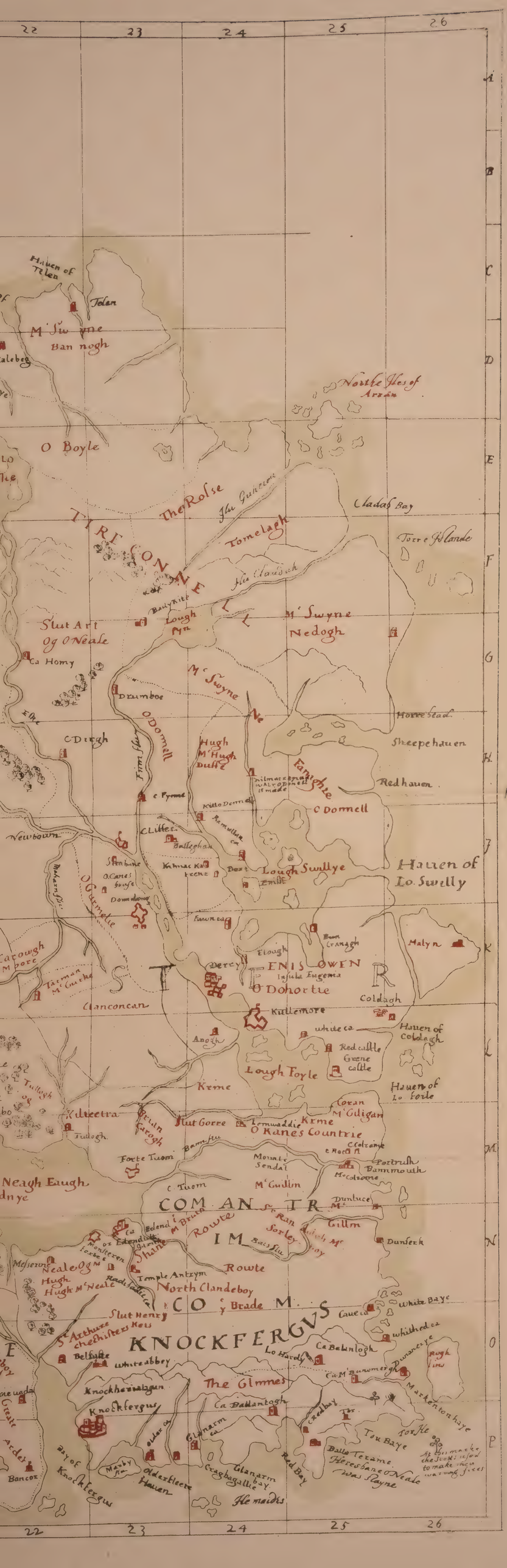
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Beare haven
Great Island
Slow meske
Can Trishe Codes head
Island Fermore
More
Knockhame
Olnydragh
Polgoran
Long Hagerm for Great Ships
Rynny Rocks for Great Ships
At low water this haven ys mr Factory Cleape New Cryche
Ryshe Island
Hogs
Whit stones peyrited lyke dyamonds
Can leame
Hyllone
Caryegohy
Donesanan
Can sanan
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Grech & Bachan
Glanslele
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Ballykorryough
Dromynah
Grenagh
Grebahen
Ballykorryough
Slew dakean alt papps
Drynad
Slew logher

STATE PAPERS.

King Henry the Eighth.

Part III.

CORRESPONDENCE

BETWEEN

The Governments of England and Ireland.

1515—1538.

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CROYDON

The first paper in this part of the work appears, by internal evidence, to have been written about the year 1515. As it presents a general view of the state of Ireland at that period, it forms an apt commencement to the Irish Papers.

There is no other paper prior to the Lieutenancy of Lord Surrey, in 1520. After he left Ireland, and until about the commencement of Sir William Skeffyngton's second appointment as Lord Deputy, in 1534, the papers are very scanty, and are derived more from the Chapter House, and from Sir George Carewe's MSS. in Lambeth Library, than from the State Paper Office. Subsequently to that period, the documents are principally supplied from the latter source, and they present a view of Ireland, almost historical, to the end of Henry VIII.'s Reign, with a remarkable exception of the last six months; during which only one Irish paper is to be found in any of the repositories, though the affairs of that country could not, and (as it appears from Vol. I. pp. 876, &c.) did not, fail to be objects of attention to the English Government.

These Irish papers extend to two Volumes.

For the purpose of assisting those, who are curious in Irish topographical history, in locating the Septs, particularly the smaller ones, whose positions are greatly obscured, and in some instances obliterated by age, fac similes are given of three curious Maps, which, though not quite coeval with the Reign of Henry VIII., are of a date very little subsequent. The originals are very rudely executed, but give a locality to so many of the Septs, as to counteract, in some degree, the difficulty arising out of the change of name, which many places in Ireland have undergone. One of these Maps comprises only the

Province of Munster, and appears, by the frequent occurrence of Lord Burleigh's handwriting upon it, to have been much in his use. The two others extend to the whole of Ireland. The earliest of these, by John Goghe, bears the date 1567; the other was compiled by John Norden, and from his dedication to the Earl of Salisbury, as Lord High Treasurer, may be ascertained to have been completed between the years 1609 and 1611, the period during which His Lordship held that office. In giving the modern names, the orthography has been taken from the Map of Ireland, published by the Rev. D. A. Beaufort, in 1792.

On one point the Map of 1567 throws an historical, as well as a geographical light; namely, in the delineation of the three galloglasses in the north of Ulster, which will be found to correspond precisely with the description given of them by Sir Antony Sentleger, in p. 444 of the third Volume.

A short vocabulary, similar to that which concludes the first Volume, has been adapted to these two Volumes, and will be subjoined to the latter of them; in which have been incorporated such Irish terms and phrases as occur, and likewise a few Latin words (neither of classical authority, nor familiarized to the ordinary reader of low Latin) which are found in the correspondence with the Irish Chieftains; most of whom (as is apparent from many passages) neither understood, nor sought to understand, the English language, and carried on their correspondence in Latin, supplied by their priests.

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CROYDON PUBLIC LIBRARIES

STATE PAPERS.

Part III.

I. State *of* Ireland, *and* Plan *for it's* Reformation.

Who lyste make surmyse to the King for the reformation of his Lande of Irelande, yt is necessarye to shewe hym thestate of all the noble folke of the same, aswell of the Kinges subjectes and Englyshe rebelles, as of Iryshe enymyes. And fyrst of all, to make His Grace understande that ther byn more then 60 countryes, called Regyons, in Ireland, inhabytyd with the Kinges Irishe enymyes; some region as bygge as a shyre, some more, some lesse, unto a lytyll; some as bygge as halffe a shyre, and some a lytyll lesse; where reygneith more then 60 Chyef Capytaynes, wherof some callyth themselffes Kynges, some Kynges Peyres, in ther langage, some Prynceis, some Dukes, some Archedukes, that lyveyth onely by the swerde, and obeyeth to no other temperall person, but onely to himself that is stronge: and every of the said Capytaynes makeyth warre and peace for hymself, and holdeith by swerde, and hathe imperiall jurysdyction within his rome, and obeyeth to noo other person, Englyshe ne Iryshe, except only to suche persones, as maye subdue hym by the swerde: of whiche regions, and capytaines of the same, the names folowyth immediate.

Here after insuyth the names of the chyef Iryshe countreys and regions of Wolster[1], and chief Capytaines of the same.

Countrey of Wolster.] Fyrste, the greate Oneylle, chief Capytayne of the nation within the countrey of, and region of, Tyreeown[2].

Odonelde, chief Captayne of his nation, within the regyon and countrey of Tyreghonolde[3].

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[1] Ulster. [2] ONeil, of Tyrone. [3] ODonel, of Tyrconnell, now Donegal.

Oneylle, of Treughonyll[1], and chief Captayne of the same.
Ochan, de Irraght Ichan[2], chyef Capytayne of his nation.
Odoghordy, de Inyschowen[3], chief Capytayne of his nation.
Magoyre, de Phyrmanaghe[4], chyef Capytayne of his nation.
McEneas, of Hyweagh[5], chief Capytayne of nation.
Ohanlowan, de Orryre[6], chief Capytayne of his nation.
Markmahunde, of Iryshe Uryell[7], chyef Capytayne of his nation.

Hereafter insuyth the names of the chief Iryshe regions and countreys of Laynster, and the chief Capytaynes of the same.

[Com' Laynster.]

Markemoroghe, de Idrone[8], chief Capytayne of his nation.
Obryne, de Orywrymaghe[9], chief Capytaine of his nation.
Omoroghe, de Ifelymye[10], chief Capytaine of his nation.
Othole, de Imayle[11], chief Capytaine of his nation.
Onolan, de Phoghyrde Inolan[12], chief Capytayne of his nation.
Markellpatryk, of Ossery[13], chyef Captayne of his nation.
Omorre, of Lex[14], chyef Captayne of his nation.
Odynsye, de Clynvalyre[15], chief Captayne of his nation.
Ochonor, of Phaly[16], chyef Capytaine of his nation.
Odoyne of Iregan[17], chief Capytayne of his nation.

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1 ONeil, of Tre-ugh-oneill, or Claneboy, in the south-west of Antrim, and north of Down. See p. 9.

2 OCahan, of Kenoght, in Derry, between Lough Foyle and the Ban.

3 ODogherty, of Inishowen, between Loughs Swilley and Foyle.

4 Maguire, of Fermanagh.

5 Magennis, of Upper Iveagh, in Down.

6 OHanlon, of Orior, in Armagh.

7 McMahon possessed the Irish part of Uriel, now part of the County of Monaghan.

8 McMorough (called also Kavanagh), of Idrone, in the west part of Carlow.

9 OByrne's country was in that part of the County of Wicklow, between Wicklow-head and Arklow.

10 OMorough held the east part of the County of Wexford, between Enniscorthy and the coast, formerly called the Barony of Deeps.

11 OThole's country was formerly called the Barony of Castle Kevan, and comprised that part of Wicklow which lies between Talbotstown, Newcastle, and Ballinacor.

12 ONolan inhabited the south-west point of Wexford.

13 McGilpatrick, afterwards called Fitzpatrick, of Upper Ossory, in Queen's County.

14 OMore, of Leix, which was by the Irish Statute 3 & 4 Philip & Mary, constituted part of one of the new counties thereby erected, called Queen's County.

15 ODempsy, of Glinmaliry, near Portnehinch, in the north part of Queen's County.

16 OConor, of Offaley, which was by the above-mentioned Statute converted into King's County.

17 ODoyne, of Oregan, in the Barony of Tinnehinch, in Queen's County.

Hereafter

Hereafter foloweth the names of the chyef Irysh regions and countreys of Mownster, and chief Capytaines of the same.

ɒm' Mounster.] Fyrste of the Iryshe regions, and Capytaines of Desmound.

McHarrye, of Desmounde[1], chief Captaine of his nation.

Cormoke McTaygge, de Mounskrye Vydermod[2], chyef Captayne of his nation.

Odonoghe, de Loghlene[3], chief Captayne of his nation.

Osoylvan, de Bearhe[4], chief Captayne of his nation.

Ochonor, de Kery[5], chief Captayne of his nation.

McHerry Rywoghe, de Charbry[6], chyef Captayne of his nation.

Ohyddyrscoll, de Quone Entymer[7], chyef Capytayne of his nation.

Omaunde, de Fousheraghe[8], chyef Capytaine of his nation.

Omahunde, de Kynnalveke[8], chyef Captaine of his nation.

Hereafter folowyth the names of the chyef Iryshe regyons and countreys of Twomounde, and chyef Captaines of the same.

Obryen, de Toybryen[9], chyef Captaine of his nation.

Okenedy, de Oromounde[10], chyef Captaine of his nation.

Ocherwell, de Ely[11], chief Captayne of his nation.

Omeaghyr, de Ikery[12], chief Captaine of his nation.

McMahunde, de Bruye Colls de Corkvaskyn[13], chyeff Capytayne of his nation.

Ochonochour, de Corkenruo[14], chyef Captaine of his nation.

Ologhlyn, de Boryn[15], chyef Captaine of his nation.

Ograde, de Kenall Downall[16], chyef Captaine of his nation.

---

1 McCarthy More (or the Great McCarthy), of Desmond, in the County of Kerry, between Dingle Bay and Kenmare River.

2 Cormok McTeague (likewise a McCarthy), of Muskerry, in the County of Cork.

3 ODonaghue, of Lough Lene (Killarney), in the County of Kerry.

4 OSulivan, of Beare, in the County of Cork, between Kenmare River and Bantry Bay.

5 OConor, of Iraghticonnor, the north part of Kerry.

6 McCarthy Reagh, of Carbery, in the County of Cork.

7 ODriscol, of Baltimore, in the south part of Cork.

8 There was one OMahon of Fousheraghe (now Roaring Water), and another of Kinalmeaky, both in Carbery.

9 OBrien, of Toybrien, in the Barony of Ibrikin, in the County of Clare.

10 OKennedy, of Lower Ormond, west of Lough Deirgeart, in the north part of Tipperary.

11 OCarrol, of Ely, now the Barony of Eglish, in the south part of King's County.

12 OMeagher, of Ikerin, now a Barony in the north-east angle of Tipperary.

13 McMahon, of Corkvaskin, the south-west extremity of Clare, now the Barony of Moyferta.

14 OConor, of Corcumroe, in the west part of Clare.

15 OLoughlin, of Burrin, in the north-west part of Clare.

16 OGrady possessed that part of Clare, which is now called the Barony of Bunratty.

Obren, de Arraghe[1], chyef Captaine of his nation.
Omolryan, de When[2], chief Capytaine of his nation.
Odoure, de Kylnemanaghe[3], chief Captaine of his nation.
McBren, Oghonagh[4], chieff Capitaine of his nation.

Hereafter insuyth the names of the cheff Iryshe regions and countreys of Conaght, and chyef Capytaines of the same.

[Com' Conaght.] Ochonochur Ruo, de Maghre Conaght[5], chieff Captayne of his nation.
Okealy, de Imayne[6], chyeff Captaine of his nation.
Omadyn, de Shylanomghye[7], chief Captaine of his nation.
Offerall, de Avaly[8], chyeff Capitayne of his nation.
Orayll, de Brenye[9], chyef Capytaine of his nation.
Orvoyrke, de Bruyervorke[10], chief Capytaine of his nation.
Markedonogh, de Tyrorhill[11], chief Capytaine of his nation.
Markedermyde, de Mylurge[12], chief Captaine of his nation.
Ogary, de Colavin[13], chyeff Capytaine of his nation.
Offlahyrtye, de Borin[14], chief Captaine of his nation.
Omayll, de Pomo[15], chief Captaine of his nation.
Ohary, de Maghirline[16], chief Captayn of his nation.
Odoweda, de Tyreheragh[17], chief Captayn of his nation.
McDonogho, de Choron Rydeoghe[18], chief Capytaine of his nation.
McManyshe Ichonochour, de Carbrye[19], chief Captaine of his nacion.

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1 OBrien, of Arra, east of the Shannon, in the County of Tipperary.
2 OMulryan, or Ryan, of Owney, south of Arra.
3 ODwyer, of Kilnamanna, south of Owney.
4 McBrien, of Coonagh, in Limerick.
5 OConor Roo, of Maghery Conough, near Lough Cane, in Roscommon.
6 OKelly dwelt in the Barony of Kilconnell, in Galway.
7 OMadden at Portumna, in the Barony of Longford, in Galway.
8 OFerral, of Annaly, comprising great part of the present County of Longford.
9 OReilly possessed the East Brenny, extending over great part of the County of Cavan.
10 ORourke possessed the West Brenny, being the south part of Leitrim.
11 McDonough, of Tiraghrill, in the south-east of Sligo.
12 McDermid, of Mylurge, extending from Boyle to Lough Allen, in Roscommon.
13 OGara, of Coolavin, the south point of Sligo.
14 OFlaherty, of Borin, in Moycullin, in the County of Galway.
15 OMalley, of Morisk, in the south-west of Mayo.
16 OHara, of Magherlene, now Leney, in Sligo.
17 ODowdy, of Tyreragh, in the County of Sligo.
18 McDonaghue, of Corran, in the same County.
19 McManus OConor (commonly called OConor of Sligo), of Carbury, in the north part of Sligo.

Here

Here folowith the names of the chieff Iryshe regyons and countreys of the countye of Meathe, and the chief Capytaines of the same.

[Com' Meath.] Omullaghlyn, de Clyncolman[1], chyeff Capytaine of his nation.
McGoghegan, de Kyvaliagh[2], chief Captaine of his nation.
Omullmoy, de Pherkeall[3], chief Captaine of his nation.

Also, the sonne of eny of the said capytaines shalle not succede to his fader, withoute he be the strongeist of all his nation; for ther shalbe none chief captayn in eny of the said regions by lawfull succession, but by fort mayne and election; and he, that hathe strongyst armye and hardeyst swerde among them, hath best right and tytill; and by reason therof, ther be but fewe of the said regions that be in pease within themselff, but comynly rebellyth alwaye agaynst ther chyeff capytaine.

Also, in every of the said regions ther be dyverse pety captaines, and every of them makeith warre and pease for hymselff, withoute lycence of the chief captayne.

Also, every of the said regions is devydeid and departeid betwyxt the chyef captayne and deputye captaines of the same, and of them delyveryth ther landes to ther men for meate drynke and wages; nothing receyveing therfor, but ther servyce dayly at ther owne cost, and certayne custome in meate and drynke, as at Christmas and Ester, and as ofte as greate straungers comeyth to the captayne.

Also, as ofte as anye of the said captaines makeith eny great coste for the comyn wealle of his rome, that costes shalbe cessyd equally on all his men and subjectes of his rome, and that is all the rent, that they payeth to ther captayne for ther landes; and so every of the said captaines laboryth dayly, by all the meanes that they can, wherby he may be moste stronge of men.

Also, the army of the moste region of the premysseis, besyde the comyn folke of the same, passe not 500 sperys, 500 galloglasseis, and 1000 kerne; and comynly the armye of every region excede not 200 sperys and 600 kernne, beside the comyn folke, and the lest region of all the premisses maye make 40 speres, and two or 300 kernne, besyde the comyn folke of the same.

Also, the nombre of the saide chief capytaines, and chyeff regions, excede not muche of 60. Ther be many other pety captaynes, and pety regions, besyde the premysseis, of the Kinges Iryshe enymyes, exceding the foresaid

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[1] OMulloughlin, of Clonlonan, in Westmeath.

[2] McGeoghegan dwelt on the west side of Lough Ennel, in the Barony of Moycashel, in Westmeath.

[3] OMulmoy, or OMulloy, of Fircal, in King's County.

nombre,

nombre, that folowyth the same ordre in every poynte, as muche as in them is, and kepeyth the same rule after ther power, that callyth them Tyshagheis, that is to saye, Dukes in ther langage, consydering that a duke is as muche to saye as a guyder or a leader of the folke: and, in that consyderation, every captayne maye be callyd a duke of his armye and retynue, and concludeyth that a kyng is moste to be dreddeid in trone, and a duke in the fylde; and every man shulde dredde muche moore to dysobey his duke and captayne of the fylde, then to dredde his enymye; for the duke and captayne of the fylde is more then any kyng; lyke as at the syge of Troye, Hector, that was no king, was duke and governour of many a kyng, and captayne of all the oste of Troye, wherin was manye a noble kyng.

Also, ther is more then 30 greate captaines of thEnglyshe noble folke, that folowyth the same Iryshe ordre, and kepeith the same rule, and every of them makeith warre and pease for hymself, without any lycence of the King, or of any other temperall person, saive to hym that is strongeyst, and of suche that maye subdue them by the swerde. Ther names folowyth immedyat:

The Erlle of Desmounde, Lorde of the countye of Kerye.
The Knight of the countye of Kerye[1].
Fytzmawryshe, of the countye of Kerye[2].
Syr Thomas of Desmounde, Knyght.
Syr John of Desmounde, Knyght.
Syr Gerot of Desmounde, Knyght.
The Lorde Barrye[3].
The Lorde Roache[4].
The younge Lorde Barrye[5].
The Lorde Cowrcye[6].
The Lorde Cogan[7].
The Lorde Bareth[8].
The Whyt Knyght[9].

---

1 Fitzgerald, called the Knight of Kerry, had a territory in Corcaguinny, near Dingle, in the extreme west of Kerry.

2 Fitzmaurice's territory was in the modern Barony of Clanmaurice.

3 Of Barrymore and Buttevant, in Cork.

4 Of Fermoy, in Cork.

5 Barry Oge, of Kinalea, in Cork.

6 Of the Barony of Courceys, south of Barry Oge's country.

7 He had part of the Barony of Barretts.

8 Lord Barrett had another part of the same Barony.

9 The White Knight's country lay in the Baronies of Clanwilliam, Condons, and Clangibbon, in the Counties of Tipperary and Cork. His name was Fitzgerald.

The

The Knight of the Walle[1].
Syr Geralde of Desmoundis sonnes, of the countye Waterford.
The Powers, of the countye of Waterford.
Syr William Bourke, Knight[2], of the countye of Lymryk.
Syr Pyers Butler, Knight, and all the Captaines of the Butlers of the countye of Kylkennye, and of the countye of Fyddert[3].

Here folowyth the names of Englyshe greate rebelles in Conaght.

[Com' Conaght.] The Lorde Bourke, de Connyke Ghowle[4].
The Lorde Bourke, of Clanrykarde[5].
The Lorde Bremegeham, of Anrye[6].
Syr Myles Stauntons sonnes[7].
Syr Jordan Dexter[8] sonnes.
The Lorde Nangle[9].
Syr Walter Barretes sonnes, de Tyre Auly[10].

Here folowyth the names of the great Englyshe rebelles of Wolster.

[Com' Wolster.] Syr Rowland Savage, of Lecchahyll[11], Knight.
Fytzhowlyn, of Tuscarde[12].
Fytz John Byssede, of the Glynnes[13].

Herafter folowith the names of thEnglyshe capitaynes of the Countye of Meath, that obey not the Kinges lawe.

[Comit' Meath.] The Dyllons.
The Daltouns.
The Tyrrelles.
The Dedalamaris[14].

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1 Fitzgerald, called the Knight of the Valley, or Glen, had a territory on the south of the Shannon, in Limerick, from the confines of Kerry to near the River Deel.

2 In the Barony of Clanwilliam. 3 Fethard, in the south-east of Tipperary.

4 McWilliam, Oughter, of Mayo.

5 McWilliam, Eighter, of Clanricard, which comprised the Baronies of Longford and Letrim, in Galway.

6 Bermyngham, of Athenry. 7 Of Clonmorris, in Mayo.

8 McJordan, Baron Dexter, was seated in the Barony of Gallen, in Mayo.

9 McCostello, Baron Nangle, was on the eastern side of the Barony of Costello, in Mayo.

10 Tyrawley, in the north-east of Mayo. 11 Lecale, in the County of Down.

12 That part of the same County, between the Loughs of Belfast and Strangford.

13 Now the Barony of Glenarm, in Antrim.

14 By the Irish Act 34 Hen. VIII. cap. 1., for the division of Meath into two shires, the Dillons' country, named Magherquirke, is directed to be called the Barony of Kilkenny West; the Daltons' country, the Barony of Rathcomyrta, now Rathconrath; the Tyrrells', Fertullagh; and the Delamares', the Barony of Rossaughe, now Moycashel.

Here

Here folowyth the names of the Countyes that obey not the Kinges lawes, and have neyther Justyce, neyther Shyryffs, under the King.

The countye of Waterfford.
The countye of Corke.
The countye of Kylkenny.
The countye of Lymbryk.
The countye of Kery.
The countye of Conaught.
The countye of Wolster.
The countye of Charlagh[1].
Halff the countye of Uryell[2].
Halff the countye of Meathe[3].
Halff the countye of Dublyn.
Halffe the countye of Kyldare.
Halff the countye of Wexford.

All thEnglyshe folke of the said countyes ben of Iryshe habyt, of Iryshe langage, and of Iryshe condytions, except the cyties and the wallyd tounes.

Also all the Englyshe folke of the said countyes, for the more partye, wolde be right gladde to obey the Kinges lawes, yf they myght be defended by the King of the Iryshe enymyes; and bycause the defende them not, and the Kinges Deputye maye not defende them, therfor they ar all turned from the obeysaunce of the Kinges lawes, and lyveith by the swerde, after the manour of the Iryshe enymyes; and though that many of them obey the Kinges Deputye, when it pleaseith them, yet ther is none of them all, that obeyth the Kinges lawes.

Here folowyth the names of the Countyes subjett unto the Kinges lawes.

Halff the countye of Uryell[4], by estymation.
Halffe the countye of Meath[5].
Halff the countye of Dublyn.
Halff the countye of Kyldare.
Halff the countye of Wexford.

All the comyn peoplle of the said halff countyes, that obeyeth the Kinges lawes, for the more parte ben of Iryshe byrthe, of Iryshe habyte, and of Iryshe langage.

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[1] Carlow. [2] Monaghan. [3] Westmeath.
[4] Louth. [5] The present County of Meath.

Here

Here folowith the names of thEnglyshe Countyes, that bere trybute to the wylde Iryshe.

The baronye of Lecchahill[1], in the countye of Wolster, to the captayne of Clanhuboy[2] payeth yerely 40£, orelles to Oneyll[3], whether of them be strongeist.

The countye of Uryell payeth yerely to the greate Oneyll[3] 40£.

The countye of Meathe payeth yerely to Ochonour[4] 300£.

The countye of Kyldare payeth yerely to the said Ochonour 20£.

The Kinges Excheker payeth yerely to M^c^Murho[5] 80 markes.

The countye of Wexford payeth yerely to M^c^Murho and to Arte Oboy[6] 40£.

The countye of Kylkennye, and the countye of Typperarye, payen yerely to Okerwyll[7] 40£.

The countye of Lymbryk payeth yerely to Obroyn Arraghe[8], in Englyshe money, 40£.

The same countye of Lymbryk payeth yerely to the great Obroyne[9], in Englyshe money, 40£.

The countye of Corke to Cormoke M^c^Teyge[10] payeth yerely, in Englyshe money, 40£.

Summa 740£.

Also ther is no folke dayly subgett to the Kinges lawes, but half the countye of Uryell, half the countye of Meath, half the Countye of Dublyn, half the Countye of Kyldare; and ther be as many Justyces of the Kinges Benche, and of the Comyn Place, and asmany Barons of thExcheker, and as many offycers, ministers, and clerkes in every of the said countye, as ever ther was, when all the land for the more parte were subgett to the lawe.

Wherfor the saide subgettes ben so grevyously vexyd dayly with the said courtes, that they be gladde to sell ther freholdes for ever, rather then to suffre alwaye the vexation of the said courtes, lyke as the freholders of the marches, wher the Kinges lawes be not obeyd, byn so vexyd by extortion, that they be gladde in lykewyse to sell ther landes and freholdes to suche persons, that compellyth them, by meanes of extortion, to make alyenation therof, rather than allwaye to bere and be under the said extortion.

And so, what with the extortion of coyne and lyverye dayly, and wyth the wrongfull exaction of osteing money, and of caryage and cartage dayly, and what with the Kinges greate subsydye yerely, and with the said trybute, and blak rent to the Kinges Iryshe enymyes, and other infynyt extortions and dayly

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[1] Lecale. See p. 7. [2] Claneboy. See p. 2. [3] See pp. 1 and 2.
[4] OConor, of Offaley. See p. 2. [5] See p. 2.
[6] A younger branch of the M^c^Moroughs, settled at Enniscorthy. [7] OCarrol. See p. 3.
[8] OBrien, of Arra. See p. 4. [9] OBrien, of Toybrien. See p. 3. [10] See p. 3.

exactions, all thEnglyshe folke of the countyes of Dublyn, Kyldare, Meathe, and Uryell ben more oppressyd, then any other folke of this lande, Englyshe or Iryshe, and of worsse condytion be they athyssyde, then in the marcheis.

What comen folke in all this worlde maye compare with the comyns of Ingland, in ryches, in fredom, in lyberty, welfare, and in all prosperytie? Who richeith the Kinges treasor, and repayreith his cofers with golde, sylver, and precyous stones, save the comyns? worsshipeith the prelates and the clergye of the Churche, save the craftye peoplle, and the carlyshe rurall folke of the realme of Inglande? What comyn folke in all this worlde is so power, so feble, so ivyll besyn in town and fylde, so bestyall, so greatly oppressid and trodde under fote, and farde so evyll, with so great myserye, and with so wrecheid lyff, as the comen folke of Irelande? Hit is a comyn tome of olde date, "as the comen folke fareith, so fareith the King," that is to saye, riche comen, a riche King; poore comyn, poore King; feble comyn, a feble King; strong comyns, a strong King: ergo it folowyth, a riche King and comyns in Ingland, a poore King and comyns in Ireland. What comen folke in all this worlde is soo mightty, and soo strong in the fylde, as the comyns of England? What comyn folke in all this worlde is soo feble, and soo evyll besyne, in towne and in fylde, as the comyns of Ireland?

The Kinges armye in Ingland is the comyns; the Kinges army in Ireland is all suche that oppresse the comyns, for all goode fortune and grace folowyth allways them, that worshipp Godde, and honor the prelates, and supporteith the Churche. Wher is the Churche of Cryste endowyd with so riche and large possessions, as be the Kinges and noble folke of England, wherin fortune, grace, and prosperytie encreseith allwaye, above all other landes?

The noble folke of Ireland oppresseith, spoyleith the Prelates of the Churche of Cryste of ther possessions and lyberties; and therfor they have no fortune, ne grace, in prosperytie of bodye ne soulle. Who supporteith the Churche of Cryst in Ireland, saive the poore comyns? By whom the Churche is moste supporteid rightwell, be them most grace shalle growe.

Also the Pandar[1] sayeth, that the profycye of Ireland is, that in the yere of our Lorde Jhesu Cryst 1517, suche folke, as was moste feble, shalbe most strong, and suche folke, as was moste strong, shalbe more strong, and fewe better then they was, throughe all the lande of Ireland, as hereafter playne shall appere.

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[1] "Panderus, the author of a book, intituled 'Salus Populi,' lived in the reigns of Edward IV., "Edward V., Richard III., and Henry VII., and perhaps under Henry VIII. In which book "he shows the cause of the miseries of Ireland, and prescribes proper remedies for the same, "suitable to those times." (Sir James Ware's List of Irish Writers, Book I. p. 23.)

The

The premisseis consyderyd, the Pander shewyth in the fyrst chaptre of his booke, callyd "Salus Populi," that the holly wooman, Brigitta, used to inquyre of her good Angll̃e many questions of secrete dyvine, and among all other, she inquyryd, "Of what Crystyn lande was most sowlles damned?" The Angell shewyd her a lande in the weste parte of the worlde. She inquyrid the cause whye? The Angell sayde, for ther the crystyn folke dyeth moste oute of charytie. She inquyrid the cause whye? The Angell sayde, for ther is moste contynuall warre, rote of hate and envye, and of vyceis contrarye to charytie; and withoute charytie the sowlles cannot be saveid. And the Angell dyd shew tyll her the lappes of the sowlles of crystyn folke of that lande, howe they fell downe into Hell, as thyk as any haylle shewrys. And pytty therof moveid the Pandar to consayn his said booke, as in the said chaptre playnly dothe appere; for, after his opinion, thus is the lande that thAngell understode; for ther is no lande in this worlde of so long contynuall warre within hymselff, ne of so greate shedeing of chrystyn blodde, ne of so greate rubbeing, spoyleing, praying, and burneing, ne of so greate wrongfull extortion contynually, as Ireland. Wherfor it cannot be denyed by very estymation of man, but that the Angell dyd understande the lande of Ireland.

Also, it is a proverbe of old date, "The pryde of Fraunce, the treason of "Inglande, and the warre of Ireland, shalle never have ende." Whiche proverbe, twycheing the warre of Irland, is lyke allwaye to contynue, withoute Godde sett in mennes brestes to fynde some newe remedye, that never was founde before.

What mought the King do more, then he hathe don? He dyd conquyre all the lande, unto lytyll, and dyd inhabyte the same with Englyshe folke, subget to his lawes, after the manour of Ingland, and soo the lande dyd contynue and prospeyre an 100 yere and more; and synnes, the lande hathe growen and encreseid, nere hande 200 yere, in rebellyon ageinst the King and his lawes.

Many folke dothe inquyre the cause, whye that the Iryshe folke be growen so strong, and the Kinges subgettes so feble, and fallen in so greate rebellyon, for the more parte.

Some sayen, that the pestylens hathe devowrid that thEnglyshe folke, bycause they flee not therfro; and bycause the Iryshe folke abyde not ther wyth, hyt do them noo hurt.

Some sayen, the deathe of thErlle Marshall, and thErll of Wolster, withoute eyre male, that was the twoo strongeyst lordes that ever was in this lande. Yf they hadde not dyed withoute heyre male, the lande hadde never rebellyd ayenst the King.

Some sayeth, the King is cause of all the warre and rebellyon of all the

landes, and of all the vyceis and ivyll dedes that growyth of the same, bycause he bereyth the cure and the charge temperall, under Godd, of all the landes, and in this 200 yere he hath byn recheles therof, and dyd not loke therto, ne cast ther yee theron; and in defaute therof, the landdes is, as yt is.

Some sayen, that the King hath hadde worke inowghe in hand with the warres of Fraunce, and of dyverse other landes, and also to ceasse rebellyon within the reallme of Ingland, that in this 200 yere he coulde not tende to ayde, ne support, his subgettes of this landes. And notwithstandeing his saide greate troble with other landes, he dyd sende oftentymes his greate armye into this lande, to his greate coste and charge, that allwaye after ther long abydeing here, dyd resort homeward withoute remedy, and allwaye lefte the landes in worsse case, then ever they founde yt; whiche coste and charge the King hath practysyd so often, withoute remedy, that he is right wery therof; and if he myght understand the meanes, wherby his labour and costes shulde prospeyre and increase, and not be lost in vayne, he wolde be gladde to put hym in great devoyre to ayde his subgettes, and reforme his landes.

Some sayeth, that the cause thEnglyshe men be soo feble, and Iryshe men be soo strong, is, that Englyshe men hathe refusyd ther owne armure and waypyn, that is to saye, speres and bowes, after thEnglyshe maner, wher wyth they dyd wynne and conquyre the landes, and hathe chosen to them harneys and armoyre, speres and bowes, after the Iryshe maner, wherby they hathe loste unto lytyll all the lande; for Iryshe men be in nombre 10 againste one, and be more conneing and better in therre owne warre, then Englyshe men.

Some sayeth, that extortion on coyne and lyverye, that is to say, takeing horsse meate, and mannes meate, of the Kinges poore subgettes by compulsion, for nought, withoute any peny paying therfor; and bycause therof, the moste parte of all thEnglyshe tenauntes hadde avoydeyd the lande, and all Englyshe mennis landes, unto lytill or nought in respect, byn occupyed and inhabytyd with Iryshe folke and Iryshe tenauntes; and by reason therof, wher that bowes and arrowes, after thEnglyshe maner, swerdes and buklers, jakkes and salettes, was alway the weypyn and harnoys of the comyn folke, wherby the lande muche the better was defendeid, now they have none other but short and Iryshe bowes, and for the more parte nakeyd, wythoute any harnoyse or waypyn, wherby the Kinges subgettes was never soo feble.

Some saye, the Kinges Deputye is cause, that all the said comen peoplle be soo poore, soo feble, and soo Iryshe; for wher somtyme, in our dayes, the Kinges Deputye useid alwaye to have aboute hym, wherever that he dyd ryde, a strong garde on horsseback of sperys and bowes, well garnyssheid, after the Englyshe maner, that payde trewly for ther meate and drynke, wherever they dyd

dyd ryde; nowe garde of the Kinges Deputye is none other, but a multytude of Iryshe galloglagheis, and a multytude of Iryshe kernne and speres, with infynyt nombre of horsseladdes; and with the said garde, the Kinges Deputye is ever moveing and styreing from one place to an other, and with extortion of coyne and lyverye consumeith and devowreith all the substaunce of the poore folke, and of the comen peoplle of all the Kinges subgettes.

Some sayeth, the Kinges Deputye useith to make so many greate rodes, jornayes, and hosteinges, nowe in the northe partyes of Wolster, now in the southt partes of Mownster, nowe into the west partyes of Conaught, and takeith the Kinges subgettes wyth hym by compulsion, in tymes with a fortenightes vytayll, and ofte tymes vytayll for 3 or 4 wykes, and constrayneth and chargeyth the poore comyn peoplle with all the caryage of the same, and gyveith lycence to all the noble folke, for the moore parte, to ceasse and rere all ther costes on the comyn peplle, and on the Kinges poore subgettes; and the fyne of that greate jornaye and osteinge comynly is no other in effect, but that the Deputye useyth to receve a rewarde of one or 200 kyne tyll himself, and so departe, withoute any more hurt to the Kinges enymyes, after that he hathe turned the Kinges subgettes, and the poore comyn folke to ther charge and costes, by estymation, of 2 or 3 thowsand poundes. And over that, the Deputye, in his progresse and regresse, oppresseyth the Kinges poore comyn folke with horssemete and mannes mete to all his oste, except the porttownes and 4 of the noble folke within thEnglyshe pale. And this is that thing, as many sayeth, that moste hurtteith the pour tounes, and the Kinges poore subgettes, and the comyn folke. And over all that, in somer, when grasse is moste plenttye, they must have otys, other maltte, to ther horsse, at wyll, orelles money therfor.

The premysseis consyderyd, some sayth, the Kynges Deputye, by extortion, chargeith the Kynges poore subgettes and comyn folke, in horsse mete and mannes mete, by estymation, to the value of 200£[1] every daye in the yere, one daye countyd wyth an other, whiche comeyth to the some of 36000£ yerelye.

Some sayeth, that the Englyshe noble folke useith to delyver therre children to the Kynges Irysshe enymyes to foster, and therwyth, as well as wyth maryage, makeyth bandes, and in consyderations with the Kynges enymyes, wherof groweth manye inconveniences and grete domage to the Kynges subgettes; and bycause the Kynges Deputye useyth the same moste of all, he canne punyshe none other; and that is an inconvenyence that dothe greate hurt to the Kynges subgettes.

Some sayeth, bycause the Deputye suffre the pety captaynes, and the

[1] A manifest mistake for £100. See p. 17.

gentyllmen

gentyllmen of his retynue, have againste the Kinges lawes; and yf the Kinges Deputye use the said extortions hereafter, as he have don unto this tyme, all the Kinges subgettes of this partyes wylbe utterlly destrued, and stande in worsse case then the folke of Mounster; and yf the Kinges lawes be ones dysobeyed in thes partyes, as in Mounster, they be never lyghly to [*be*] obeyed after in any place within this lande; and yf the Kinges lawes one cesse, ther shalle none other right be hadde, but by the swerd, and he that is strongeist to subdue his neygbour.

Some sayeth, that the saide extortions maye never cesse, wythoute that the Iryshe enymyes cesse fyrst of ther warre; and that is impossyble, as they sayde: ergo, coyne and lyverye, and the extortions, shalle never cesse.

Some sayeth, the said extortions maye not cesse, wythoute the meanes mought be founde, that every countye shulde be stronge inoughe, and able to defende hyt hymself from all other enymyes, wythoute ayde, succurre, or any supportt of the Kinges Deputye; and that is impossyble, as they sayeth: ergo, the said extortions of coyne and lyverye shalle never cesse.

What pyttye is to heere, what rueth is to reportte, ther is noo tounge that canne tell, ne penne that canne wryte! Hyt passeyth ferre the oratours and the Museis all, to shewe all the order of the noble folque, and howe crewell they enterith the poore comyn people, whan daunger is to the Kyng ayenst Godde, to suffre his lande, wherof he bere the charge and the cure temporall, under Godd, under the See Appostolycall, to be of the saide mysse order, so long wythoute remedy; hyt were more honor and worship to surrendre his clayme therto, and to make no lengre persecution therof, then to suffre his poore subgettes allwaye to be soo suppresseid, and all the noble folke of the lande to be at warre within themself, in shedeing of christen blodde, alwaye wythoute remedy. The herde muste rendre accompte of his folke, and the King for his.

Percase unto this tyme, yf the King mought pretende anny ingnoraunce in the premisseis, bycause that many colouryd wryteinges and messyngers comeyth dayly to hym fro dyverse of the noble folke, shewing otherwyse then the lande is: but nowe, after the upsyght hereof, he maye pretende no maner ingnoraunce; for this shewyth to hym all the veraye state of the lande, ayenst the whiche no trewe man wyll saye contrarye.

What is hit to the Kinges Deputye to take on hym suche offyce, wheroff he maye not bere the charge withoute perdytion of his solle? and what is it to hym, or to any other, all the riches and honour of the worlde, yf he lose the honour and ryches eternall? what pryste or confessor maye graunte hym indulgence of wrongfull extortion, withoute reall satysfaction, after his extreme power? And yf the Kynges Counsayll, and the noble folke of the lande, percase wolde assent, that the Deputye shulde use the said extortions, that is none

excuse

excuse for hym, for they and he ben in lyke case, and bothe in eadem dampnatione, for ever, withoute the sonor they sarche remedy.

Also the sayde extortions, other they be useyd by right, other by wronge; and by right they maye not [*be*] useid, for they arre contrarye to the lawe of Godde and manne, wythoute the King warre [*in*] suche utter dystresse, that he myght not, in any wyse, defende his subgettes, ne save his lande of his enymyes. And percase in suche nede and grete dystresse dyd, the King might use extortion resonably; but the said nede and dystresse dyd never fortune ne chaunce to the King of Ingland, in our dayes. Wherfor the sayde extortion maye not be rightfull; and yf it be wrongfull, withoute satisfaction, as aforesayde, Godde hymself, by his ordynate power, cannot assoyle hym that use hyt.

Wherby all the curryfavelx, that be next of the Deputye is secrete Counsayll, dare not be so bolde to shewe hym the greate jupardye and perell of his soule. Hyt is lyke they understande, that ther masteris mynde is to use allwaye the sayde extortion, wherby he hathe so greate advantage, so greate myght, and power, so greate worsshyp and riches, not only tyll hymselff, but to all his kinnesmen, frendes, and servauntes, and maye punyshe what hym please, and favour whom lyste. And ther is said counsayllors do not shewe hym the trewyth, for dredde they mought therby stande the more oute of his grace. For that cause, I suppose, they folowyth this worldely wysedom, that "who soo "wylle in Courte dwell, he muste lerne to courry favour well;" and to laude and prayse the opinion that the lorde holdeyth, and withoute craftye colours, fyctions, and poyses, to justyfye the same, whether yt be right or wrong; and so, in default of counsayll, he wolde be rulyd after.

Some sayeth, also, bycause the Deputye useyth the said wrongfull extortion, all the noble folke of the lande shotes at hym, folowyth his wayes in that behalf, asmuche as in them is, unto the grete daunger of his soule. For Seynt Gregory sayeth, in his booke "De Pastoralibus," "quod prelati, tanquam "signum ad sagittam, tot mortibus digni, quot exempla perditionis ad alios "transmittunt."

Some sayeth, that the prelates of the Churche, and clergye, is muche cause of all the mysse order of the land; for ther is no archebysshop, ne bysshop, abbot, ne pryor, parson, ne vycar, ne any other person of the Churche, highe or lowe, greate or smalle, Englyshe or Iryshe, that useyth to preache the worde of Godde, saveing the poore fryers beggers; and ther wodde of Godde do cesse, ther canne be no grace, and wythoute the specyall [*grace*] of Godde, this lande maye never be reformyd; and by preacheing and techeing of prelates of the Churche, and by prayer and oryson of the devoute persons of the same,

Godde

Godde useyth alwaye to graunte his aboundaunte grace; ergo, the Churche, not useing the premysseis, is muche cause of all the said mysse ordre of this lande.

Also, the Churche of thys lande use not to lerne any other scyence, but the Lawe of Canon, for covetyce of lucre traunsytory; all other scyence, wherof growe none suche lucre, the parsons of the churche dothe despyce. They cowde more by the ploughe rustycall, then by lucre of the ploughe celestyall, to whiche they hathe streccheyd ther handes, and loke alwayes backwarde. They tende muche more to lucre of that ploughe, wherof groweth sclaunder and rebuke, then to lucre of the soules, that is the ploughe of Cryste. And to the traunsytorye lucre of that rustycall ploughe they tendre so muche, that lytill or nought ther chargeyth to lucre to Cryste, the soules of ther subgetes, of whom they bere the cure, by preacheing and teacheing of the worde of Godde, and by ther good insample gyveing; whiche is the ploughe of worsshipp, and of honour, and the ploughe of grace of that ever shalle indure.

Some sayen, also, that all the noble folke of the lande of Ireland, fro the hyghest degre to the lowest, Englyshe or Iryshe, that useyth the sayde extortions, hadde lever to contynue the same at ther lybertye, and bere the greate daunger of Godde, and of ther enymyes, then to have all the lande aswell orderyd as England, and as obedyent to Godde, and to the King, yf therbye they shulde lose ther lybertyes in vyceis and the sayde extortions; for ther is no lande in all this worlde, that have more lybertye in vyceis, then Ireland, and lesse lybertye in vertue; for every greate captayne, within his rome, holdeyth by swerde imperyall jurysdyction at his lybertye, that nature most desyre; whiche he shulde lose for ever, if the land were orderyd, and be at lybertye in vertue; that is, to be obedyent to the Kynges lawes, and to the Holy Churche.

Some sayeth, also, that the Kinges subgetes hadde never better pease with ther enymyes, in 300 yere, then they have nowe; and that the Iryshe enymyes was never more adred of the Kinges Deputye, then they be nowe; and that Englishe mennes landd was never better tyllyd in this hundred yere, then nowe; and all this coulde not be don wythoute myght and strayngeyth of the Deputyes armye and retynue, whiche he coulde not holde wyth hym, wythoute the said extortions: ergo, extortion is that thing that defendeyth, and not that thing that destrueth the Kinges subgettes.

Some sayeth, that many an Iryshe greate capytayne kepeyth and preserveyth all the Kinges subjetes of ther rome and contreys in pease, withoute any hurte of ther enymyes, so that ther landes be tyllyd and occupyed with the ploughe, aswell as ever they were. And the sayde capytaines hathe the over hande of ther enymyes, Englyshe or Iryshe, on every syde; as Obroyn, the greate

McChar-

McCharrye, Marckcharry Ryvaghe, Cormok Oge, and Odonolde[1]; in asmuch as some of those hathe trybute yerely of Englyshe men; and, this notwithstanding, all ther comyn folke, by ther Iryshe rule and ordre, be but poore captaynes. Every Iryshe captaine defendeyth all the subgetes, and the comyn folke, wythin his rome, fro ther enymyes, asmuche as in hym is; not to thentent that they shulde escape harmeles, but to thentent to devoyre them by hymself, lyke as a gredy hounde delyveryth the shepe fro the wolffe: and ther is none of the Iryshe capytaynes, that oppresseyd the comyn folke as aforesayde, in asmuche as he dothe charge them, by extortion of horsse meatte and mannes meate, yerely by very estymation to the value and pryce of 100£ every daye in the yere, one daye counteyd with a nother, whiche comeyth to the some of 36000£ yerely; and yf the Deputye, under that sworen, shalle contynue to defende the Kinges subgettes, they shalbe, withyn a fewe yeres, of worsse condytion in every degre, then the sayde Iryshe caytyffes.

Nowe ye have herde a greate parte of all the dyssease and infyrmyte of all this lande; what leche, or fysyk, can fynde a medysyn, that mought delyver all the lande of all the sayde infyrmytyes, so that by the same suche remedy mought be founde, that wolde cesse all the warre, and all the sayde extortions, aswell of the Iryshe, as of thEnglyshe folke, for ever, by any medycyn? therfor, withoute the poyson and thentoxycation were fyrste knowen, the tryaclle, that is callyd the veray antytodum, that wolde purge and expulse the same, coulde never be layde therto.

Some sayeth, and for the more part every man, that to fynde suche remedy is impossyble, for what remedy can be hadde nowe, more then have byn hadde unto this tyme? and ther was never remedy founde in this 200 yere, that coude prospere, and no medecyn can be hadde nowe, for the sayde infyrmytie, but suche as have byn hadde afore this tyme; and folke were as wyse that tyme, as they be nowe; and sythen they coulde never fynde remedy, how shulde remedy be founde by us?

Here the Pandar makeith an aunswer, and sayeth, that hyt is no mervyll that our faders, that was of more wytte and wysedom then we, coulde not fynde remedy in the premysseis, for the herbes dyd never growe; and also he sayeth, that the moste welthe and prosperytie of every lande is the comen welthe of the same, and not the private welthe; and the moste hurte of every lande is the comyn hurte; and all thEnglyshe noble folke of this lande payseyth allwaye ther private wele, and, in regarde therof, settyth lytill or nought by the comen wele, in asmuche as ther is no comyn folke in all this worlde soo lytyll settbye,

[1] OBrien of Toybrien, McCarthy More, McCarthy Reagh, Cormok Oge, and ODonel. See pp. 1, 2, 3.

soo gretely despyced, soo feble, soo poore, and soo gretely trodde undre fote, as the Kinges power comen folke be; delyveryd of the sayd hurtte and domage, and restored to welthe and prosperytye, this land maye never be reformeyd.

Some sayeth, and for the more parte every man, that the comen folke of Ireland may never be restoryd, as aforesayd, and that all the Iryshe captaynes shalle never be subdued to the Kinges lawes; some sayeth ye, some sayeth naye, and so they continued in this 200 yere.

In consyderation wherof, and of all the premisseis, the Pander makeith his conclusion, and sayeth, that yf hyt please the King to folowe the instructions after immedyatly, asmuche as in hym is, the swerde of his comen folke, that is so lytill settby, so greatly despysed, and so muche trodde under fote, shalle ryse up suddenly, and growe up soo myghtty, and soo stronge, that, withyn a fewe yeres, all the sayde Iryshe captaynes and Englyshe rebelles, for very dreadde of deathe, and loseing of ther landes and ther goodes, shalbe putt to suche dystresse, that they shalbe right gladde to obey the Kinges lawes for ever; and that all the sayde extortions, and all the warre of Irelande, bothe of Iryshe and of Englyshe, shalle cesse alway, whylde the worlde indure; and all that to be don wythoute any greate coste of the King, or of his sayd subgettes, and yf yt plese His Grace fyrste to graunte two propositions, suche as folowyth after immedyatly.

The fyrste propisitions is this; whether the rude comyn folke, subgetes to the King, maye nowe be informed by conneing persons to shoote with a crosbowe, or with a handgonne, competently for the fylde, within the space of a sevynnyght or fortenyght, yf they be of goode wyll, and do ther best therto?

The secounde proposition is this; whether the King may fynde the meanes, that his subgettes maye have harnoyse and waypyn, successive after other shuche, as shalbe shewyd most necessary to them, for ther money, at the cyties and porttownnes of Dublyn, Waterford, Corke, and Lymbryk, and at the townnes of Droghda, and Wexford, and other porttownnes subget to the Kyng?

This graunte, and the sayde waypyn and harnoyse, suche as shalbe shewyd after, brought by the Kinges ordynaunce unto the sayde cyties and porttownes, to be solde the Kinges subgetes aforesayd for ther money, then bycause the Kinges Deputye is not able to put suche instructions in execution for the comyn weale, as shalbe shewyd after, wythoute the King streche his arme to the same intent, that yt plese His Grace to sende a captayne of an armye of 500 souldyors on horsback, to helpe the Deputye to put the instructions after in execution, asferre as the Kinges Englyshe subgettes have

have domynyon; soo that of the sayde armye ther be 200 archers and 100 gonners, all on horsseback, as aforesayde, with an 100 speres after maner of Welshemen, and with 100 horssemen after the maner of Ireland; soo that the sayde armye be on the Kinges coste and charge dureing the space of 3 yere, or tyll the Kinges sayde subgettes be put in ordre. And fyrste of all that the sayde Deputye and capytayne begynne the sayd ordre amonges the Kinges subgettes of the countye of Meathe, in maner as yt folowyth.

Fyrste, that the sayde Deputye, by thadvyce of the Lorddes of the Kinges Counsayll, ordayne certen persons of the noble folke of the sayd countye, that is to saye, the Lorde Vycounte of Gornemanstowne, the Baron of Slane, the Baron of Delvyn, and the Lorde of Trymletstowne, to be Justyces of Pease allwaye within the sayde countye.

Also, that by the sayde Deputye and Counsayll ther be 2 Wardens of Peace assygned in every barony withyn the sayde countye.

Also, that the Wardens of every barony do assemble all the comen folke of ther rome, chargeing that the folke of every paryshe do chewse 2 counstables for ther capytaynes.

Also, that the sayd Deputye, with the sayde captayne, in asmuche as Orayly[1] is the strongeyst Iryshe rebell that marcheyth with the countye of Meathe, put the sayde ordre in execution in all the baronys, that marcheyth with the sayde Orayly, begynneing wyth the baronye of Kenlys[2], maner as yt folowyth.

Fyrste, the Wardens of the sayde baronye of Kenlys do make opyn proclamation, in open assemble, ther muster daye, that every valyaunte person able to bere waypyn do pervay for hym selff a dowblet, or a cote of fence, callyd a jakke, no lengre to the knee, within suche tyme as the Wardens dyscretion shalle assygne, long or short, after the substaunce of the person, ryche or powre.

Also, that every valyaunte person within the sayde baronye do pervaye for himself a salet, and a swerde, within 15 dayes after.

Also, that every man, that shote with an Englyshe bowe, or with an Iryshe bowe, have his bowe and his arrowes accordeing with the sayde tyme.

Also, that every man, that cannot shoote with an arrowe, ne spere, be chargeyd with byll or glaye, so that every man of the sayde baronye be chargeyd to bere suche waypyn in hande, as he maye best weylle.

Moreover, in asmuche as archery is fayled amonges all the Kinges subgettes of this lande, except among suche as dwellyth in the cytye of Dublyn

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[1] See p. 4. [2] Kells.

and towne of Droghda, and suche as dwelleyth betwyxt bothe towarde the see coste, and in defalte of archery and bowmen the Kinges subgettes was never so feble, and wythowte some remedy be founde shortly, that supplye the greate lacke of archery and of bowes, the Kinges subgettes shall never prevayle ageynst the wylde Iryshe or Englyshe rebelles, ne optayne the over hande and palme of ther enymyes. And in asmuche as all the wylde Iryshe and Englyshe rebelles of all this lande, dothe dreade more, and fereyth the sodden shote of gonnes muche more, then the shotte of arrowes, or any other shotte of kynde of waypyn in this worlde; in consyderation wherof, hyt be ordayned by the said Wardens and counstables, that of every 100 persons ther be 20 gonners assygneyd and chargeyd to pourvaye them gonnes, powdre, and pellettes accordeing, within the sayde tyme of 15 dayes.

Also, that proclamation be made by the sayde Wardens, in the sayde mowster, streytly chargeing that every person have his weypin and his harnoyse, wherwith he his chargeyd, as aforesayde, within the sayde tyme and space, on payne of deathe and loseing of his goodes and catalles.

Also, that the sayde Wardens and counstables be chargeyd, on the sayd payne, by the Kynges Deputye, and the said captayne, that they put all the valyaunte folke within ther rome in the sayd ordre, and do execution on hym that shalle make defaulte, withoute any pardon.

Also, that the sayd Wardens, by the streyght commaundyment of the Kinges Deputye, and the sayde captayne, ordayne and procure, on the sayde payne, that every vyllage and towne of the sayde baronye, within 6 myles to the wylde Iryshe, be dycheyd and hegeyd strongly aboute the gates, of tymbre, after the maner of the countye of Kyldare, for dredde of fyre of ther enymyes, and that the folke of every towne shalle helpe other with ther owne labour and vytayles, to make and performe the said dycheis and hegeis in all haste possyble.

Also, that proclamation be made, that every man do aunswer the crye withoute delaye, and that no towne do rere the crye withoute an urgent cause.

Also, that the sayde Wardeyns and counstables see that every poore valyaunte person, that have not wherwith to bye a cote of fence, as aforesayde, be chargeid with a brest, tyll Godde sende hym wherwith, so that he have a cote of fence of his owne within twoo yeres, on the sayd payne; and that hit be ordeyned by the Deputye, and the said captayne, that no merchaunte to by, ne take yarne within 2 yere, ne stamyn over the see, out of the countyes of Meathe, Uryell, Dublyn, or Kyldare, dureing the space of 2 yere, on payne of forfeture of the same, and 10£ to the King, tociens quotiens.

Also,

Also, hit is more easyer for a man to bere a cote of fence, callyd a jakke, then a brest, and better shalle defende a mannes bodye from Iryshe arrowes and darttes. The breste leveyth the legges nakeyd, and the backe is more uneasye and paynfull to bere, for footemen, then a jakke; and also it is more easye for every man to lye in the fylde in a jakke, then with a breste.

Also, ther shalle no man shote with a spere, ne arrowe, at his pleasur, with a brest, ne to wylde any maner waypyn, that he shalle bere in hande, bereing a brest, as he shalle with a jakke; in consyderation wherof, hit be ordeyned at lengyth, that every man shalle have his jakke; and bycause a man cannot shoote easye with a brest, archers of Ingland wylle bere no brest.

Also, the sayde Wardens and counstables doo mowster folke of their rome, ones every quarter, on the hyll of Lyde, to see dylygently that every man have suche harnoys, wherwith he is chargeid, and he that make defaulte, to be punyssheyd, as is aforesayde, withoute pardon, to the terryble insamplle of all others.

Then the said of Kenlys this put in ordre, that the Deputye, and the sayde captayne of the Kinges armye, do charge the Wardens and counstables of every barony within the countye Meathe, to put all the comen folke within ther rome in harnoyse and in waypin, in everye poynte and maner, after the ordre of the foresayde baronye of Kenlys, in all haste possyble.

Also, all the sayde comen folke shalle fynde swerdes and saletes, bowes and arrowes, bylles and glayves, haundgonnes, powder, and pelletes, brestes, quarelles, and crosbowes, to be solde for ther money, reddy at the cytye of Dublyn, and the towne of Droghda.

Then the Deputye, and the saide captayne, do charge and ordeyn, that all the comyn folke of Westmeathe, from the barony of Delvyn exclusive, to the see, shalle mowster in ther best araye before them, every Saynte Georges daye, on the hyll of Taraght; and that all the comen folke of the west parte of Meath shalle appere before them the fyrst daye of Maye, in lyke wyse, at suche place as they shalle assygne.

Also, that the Wardens of every of the sayde baronye shall have a standerd of tharmys of Seynt George, and the counstables to have gytton of the armys of Seynt Davyd, in token that the King of England and of Fraunce is Lorde of Ireland.

Then that the Deputye, and the said captaynes, see, wyth ther greatest dyligence, and moste besy cure and charge, that all the Kinges subgettes of the countyes of Uryell, of Dublyn, Kyldare, Carlaghe, and Wexforde, be put in ordre of waypyn and harnoyse, in every poynte and maner, after as the comyn folke of the countye of Meath, and that be don in all haste possyble.

Then

Then that the sayde Deputye, and Captayne of the Kinges sayde armye, see, in lyke wyse, that all the Kinges subgettes and comen folke of the countye of Waterford, of the countyes of Kylkenny, of Phydred[1], Corke, Lymbryk, and Kyery be put in harnoyse and in weypin, in every maner degre or ordre, in every poynte, after the Kinges subgettes and comyn folke of the countye of Meathe.

Also, that every cyttye, and every porttowne, and every markeyd towne walleyd, to be chargeyd with suche harnoyse and weapyn, asshalle please theym, so that ther comen folke be of no worsse condycion, then the comen folke rurall.

Also, that every horsseman, what soever condition he be of, dwelleing within thEnglyshe pale, be chargeyd to ryde allwaye in a sadell; that every gentyllman of landes be chargeid to have his horsse and his harnoyse, and his speres, after the maner of Walshe speres, redy at all tymes to aunswer the Kinges Deputye, when nede shalle requyre, and that hit be at his election to ryde in whyt harnoyse, after the maner of England, orelles to ryde in his jakke, with his halbryk and his gorgete, so that he shalle bere his spere in the rest, at his pleasur, when nede shalle requyre.

Alsoo, the Englyshe pale dothe streche and extende from the towne of Doundalke to the towne of Derver[2], to the towne of Ardye[2], allwaye on the lyfte syde, leving the marche on the right syde, and so to the towne of Sydan[3], to the towne of Kenlys[3], to the towne of Dengle[3], to Kylcoke[4], to the towne of Clanne[4], to the towne of Nasse[4], to the Bryge of Cucullyn[4], to the towne of Ballymore[5], and soo bakwarde to the towne of Ramore[4], and to the towne of Rathcoule[5], to the towne of Talaght[5], and of the towne of Dalky[5], leveing allwaye the marche on the right hande from the sayd Doundalke, folowing the said course to the said towne of Dalkye.

Also, that every Lorde of Parlyament, and Lorddes Pere, have his horsse barbeyd, not for nede, ne any dystresse that he lyke to be in, but for worsshop; but when hit shalle please hym to make any jorney, to have his barbeyd horsse ledde by his syde.

Also, that every younge man of substaunce, dwelleing within any cytty or wallyd towne, have his horsse, his spere, and his harnoyse, reddy allwaye, after the Welshe maner, as aforesayd.

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[1] Fethard.

[2] Derver and Ardee, in Louth.

[3] Sydan, Kells, and Dangan, in Meath.

[4] Kilcock, Claine, Naas, Kilcullen Bridge, and Rathmore, in Kildare.

[5] Ballymore Eustace, Rathcoole, Tallagh, and Dalkey, in the County of Dublin.

Also,

Also, yf it please any goode yeman of the comyns to have his horsse and his harnoyse, in lykewyse, after the Welshe maner, he shalbe worthye to have wages, and to stande in grace with his lorde, and with the Deputye, more then any foteman of the sayd comyns.

Also, that every man of the noble folke, and every horsseman, whatsoever condycyon he be of, Englyshe or Iryshe, dwelleing within the marche, be chargeyd to have his horsse and his harnoyse, that is to saye, his jakke, his halbryk, his gorget, his basenet, his swerde, and his spere, reddy allwaye, after the maner of this lande; soo that every horsseman of landes, or of substaunce, have a payre of grayves, and a gauntlet for his lyfte hande, to aunswer the nede that never lyke is to be, this ordre ones hadde.

Also, that the Deputye, and the sayde captayne, fyrste of all doo straytly charge and commaunde the Wardens of every baronye of the countye of Meathe, aswell as of every other countye under the Kinges obeysaunce, to make opyn proclamation in ther mowsters, that every man, haveing of his owne suche weypyn and harnoyse as he is appointeid to, and chargeyd with, shalle never be oppressyd ther after with coyne and lyverye, or with any other maner kynde of extortion or oppressyon, by the Kinges Deputye, or ther lande lorde, or by any other person, highe or lowe, Englyshe or Iryshe, whyle the worlde endure, except that they paye rent, or Englyshe custome, to ther land lord.

Also, notwithstandeing the sayd grete lybertye and fredom grauntyd for ever &c., the maner of the comen folke is, and ever have byn, to gurge to do any greate acte for ther owne weale and profyt, notwithstandeing any charge of the Kinge, or layser, wythoute hyt were only for dredde to lose ther lyves.

Also, that the Deputye, and the said captaine, do ordeyne certen gonners, conneing in the craft, the nombre of 20 or more, after ther dyscretion, to walke among the comyn folke, from one countye tyll a nother, to instructe and informe all suche as ben charged wyth gonnes.

Also, that the Kinges auctorytie and subgetes kepe the Kinges peace unto all the wylde Iryshe, tyll all the Kinges subgettes, for the more parte, be orderyd in harnoyse and waypyn, as aforesayd. And over that, the merchauntes of the said cytyes and pourtownes be straytely chargeyd to bring greate stuff of the sayd harnoyse, waypin, and gonnes powder oute of other landes, dayly to be solde to all the Kinges subgettes, and to none other.

Also, that the Kyng ordeyn that ther come dyverse smythes and craftymen oute of Ingland, that canne make and forge gonnes and saletes, bylles and glayves, gonnpowdre and brestes, that shalle dwelle alwaye in every of the sayde cytyes and porttownes.

Then,

Then, after the Kinges subgettes be put ones in ordre, as aforesayde, Englyshe men, of England, wylbe as desyrous to come and dwelle in to this lande, as ever they were at the fyrste conquest; and what graunte hit shalle please the King to make to any of them, or to thErlle of Kyldare, or to any of is sonnes or kynnesmen, upon any Iryshe men landes, fro the cytye of Dublyn to the porttownes of Wexford and Rosse, lyghtly may be put in execution, to all intentes, according to the Kinges graunte. For hyt is necessary that all that partyes be inhabyt with Englyshe men, not onely to noryshe our Englyshe langage, but also to encrese archery, wherby the lande was conquered, and in defaulte of archery, unto lytyll, the lande is loste.

Also, what graunte the King shalle make to thErlle of Kyldares sonnes, and his kynnesmen, upon any Iryshe nation landes, that marcheyth with the Kinges subgettes, in this syde of the ryver of Synnen[1], may be in lyke wyse lyghtly put in execution.

In lykewyse, what graunte the King shalle make to thErlle of Desmond, or to any of the Botylers, or to the Lorde Barrye, or his kynnesmen, or to any Englyshe lorde or gentyllman of Mownster, upon any Iryshe mennes landes, that marcheyth with the Kinges subgettes, orderyd as aforesayd, shalbe lyghtly put in execution.

And, shortly to conclude, all Iryshe mennes landes, that marcheyth with the Kinges subgettes, orderyd as aforesayd, may be lyghtly conquyred, or constrayned to kepe and observe suche ordre and statutes, and to paye suche rent, servyce, and trybute, as the Kinges auctorytie, with his Counsayll, shall determyne.

Also, nowe the King maye lyghtly, with noble folke of Ingland, and of Ireland, conquere and inhabyt a greate parte of the countye of Wolster, that hathe byn conqueryd and inhabytyd with the Kinges subgettes before nowe, that is to saye the barony of Lecchahyll, the barony of the Arde, the baronye of the Dyfferens, the barony of Cragfergonnes, the barony of Bentrye, the baronye of Grene Castell, the barony of Doundrom, the baronye of Gallagh, the barony of Mawlyn, the barony of Tuscard, the barony of Glynnes[2], and all the remenent landes, that lyeth betwyxt the Grene Castell[3] and the ryver of the Banne[4]; and to exyle, banyshe, and expulsse therfro all the captaines, growen and dyscendeyd of the blode and lynage of Hughe Boy Oneyll for ever.

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[1] Shannon.

[2] The places enumerated lay near the coast of Down and Antrim.

[3] The Green-castle was in the modern barony of Mourne in Down.

[4] The Ban flows nearly from south to north, through Lough Neagh, dividing the counties of Armagh, Tyrone, and Londonderry on its west side, from those of Down and Antrim on its east.

Also,

Also, yf it please the Kinges Grace to sende one man oute of every paryshe of England, Cornwale, and Wales, into this lande, to inhabyte not only the sayde landes of the countye of Wolster, but also all the Iryshe landes, that lyeth betwyxte the cyttye of Dublyn and the townes of Rosse and Wexford; for then thErlldom of Wolster wolde be, within a fewe yeres, of as greate value, as ever it was, soo that the sayd inhabytauntes be acqueynteyd with tylleing of the lande, for ther is no better lande for all maner grayne, than the sayd landes fro the Grene Castell to the Banne, and fro the cyttye of Dublyn to the porttownes of Wexford and Rosse. This matter shuld not onely hurte the communaltye of Ingland, but hyt shulde increse to the King, and his heyres for ever, yerely, to more then 30000 markes.

Nowe all the wylde Iryshe, with all ther galloglagheis, and Iryshe Scottes, called keteryns, have no more power, ne myght, to stande in the fylde, ne to mayntayne ther warres ageynst the Kinges subgettes, then have the wolffe ageinste lyon, or the kyte ageynst the fawken.

Nowe every shyre and countye is stronge ynoughe to defende themselfes from all the wylde Iryshe, aswell as to subdue or expell all that marcheyth next to them, withoute any ayde or assystaunce of the Kinges Deputye.

Also, if the sayde harnoyse and waypyn maye not be hadde at ones for all the Kinges subgettes, that the King ordayne they may be hadde after other, in all possyble haste, begynneing with the countyes of Meath, Uryell, Dublyn, Kyldare, Carlaghe, and Wexford; after that, with the countyes of Waterford, Corke, Kylkenny, Fyddert, Lymbryk, and Kerye, so that every countye, after other, be at ones put in ordre. Thes countyes orderyd as aforesayde in harnoyse and in waypyn, the King maye doo his wylle, and have his desyre lyghtly of all the landes that Iryshemen occupye in Ireland, and them to put in suche ordre as hym lyste.

Also, when all the Kinges subgettes, from Carlyngford to Waterford, be put in ordre, and garnysheyd for the warres, as aforesayde, then the Kinges Deputye to compell all thEnglyshe lordes, and noble folke of Mounster, to delyver to hym ther pleges upon ther goode abereing and obeysaunce agaynst the King, and that every of them shalle cause the comyn peoplle within ther rome to be put in ordre for the warres, furnysheyd as aforesayd.

Thes be the names of thEnglyshe lordes, and noble folke of Mounster.

ThErlle of Desmounde, Lorde of the countye Kery.
Syr Pyers Butler, and all the Butlers.
Syr Thomas of Desmounde.

Syr John of Desmounde.

Syr Gerard of Desmound, and all thErll of Desmoundes brethren, of the countyes of Corkke and Lymbryk.

The Lorde Barry, and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Roche, and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Cogan, and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Bareth, and his kynnesmen.

Syr Geralde of Desmound, and his kynnesmen.

Syr Pyers Powers sonnes, of the countye of Waterford.

Also the Kinges Deputye to take pleges, in lykewyse, of all the Kinges Englyshe rebelles of Conaught.

The Lorde Burke of Clanrychard, and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Burke of Conykeghowle, and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Brymyngeham de Anry, and his kynnesmen.

Syr Myles Stauntons sonnes, and his kynnesmen, de Clynnoryst.[1]

Syr Jordan Dexter sonnes, de Gallena[2], and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Nangle de Mountlowe, et de Castro Magno[3], and his kynnesmen.

The Lorde Baret de Tyre Awnly, and his kynnesmen.

Syr Morres Pryndyrgas sonnes, de Brya.

Also all this Englyshe rebelles of Conaught beth joyneing to gyder after other in lengyth, and marcheyth with the wylde Iryshe on every syde, and be right gladde to obey the King, yf they mought be defendeyd from the wylde Iryshe.

Also, that the Deputye, in his propre person, with the sayd captaine with the Kinges sayd army, be present, and ordayne that all the sayd lordes of the countye of Gallwaye and Conaught, and all the comyn folke of ther rome, be put in ordre of harnoyse and waypyn, in every degre, to the Kinges obeysaunce, after thordre of the countye of Meathe, bycause they be greteyst Englyshe rebelles of Ireland.

Also, yf thes sayd Englyshe lordes and noble folke of all the said countyes, and the comen peoplle of the same, be ones put in ordre, as aforesayde, what man can saye but all the land is conquest, and subdued to the Kinges obeysaunce, to doo therwith what hym lyst, without any resystaunce?

Also, yf the Kyng sende one man oute of every parishe of England, and

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[1] Clanmorris in Mayo. [2] Gallen in Mayo. [3] Castlemore in Mayo.

then

then all the noble insu of Hughe Buye Oneyll be avoyded clere, and expulseyd oute of all the foresayd landes, from the Grene Castell to the Banne, and be assygneyd and sufferyd to have ther habytation and dwelleing in the greate forest Keylultagh[1], and in the Pheux[2], whiche habytations and placeis they hathe, and dwelleyth ofte before nowe by compulsion, and nowe the sayd Hughe Buyes insu to dwell peaseably in the sayd placeis, aslong as they shalbe subgett to the King. And yf the Kyng wyll not sende one man, as aforesayd, oute of every paryshe, or fynde some other meanes, wherby the sayd landes of the sayde countye of Ulster may be inhabytyd with men of Ingland, then let the Deputye, and the sayd captayne of the Kinges armye, bye the advyse of the Kinges Counsayll, fynde some other meane to put the sayd landes of the sayd countye in ordre; for yt passe my wytte to wryte therof, bycause they be soo ferre fro helpe and succoure of the Kinges subgettes.

Hereafter folowyth the names of thEnglyshe rebelles, dwelleing within the sayd countye of Wolster.

Syr Roland Savage, and his kynnesmen.
The Baron Russell, and his kynnesmen.
Fytzjohn, Lorde of Glynnes, and his kynnesmen.
Fytzhowlyn, Lord of Tuscard, and his kynnesmen.

Also, that the Deputye, and the sayd captayne, Sir Rowland Savage, and his kennesmen in the baronye of Mawlyn[3], and in all the landes marcheing with the sayd baronye of Tuscard, and with the baronye of the Glynnes, and to ayde and succourre them.

Also, nowe is a season for the Kyng to come into this land of Ireland, not with any greate armye, but with a fewe companye, the nombre of 2000, or ther aboute, for he shalle fynde in the land reddy before hym an armye of an 100000, and ferre beyounde, of his owne subgettes, reddy at his commaundyment to fullfyll his mynde with every poynte, at all tymes, on ther owne coste.

Also, yf the Kyng come into this land to subdue Englyshe or Iryshe rebelles, wythoute the sayd ordre, thoghe he dyd bryng with hym an armye of 20000, or as manye as hym lyste, he shulde do lytyll profyt to hymself, or nought, but he shulde leve muche money in this land, and waste muche of his treasour, so that within a short season he shulde be right wery of the crafte, or

[1] Killultagh, now the barony of Massareen, in the south of Antrim.
[2] The barony of Fews, in the south of Armagh.
[3] Between Antrim and Carrickfergus.

assone as he, with his armye, doo repayre into Ingland, he shalle have no lenger obeysaunce of the rebelles of Ireland; for an armye that is moveing temperall for a season, and not perpetuall, shalle never profyt the King in Ireland, withoute the Kinges subgettes of the land be put in ordre, as aforesaid; for assone as the army is agoo, the Kinges obeysaunce is; and soo the Paunder sayeth, for a fynall conclusion, that yf all this world wolde the meanes to subdue Englyshe or Iryshe rebelles to the Kynges obeysaunce, withoute the sayd ordre, all ther labour shulde be clene loste in conclusion.

Also hit be ordeyned, that none Iryshe captayne, subgett to the Kinges, use any maner of extortion, ne rere any maner custome of coyne, or of any other custom of mete or drynke, on his owne tenauntes, or any other tenauntes; and he, that shalle presume to practyse the contrarye, to lose 20£ to the King.

Also that idell man, strayer, ne vacabound, be founde in any place throughe all the land, Iryshe or Englyshe, upon payn of his lyffe.

Also, yf the King were as wyse as Salamon the Sage, he shalle never subdue the wylde Iryshe to his obeysaunce, withoute dreadde of the swerde, and of the myght and streyngthe of his power, and of his Englyshe subgettes, orderyd as aforesayd; for aslong as they maye resyste and save ther lyffes, they wylle never obey the Kyng. In consideration wherof, the Pander shewyth, that all this worlde cannot fynde the meanes to meyntaine the Kinges swerde and his power soo strong, and so myghttye, and wythoute soo lytill coste and charge, as to put his Englyshe subgettes in ordre with harnoyse and waypin, as aforesaid; for the vertue of that ordre is myghty, and soo stronge, that the wylde Iryshe shalle never have power to resyst in the fylde, ne to mayntayne ther warres, by nyght ne by daye, ne to save ther lyves and ther goodes after, while the worlde indure.

Yf this lande were ones furnysheyd in ordre, as aforesayd, who durst be soo bolde within the realme of Ingland to rebell ageynst the King, as the noble folke of that land have don ryght ofte? and yf the King fortune hereafter to be at suche dystresse, that God avoyde, wher myght he be receyved for sure, and succouryd soo myghtty and soo strong, as with his subgettes of Ireland?

Also, what man canne fynde or shewe a better meane for the King of England to subdue the Kinges of Scottes tyll His Grace, then tordre his land of Ireland as aforesayd? For the swerd and armye of Ireland, a yarde and a flaye for ever, to compell all Scotland to be alwaye undre the obeysaunce of the King of England.

Also, that yt be ordeyned by the Depuytye, and the sayd captaine, that the tenauntes of every of the sayd townes be straytly, in lykewyse, to dyche and hege ther cornnes, ther croftes, ther closeis, and ther gardens, and ther aboute

to

to sette and plante trees, most meate and apte for buyldeing of houseys, for plowing, and carteing, and tylleing of the land, and specyally wyth okyn trees, soo that the husbandes of every of the sayd townes and vyllagys, within a fewe yeres, shalle have tymbre sufficient of ther owne to satysfy ther dystres allwaye in every poynte; where that nowe one of the moste derthe, that hurteyth the comen welth subgett to the Kyng, is the derth and lak of tymbre.

Also, that it be ordeyned by the Deputye and Kinges Counsayll, that every of the sayd Iryshe greate landlordes, and chyef of every greate nation, that shall dyspend by the Kinges graunte 1000 markes yerely, by estimation, be create and made Lord of the Kinges Parlyament and Greate Counsayll, and to aunswer to the Kinges Parlyament and Greate Counsayll, as ofte as they shalbe callyd to suche placeys, as shalle please the Deputye to retayne the same; and soo that the sayd Iryshe lorde shalle inyoye all the prerogatyves of the Kinges Parlyament, as other lordes dothe, useing hymselff theraftre, and shalbe nameyd and callyd lorde of the countrey wher he dwelleith, orelles lorde of nation, he and his heyres males for ever, by the Kinges graunte.

Also, that the chyef of every pety nation of every Iryshe country, that shalle dyspend by the Kinges graunte the some of 500 markes, to him and to his heyres for ever, be, at the wyll and dyscressyon of the Deputye and the sayd captaine, made Knight, and shalle inyoye the honour and worsship of thordre of Knyghthodd, as other Englyshe Knyghtes dothe.

Also, that every Iryshe landlord, and every chyef captaine of his nation, greate or small, shalbe barbeyd and roundeyd, after thEnglyshe maner, and not after the Iryshe maner; and he that shalle presume the contrary, to lose and forfet to the King 20£, tociens quociens; and over that, that none of the sayd landlordes, greate or small, suffyr any other person, horsman or foteman, on the foresayd payne, to use the contrarye of this the Kinges statute; and he, that shalle fortune to be incorrygyble in the premisseis, in despyceing the Kinges statute, to lose his goodes and his landes, from hym and his heyres for ever.

Also, that the Bysshop, and the chyef landlord of every Iryshe countrey, subgett to the King, be ordeyned allwaye by the Kinges Deputye to be Justyces of the Kinges Peace within the same contrarye, with power and auctorytie to inquyre for the King, and to punyshe all maner ryottes, felonyes, and all other traunsgressions don within the same countrye, and for thexecution of the same to have power and auctorytie to call to them Englyshe or Iryshe, whom they lyste, after ther dyscretion, so that all the complaintes of the sayd countrey shalbe determyned within them selffes, and that the sayd Justyce of Peace shalle sytte and inquyre on the premysseis, as ofte as it shall please them.

Also,

Also, that every landelord, greate or small, of every Iryshe countrey, subget to the King, put his sonne and heyre to Dublyn, or to Drogheda, or to some other Englyshe towne, to lerne to wryte and rede, and to speke Englyshe, to lerne also the draught and maners of Englyshe men.

Also, that every of the sayd landlordes put ther secounde sonnes to lerne some clergye, or some crafte, wherby they maye lyve honestly, withoute vyceis; and that all the comen folke of every of the sayd countres cause ther sonnes to do the same, so that no man be founde withoute some crafte, or withoute a master; wherapon the sayd Justyces of Pease shalle inquyre dayly, and upon all other maters, after the tenour of ther commyssion, punyshe all traunsgressours after the tenour of ther comyssion.

Also, yt is more easye for the King, that ther be Justyces of Peace in every of the sayd countreys, as aforesayd, then to the King to send his commyssioners dayly to every of the sayd countreys, on his owne coste. He must take one waye, orelles the mater wylbe muche oute of ordre within a short tyme.

Also, that the sayd commyssioners be chargeyd by the Kinges Deputye to inquyre dayly upon all maner kynde of extortion, and specyall on coyne and lyverye, and unlawfull exactions, and customes of meate and drynke, and specyally in codyes, chargeing that no man presume to use any of the same on his owne tenauntes, or on any other tenauntes, on payn of perdytion of his lyffe, and forfeture of his goodes and landes, from hym and his heyres for ever.

Also, that the sayd commyssioners charge, on the foresayd payne, that every Iryshe gentilman of landes have his horsse and his harnoyse and waypyn complete, reddy at all tymes to defend hymself, and his neyghbour, aswell as to ryde and travell with the Kinges armye on any Iryshe countrey, that marcheyth wyth the same.

Also, for a fynall conclusyon, yf the land were put in ordre as aforesayd, the Kinges revenus of this lande wolde be unto lytyll, or nought, lesse then the revenus of Ingland, consydering thErldom of Wolster, that shalbe within a fewe yeres of as greate value as ever hyt was; consydering, also, the profytes that shall growe by the meanes; and over that, consydering also the profytes of the Kinges land, customes of feefermes, of tollage, of poundage, of wardes, of maryage, of forfetures, of amercymentes, of courtes, of lostes, of grene wax, and other profytes of casualtyes, whiche shalle growe yerely to infynyt some of gold and sylver to the King, to cast his loke theron, and to streche his arme to accomplyshe and performe the same, accordeing in every maner to the sayd constructions made therupon.

Also the Pander sayeth playnly, that the profycye is, that the King of Ingland shalle put this land in suche ordre, that all the warres of the land, wherof

wherof growyth all the vyces of the same, shalle cesse for ever; and after that, God shalle yeve suche grace and fortune to the same King, that he shalle, with the armye of Ingland and of Ireland, subdue the realme of Fraunce to his obeysaunce for ever, and shalle rescous the Grekes, and recover the grete cyttye of Constantynoplle, and shalle vanquyshe the Turkes, and wynne the Holy Crosse, and the Holly Land, and shalle dye Emperowre of Rome, and eternall blysse shalbe his ende.

Also the Pandar sayeth, that yf this lande were put ones in ordre, as aforesayd, hyt wolde be none other but a very Paradyce, delycious of all plesaunce, to respect and regard of any other land in this worlde; in asmuche as ther was never straunger ne alyen person, greate or small, that wolde avoyde therfro by his wyll, notwithstandeing the sayd mysordre, yf he myght the meanes to dwell theryn, his honestye saveyd; moche more wolde be his desyre, yf the land were ones put in ordre.[1]

II. King Henry VIII. *to the* Lord Lieutenant *and* Council *of* Ireland.[2]

Right trusty and right welbiloved, Mooste Reverend Fader in God, and Trusty and right welbiloved, We grete you well. And by suche letters and instructions as We have now of late receyved from you, jointely and severally, We not oonely understande the tyme and season, whan ye, with your retynues, arrived in that our Dominion of Irelande[3], but also in what rebellious state ye founde the same at your thider commyng; and how, after your power, ye have endevoured your self, aswell by policie, as by exploite of warre, to represse the temeritie of our Irishe rebelles there. How be it, for lacke of horsemen, vitailles, and goode assistence of our subgiettes within the Inglishe pale, ye cannot soo effectually persecute our enimyes, as ye mought, and wolde, if ye had a gode nomber of horsemen. Desiring us, therfore, not oonely to sende unto you the nomber of 80 horsemen to be taken owt of the north parties of

[1] The MS. 4792 in the British Museum contains (pp. 107—121.) a paper, entitled in Ayscough's catalogue, "Pandarus. Salus Populi, de rebus Hibernicis, temp. Hen. VI." The character of the writing is more modern by about a century than the date of the paper given in the text, as collected from intrinsic evidence. It contains much of the same matter, but omits many passages, and has others which are not found in the document above printed.

[2] From Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 71. The original minute, corrected by Ruthall, Lord Privy Seal, and Bishop of Durham.

[3] Thomas Earl of Surrey was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in April 1520, and landed with his family at Dublin on the 23d of May.

this

this our Reame, and of Wales, but also to auctorise you to discharge asmany fotemen of our garde, under your governaunce, as may pay the wages of the said horsemen. Signifying, also, unto Us, that many of our said garde, being householders, and welthie men, wolde bee contented to take 2^{d}. or 1^{d}. a daye, and retourne to our Reame of Englande; soo that after the werres were doon, they mought have their grote a day, as they had before. Shewing, ferthermore, suche conspiracye, as by meanes of thErle of Kildare[1] and his servauntes, is daylie there made with the Irishe rebelles ayeinst you. Concluding, finally, that without cune and liverey, ye cannot entertaigne the horsemen of that countrey, they being soo extreme in demaunding soo excessive wages, as your said letters purpourte more at lenght.

For which your diligent advertisementes, and substaunciall acquitailles, well approving the benivolent and towardly myndes that ye be of, to doo unto Us honour, pleasure, and acceptable service, We geve unto you, and every of you, our esspeciall and hertie thankes; willing and desiring you, after your accustumable politique, valiaunt, and circumspecte maners, soo to persever and contynue hereafter. And albeit ye have founde summe difficulties at this your begynnyng and entrie, aswell for lacke of knoulege of the countrey, and the variaunt condicions of thinhabitauntes of the same, as also for defaulte of vitailles, being geson and skant to be founde there; yet, inasmoche as noo grete enterprise of weightie impourtaunce can be well set furth and frutefully conduyted without difficulties, labours, paynes and diligence; We truste verily that, by your industrie and circumspecte providences, of this your hard and goode begynning shall folowe a better myddes, and, by the helpe of God, the best ende, in reducing that Reame to the knoulege of God, obeisaunce of Us, whereof shall ensue peax, wealthe, and prousperitie to all thinhabitauntes of the same.

And forasmoche as We perceyve right well, by your writinges, that the powers of our Irishe enimyes be assembled in soo many sundrye places, soo ferre distaunt the oon from thoder, in woddes, and other strong groundes, that it is not possible for fotemen to encounter with theym for resistence of their invasions, but that of necessitie ye must be fournisshed of moo horsemen for that purpose; We, therfore, singlerly myndyng thadvaunsement of your entendyd enterprises to be doon in our servyse there, have not oonly grauntyd your request and peticion, but also augmented the nombre of horsemen by you desiryd; and, for that purpose, have auctorised Sir William Bulmer, to prepaire oon 100 of light horsemen, in the northe parties of this our Reame, to be at

[1] Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, who had been twice Lord Deputy of Ireland, in 1513, and 1515.

Chester,

Chester, for thair transpourting, the 10th daye of August, under the leding of Sir John Bulmer, his sonne; who, as We bee infourmed, is to you, our Lieutenant, well knowen, and with whose companye We suppose ye wolbe well contented. We have also writen to our trusty and right welbiloved Sir Rice ap Thomas, to putt the nomber of fifte like horsemen of Walys, in arredinesse to be at the see side, for taking their passage the said 10th daie of August; to all whiche horsemen We have not oonely caused to be advaunced money for their cootes and conduyte to the see syde, but also a monethes wages before hande, after the rate of 9^{d}. by the day; the capitayn to receyve 2^{s}. 6^{d}. by the day, and the pety capitayn 18^{d}. For thentertaynement of whiche horses, after their arrivall in Irelande, We can bee agreable, and auctorise you, by thies presentes, to discharge as manye fotemen of the garde there, as their wages woll amounte for the stipende and finding of the said horsemen, after the said rate by the daye; assignyng to theym, and every of theym, so to be discharged, oone peny by the daie, to bee payd, at their retourne, out of our coffers, in fourme accustumed, till suche tyme as the werres shalbe finished in that lande, and than to receyve their grote by the daye, like as they did before. And forasmoche as ye write, that considering the scacitie and derthe of vitailles in those parties, the horsemen cannot conveniently live upon their wages after the said rate, therfore We be contented that ye suffre theym to take cune and liverey, after the auncient accustumable maner there used, till suche tyme as the said lande shalbe reduced to better obeisaunce, tranquillitie, and restfulnesse, and till ye shall have from Us contrarie commaundement.

And as touching the sedicious practises, conspiracies, and subtill driftes of thErle of Kildare, his servauntes, ayders, and assisters, We have committed the examinacion and triall of that matier to the Mooste Reverend Fader in God, our right entierly beloved Counsailour, Chauncelour, Cardinall, and Archebisshop of Yorke[1], who for suche waightie businesse, as he hath had in hande, by reason of the personall entervieus betwixt Us, the King of Romaynes, and our broder the Frenshe King[2], cowde not have noo convenient laisour hiderto soo to doo. Neverthelesse the said Erle is continually attending upon our said Chauncellour, whoo with his servauntes, named in your instructions, shall not oonely be examined, but also ferther tryed, as to lawe and justice shall apperteigne. And if he be founde culpable in the crymes and offences laide to his charge, in disgressing from his duetie of liegeaunce, by disturbing of the peax of that our

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[1] Wolsey.

[2] Henry VIII.'s interview with Charles V. and Francis I. took place between the 26th of May and 14th of July 1520.

land, and provoking any our subgiettes to the werres ayeinst you, We shall see hym in suche wyse condignely punysshed, that all other shall take fearfull example by hym, semblably to offende hereafter.

And with your politique and substaunciall direccion, taken by your mutuell consentes, for the sending of thArchebisshop of Dublin[1], our Chauncelour there, to Waterforde, for the pacifying of suche discourdes, debates, and variaunces as be betwixt thErle of Desmonde[2] and Sir Piers Butler[3], We geve unto you our speciall thankes. And right comfourtable newes it shulde be unto Us, to here and understande of a goode concourde betwixt theym, so that they, being soo pacified, mought, with their puysaunces, joyne and attende personnally with and upon you, our Lieutenaunte, for your better assistence in repressing the temerities of our rebellious Irishe enimyes; wherin We woll and desire you not oonely to endevour your self with all effecte, but also to practise with all other capitains and hedes, aswell of the Inglishery, as Irishery, to come in to you, as our obeisaunt subgiettes, and to serve Us in our werres for the reduccion of that lande to civilitie and due obedience, accourding to thair naturall duetie of liegeaunce. And if our writinges to theym, or any other thing to be by Us doon, may be advailible to further and advaunce those matiers, upon knoulege of your myndes therin, We shalbe glad to spede and doo the same with all convenient diligence. For now, at the begynnyng, politique practises may doo more goode than exploite of werre, till suche tyme as the strenght of the Irishe enimyes shalbe infebled and diminisshed, aswell by getting their capitains from theym, as by putting division amonges theym, soo that they joyne not togeders. Not doubting, but ye woll forsee and folowe all the best waies and meanes that ye can devise, aswell by policie, as by feate of werre, with provident circumspection, to bring our intended purpose to the desired ende. And after ye shall have atteigned, by suche preparatyves, any towardly comfourte, this yere, to bring our rebellious subgiettes there to summe obedience, We shall, ayeinst the next yere, God willing, augment and increase your power there, to annoye the said rebelles accordingly. Signifying unto you, that our broder, the Frenshe King, of his mere mocion, without any our desire, hath offred unto Us to send thider, for your assistence, suche nomber of horsemen or footemen, as We shall require of hym.

Finally, forasmoche as We knowe well, ye wolbe glade to here of our goode and honourable newes and prosperous successes, in all our causes and

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[1] William Rokeby.

[2] James, eleventh Earl of Desmond, who had lately succeeded his father, Maurice.

[3] Claimant of the Earldom of Ormond. See Note to p. 39.

matiers,

matiers, We therfore signifie unto you that after our dearest broder and nepheu, the King of Castile, had personally visited Us in our citie of Caunterburye[1], and bene entertaigned by Us in the mooste honourable fascion and pleasaunt maner, he repaired to his dominions and countrey; and We transpourted our self to our castle of Guynes, for thaccomplishment of the meting and entrevieu promised to be had betwixt Us, and our broder, the Frenshe King.[2]

III. The Earl of Surrey *to* King Henry VIII.[3]

Pleas it Your moost noble Grace to understand, that thArchebisshop of Dublyn, the Vycount of Gormanston[4], the Lord of Trymlettiston[5], and the Chief Justice[6], retourned from Waterford the 10th day of this moneth, where, with mouche defyculty, they have takyn a day of truys betwene the Erles of Desmond and Ormond, to endure unto Candylmas next comyng; and have takyn the othes of theym truely to serve Your Grace. And in like wise, they have takin the othes of the Lord Barry, the Lord Roche, Sir John Fitz Gerot, Sir John of Desmond, Sir Thomas of Desmond, Cormok Oge, Sir James Butler, Sir Edmond Butler, and Sir Piers Power. At whoos retorn hither, I was in the cuntre of Connyll OMore, with suche company as Your Grace sent with me out of England, 120 horsmen of this cuntre, and 300 kerne, in my wagis, having the leest assistence of the Englishry that ever was seen, for I had but 48 horsmen and 120 fotemen; of all others, of this cuntre. And after I had brenned divers townes, and forreyd the cuntre, and at dyvers skarmysshes men sleyne on booth parties, came to me thErll of Ormond, having aboutes 100 horsmen, 200 galoglas, and 200 kerne, of his awne. And with him came oon of the McMorghoos, with 24 horsmen, and my Lord Stywardes seneshall, with 24 horsmen, and nygh 100 kerne and fotemen, which came for my sake, and not for the said Erl of Ormondes. The said Erl brought also OKerroyll to speke with me, who, sethens my comyng, hath made oon invasyon, and doon

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1 Charles V. was at Canterbury on the 26th of May 1520.

2 The meeting between Henry VIII. and Francis I. at the Champ de Drap d'Or, took place in June of the same year, and the former returned to England in the middle of the following month.

3 From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 52.

4 William Preston, Viscount Gormanston.

5 John Barnewall, Lord Trymletiston.

6 Patrick Bermyngham.

mouche

mouche hurt. He is the moost estemed capteyn of the land; and, with mouche deficulte, he was sworn to Your Grace. After his othe takin, I examined him upon whate grounde he had moevid warre, considering he had promised Sir William Darcy to bee loving and servicehable unto me, youre Lieutenaunt. He said, he was so mouche hurt by Englishmen in tymes past, that nowe he sawe good season to revenge his hurtes. I said to him, that it was not for that cause, but that I knew well he had received a letter from the Erl of Kyldare, brought to him by an abbot, dwelling nere to him, which letter caused him to make warre. And he smyled. And both I, the Erl of Ormond, and Sir William Darcy, desirid him to showe the trouth of the said letter. And he answerid, saying he wold not distayne his honnour for the pavelion ful of gold; ne, if he had receivid any suche letter, wold disclose the same. Then the Erll of Ormond, he, and Sir William Darcy, comynyng to gathers in Irish, the said Erl and Sir William advised me to examen the said OKerroyles brethren, of the said letter, for the said OKerroyl wold it shuld come out by theym. And they both sware, that they stode by, and herd the said letter redd. I examyned theym, if it were signed with the Erl of Kildares hand; and they said they coud not rede, and therfor they knew not. I have promised to geve theym 20£ to bring me the said letter, soo it bee signed with his hand. And they have promised soo to doo, if they may; but they fere the letter was brenned. Within thees 12 das I trust to take him, that brought the letter; then I shal know the trouth. The said OKarroyll hath confessid to Conyll OMore, and to Brene OConoghour, who hath shewid me the same, that he woold have made no warre, yf he had not been sent unto by the Erl of Kildare soo to doo; and that for fere of his displeasure, if he shuld retorne, he durst noon otherwise doo. And for noo thing that the Erl of Ormond and Sir William coude doo, he wold be sworne to Youre Grace, unto the tyme I said to hym, that I knewe, assuridly, Your Grace wold never suffer the Erl of Kildare to bee your Deputie here more; and also to promise him to take a resonable peas with Connyll, suche as the Erll of Ormond, Sir William Darcy, Cormok Oge, and he, wold make; which, by the advise of all the best of the hoost, I consentid unto. And soo the peas is made, and Connyll sworn to Your Grace, and I had his son and heyre, and his brother, in plege, that he shall kepe peas, and bee true to Your Grace, and me, your Lieutenaunt; and I have delyverid theym to kepe, to the said Erl of Ormond. Also the same Erl, OKerroyll, Cormoge Oge, and oon Moriartagh Oge McMorgho, the best of the McMorghoos, bee suertis to me for his good abering, and sworne that, if he doo not as he is sworne to doo, they all shall make warre upon him.

And

And thus, thankid be God, notwithstanding the malicious practyses, to the contrary, of the Erl of Kildaris servauntes, this cuntre is now at peas with all the Irishre, saving only ONele, and a few light capeteyns. And to morow I wol ryde 40 myles hens to parle with ONele, who hath doon mouche hurt, and all in dispite of my comyng to this land; whereof I have good proofe. Wherfor, onles he make right large amendes, and put sufficient pleggis in my handes, I wol envade his cuntre, God willing, within thes 16 days.

Pleas it Your Grace also to understand, that now, at my comyng home hether, I founde ODownyl here; whom I fynde a right wise man, and as well determyned to doo to Your Grace all thinges, that may be to your contentacion and pleasure, as I can wyssh him to bee. He hath confessed to me that, a litill before my comyng, ONele sent to him, desiring him, assone as I were landed, to moeve warr against me; saying that, for his part, he wold soo doo, for he was desirid by the Erl of Kildare soo to doo. To whom ODownyl answerid, that he was your true subgiet, and who soo ever Your Grace appoyntid to have the rule here, he wold truely serve and defend him. He hath promysid me to envade ONele on his side, when I shall envade him on my syde. And in comynyng with him of Youre Graces affaires here, he said, "If ever the Kyng "send the Erl of Kildare hether in auctoritie agayne, let the King make him "an assuraunce, by indenture of this land, to him and to his heires for ever."

Pleas it Your Grace, sethens my comyng into this land, I have been soo troubled with warr, in soo many places, that I never yet might have leyser to call the Counsaill of the land unto me, to devise with theym, whate ways were best to bee takin, to bring the Irishmen to summe good order; and also to loke upon suche causes, as might encreas Your Gracis revenues here. But now, as soone as I may make an ende with ONele, I shall assemble the Counsaill of the land, and then I, and others of Your Gracis Privey Counsaill here, shall doo oure best. But, Sir, undoutidly we all feare that the said Irishmen wol not bee brought to noo good order, onles it bee by compulsyon, which woll not bee doon without a great puissaunce of men, and great costis of money, and long contynuaunce of tyme. Unto the which, whensoever it shall please Your Highnes to bee content to put to your Royall power, no doubt but Your Grace shall, at lenght, obteyne the conquest of this land; the soyle wherof may bee well comparid in goodnes unto your Royalme of England.

Also, pleas it Your Grace to understand, the great sicknes is soo universally spredd in the English pale, that, with mouche diffyculty, I can fynde the means to lodge Your Gracis yomen of your moost honnorable Gard, by 40, 30, and 20, in townes where noon infeccion is; of whom many call daily upon me, to have license to goo home; summe alleging that they can not live on their wagis; summe,

summe, that they have suche fermes and husbandry at home, that oonles they may have lycense to depart, they shalbe undoon; summe, beeing a litill seke, rekyne to dy, onles they may retourne into England to take the ayer there. Unto whom I have made oon answer, that I dare geve license to never oon, unto the tyme I know your gracious pleasure. Sir, undoubtidly noo thing is soo troubleous to me, here, as the universell infeccion of the great siknes, which daily encresith in this towne, which is the oonly refuge of us all here, to bee vyctailed for any exployt, or invasion to bee made. For without the help of this towne, and Drodath[1], all the Englishre can not victaill thoos that came with me out of England, to make anny invasion, for 6 daies.

Sir, I trust Your Grace is content to accomplish my peticion, that I made in my letters, sent to Your Grace by Applyard, to have auctoritie, by your gracious letters, to mynysh your fotemen here, and with their wagis to wage horsmen, aswele of suche, as I trust Your Grace wol send out of England, as of others of this cuntre birth. For, undoubtid, Your Gracis mony, spent upon fotemen here, shall never come to good effect. As knowith Almighty God, who have Your Grace in his moost tender tuycion. Writtin at your Citie of Dublyn, the 23 day of July.

Your most humble subject,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. Surrey.

To the Kinges moost noble Grace.

IV. The Earl of Surrey *to* Wolsey.[2]

Most humble recommandyng me to Your Grace. Plesith the same to understond, that becawse all the Counsell hath now wryten to the Kynges Grace off such newes as be here, I forbere to wryght to you of the same. Thanked be God, at this oure, this londe is in as gode pease, as it was this many yeres, and have war with no man off grete poure, save Onele and hys adherentes, in to whos contree, with Godes grace, I woll enter the 11 day of this moneth, and entende not to leve hym, unto the tyme he be ordred, as I woll commande hym to be. Notwithstondyng, I have not a lytle to do to get sufficient company with me, because off the mervelous deth, which is in all his contree, which is so sore,

[1] Drogheda.

[2] From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. xi. part 2. leaf 1. It is wholly in Lord Surrey's handwriting.

that

that all the people be fled out of their howsis in to the feldes and wodes, wher they, in lyk wise, dy wonderffully, so that the bodes ly ded, lyk swyne unberyed. Also in the 4 sheres here of the Inglishre, I thynk is not 4 townes or vylages, but that they dy therin. Thre off my howshold folkes hath sykened in my howse, and dyed in the towne, within 7 days last past; notwithstondyng I am fayne to kepe my wiff and chylderne here still, for I know no place in this contre, wher to send them in clene aire. Wherfor most humble I besech Your Grace, to yeve me leve to send my wiff and childerne in to Walys or Lancasshire, to remayne nere the see syde, unto the tyme it shall please God to sease this deth here; and I shall take such fortewne as God woll send, for, whiles I lyve, feare of deth, nor other thyng, shall cause me to forbere to serve my Master, wher it shalbe his plesure to commande me.

Besechyng Your Grace to cause my Lord of Ormond[1] to have the patent sent off the Tresourer off this lond; for sith my commyng he hath best deserved it, and I dout not woll do hereafter. Also I besech Your Grace to wright letters off thank unto the seid Erle, and also unto Sir William Darcy, who is never absent fro me, in war, nor here. I wold not have forborne hym, sith my commyng to this lond, for all the plate I have. I besech Your Grace to take some payne to wright som tyme to me, for never, sith my departure fro London, I had letter from the Kynges Grace, nor you, and also to contynew my gode Lorde. And duryng my liff, to the uttermost of my litle poure, I shall endevour my selff to serve and please the Kynges Grace, and you. As God knowyth, who have Your Grace in his blissed tuicion. Scribled at Dublyn, the 3 day of August, with the hande off

Your most bownden,

T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates gode Grace.

[1] Sir Piers Butler, who claimed to be Earl of Ormond, on the death of Thomas Earl of Ormond in 1515, was not finally recognized as such, till 1538, though in the patent, by which he was appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, dated 6th March 1522, he was denominated "Petrus Butteler "Comes Ormund'," without qualification.

V. THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEAS it Your moost noble Grace to bee advertised, that in persecuting suche invasyons, as ONele and M^c^Mahun comittid unto youre subgietes here, upon the aryvall of me, Your Graces Lieutenaunt, I, your said Lieutenaunt, entrid in the cuntreys of the said ONele and M^c^Mahun the 11th day of August, where I dyd suche annoysaunce, as I might. The circumstance wherof I forbere to write, for somuche as Sir John Wallop was personelly present in all the progresse, which can reaport unto Your Grace all the effect thereof, at lenght.

Furthermor, pleas it Your Grace, we have sent unto Your Highnes diverse letters, contersernyng oure affayres here, at sundry tymes, whereof we have had noon answer, as yet, from Your Grace, my Lord Cardenall, or any of your moost honnorable Counsaill. Beseching, therfor, Your Grace, that we may understand youre gracious pleasure, touching the answer of oure said letters.

Furthermore, where it pleasid Your Grace, at oure departing out of England, to avaunse unto me, your Lieutenaunt, wages for oon half yere, and to thandes of Sir John Style[2] wages for your servauntes and souldeours here for 6 moneths; whereof remayneth now in the handes of the said Sir John, but only oon monethis wages, which shalbe payed the 13th day of September; and the 12th day of October the souldeours wyll call for new wages, and yf they then shuld lakk payment thereof, they shuld not oonly lack victailes, which wyll not bee had here without redy money, but also shuld cause theym to surmyse summe resonable grounde to depart into England: wherfor, considering that for the moost part the wynde is contrarious, and servith not to passe out of England hether, it may please Your Grace to avaunse newe wages, aswele to me, your Lieutenaunt, as for the souldeours, to bee here the said 12th day of October. For all your revenues here, due at Our Lady Day, in Lent, were receyvid by thErll of Kildares officers; soo that noon of your revenues shalbe

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[1] From Letters to the King and Council, in the Chapter House, Vol. v. No. 109.

[2] He was Vice Treasurer of Ireland; and by his letter of the 27th of August, to Wolsey, (which is in the Chapter House, Bag "Ireland," No. 27.) enforced this complaint of want of money to pay the troops. In this latter he states the sickness to have been such, that "the "Courtes of the Trynety Term were not holden, nor kept in mynestryng the Kinges lawes, "only except the Excheker, and no resort was thereinto, for every man excusid him by "the warrys."

due

due unto Mighilmas, and can not bee levyed till nere Cristmas; and the subsidy in like wise.

And by cause Sir John Wallop hath been with me, your Lieutenaunt, in all my besynes here, in the warres, and hath also seene all other affayres here, we sende hym to Your Grace, to thentent that he shuld, better then a nother that hath not seene somoche, enfourme Your Highnes of suche questions concernyng this youre lande, as it shall pleas Your Grace to demaunde of hym. Besechyng the Blissed Trynitie long to contynue Your most noble Grace in prosperitie and honnour. Writtin at your Citie of Dublyn, the 25th day of August.

Your most humble subjectes,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY. WILL. DUBLIÑ. J. RAWSON, Põr of Kyllmañ.

(*Signed*) JOHN STILE. PATRIK BERMYNGHAM[1], Juge.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges most noble Grace.

VI. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[2]

MOST humble recommandyng me to Your Grace. Plesith it you to understonde, that I have now sent Sir John Walope to the Kynges Grace and you, aswell to enfforme you off all the circumstaunce off the affaires here, sith my commyng to this londe, as also to shew to Your Grace my poure opinion in dyvers thinges, that me thynk convenyent to be put in execusion; to whom I besech [*Your Grace*] yeve credence, and also to be his gode Lord, for undowted he sh[*albe the*] man right mete to do the Kynges Grace gode service in his warrys. [*He is*] paynfull, diligent, and, with goode will, woll take payne in executyng [*suche*] thynges, as, fro tyme to tyme, I commande hym to do.

And wher as, sith my commyng to this londe, I have be so contynewelly ocupied in the warrys, that I have had no leysour to have the Consell to gyders to loke for caussis consernyng the Kynges proffight; now I havyng peas with all Irishmen (wherein is no trust off long contynewaunce) shall thys weke assemble to gyders, and devyse aswell for causis consernyng the Kynges proffight, as also for Actes of Parlment. B[*eseching*] Your Grace to contynew

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[1] Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

[2] This letter is holograph. From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 2. leaf 58. A few words are mutilated.

my goode Lorde, and the Holy Trinete send y[*ou all*] off your hertes desires. Scribled at Dublyn, the 27 day of August.

Also plesith it Your Grace to understonde, the Busshop off Cork[1] is ded; and grete [*sute is made*] to me to wright for men off this contre; some say it is worth 200 markes by yere, some say [*more*]. My poure advyse shuld be that it shuld be bestowed upon som Inglish man[2]. The Busshop of Leyghlyn[3], your servaunte, havyng bothe, me thynk myght do gode service here. I besech Your Grace let none off this contre have it, nor none other, but such as woll dwell theropon, and such as dare, and woll speke, and roffle, when nede shalbe.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To my Lorde Legates goode Grace.

VII. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[4]

PLEASITH Your Grace to understand, that syth the departure of Sir John Wallop, souldeours, to the nombre of 18, have conspired and sworn to gythers to kepe others counsail, and to stele a fyssher boot of 16 tonne here, and to goo to the see, and soo to gete summe better ship, and then to goo to the see costis of England, and to bee rovers. Wherupon I, having knowlage, have takyn theym all, and have put theyme in preson. I have examyned theym, and they have confessed as before. Where upon I have axed the advise of the Jugis, and

[1] According to Sir James Ware, John Fitz Edmund became Bishop of Cork in 1499, and was succeeded by John Bennet, who died in 1536, but he neither gives the dates of Fitz Edmond's death, nor of Bennet's succession, which are nearly fixed by this letter.

[2] On the 6th of September Lord Surrey concurred with his Council in a letter to Wolsey, (which is among the Cardinal's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 2, leaf 22.) recommending "Waltier Wellesley, Priour of a House of Chanons, called Conall, a famous clerc, "notid the best in the land, a man of gravitie and vertuous conversation, and a singular mynde "having to Englishe ordre," to succeed to the vacant See, which is stated to be under 100 merks value. Wellesley refused to take the Bishoprick, unless allowed to keep his Priory in commendam. In 1531 he was made Bishop of Kildare, and allowed to retain his Priory, and he held both those benefices till his death in 1539.

[3] This must apply to Thomas Halsay, LLD., an Englishman, who was employed at the Council of Lateran, and is said never to have seen his diocese of Leighlin, having died at Westminster on his return to England. Ware states his death to have happened "about the year 1519," but he appears to have fixed it rather too early.

[4] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 63. This letter must have been seen by Cox. See his History of Ireland, p. 209.

lerned

lerned men here, and they sey, that considering they have doon noon act, but oonly promysid to doo, the comon lawe wol not suffer theym to dye therfor. And divers of theym have seen my patent, wherin is none auctoritie to put theym to deth, but oonly after the course of the comon lawe. I movid Your Grace, that I might have had as large auctoritie, as my Lord Marques had in Spayne [1], and as I had upon the see [2], to punysh thoos that bee in wagis; which is requesite to bee had, or els it is not possible to kepe this company in good order. For, if I shuld make a proclamasion, upon peyne of deth, as it shalbe nedefull many tymes to doo, I have none auctoritie to put any of theym to deth, that shall breke the same.

The victails bee soo dere here, and specialy drynke, that undoubtid the souldeours can not live on 4^{d}. a day, and reserve any thyng to by theyme arrayment withall. Wherfor, myn awne men, beeing in wagis out of my house, make to me soo pyteful compleynt, that I am enforcid to take theym into my house. There was never soo litill plenty of corne in this cuntrey, as is now; and thene the nomber of souldeours that bee here, moo then was wont to bee, causith the more skarsety and derth, soo that whete is sold for 16^{s}. a quarter, and malt for a mark. The premissis considerid, I beseche Your Grace to have pyte of the pore souldeours, and to encreas their wagis oon peny more a day; which if it shall like Youre Grace to doo, me think were better to geve theym by way of reward, to helpe theym, whiles vittailes bee soo dere, then in payment of wagis, bicause of the precydent that might ensue therof. Undoubtid, I write not to Your Grace hereof without nede.

To advertise Your Grace further of newes here; there is summe bissynes betwene the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond, and their parttakers, which I have sent to pacyfy; and yet have noon answer, whate shal come thereof. Shortely I entend to goo in thoos parties, to set theym in good order.

All Irishmen of this land bee at peas, and shew theym silf desirous of my good wil. I can not assure Your Grace of long contynuaunce thereof, for there is smale trust in their promyses.

The deth contynuyth in every place in this English pale, and hath been sorer in this cittie this weke, then it was any tyme this yere.

Pleas it Your Grace to understand, that syth my comyng into this land, I never herd from the Kinges Highnes, or Your Grace; ne any of my servauntes, that I have sent to Your Grace, is yit retourned. I thynk the wyndes, at the

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[1] The Marquis of Dorset went with an expedition to Spain in 1513. His commission, as General of the Army, is in Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 365.

[2] As Lord High Admiral.

see costes of England, wol not serve theym to come[1]. Beseching Your Grace to see, that mony may bee sent hether in tyme, for here is noon to be borowed, and the wyndis many tymes contynue long contrarious on England coost, to come hether. And if the army shuld lak, as God knowith I doo all redy, I know not how to order theyme; for mouche peyne I have to kepe theym here now, they beeing wele payd. I beseche Your Grace to see, that no license of absenty passe the Kinges Grace.

Sith the writing of the premissis, came hether to me OConour, and OKaroyll is brother, called Donogh, a nother then any of the twoo, that I wrote to Your Grace of before. He hath sworne, that he was present, whene the Abbot Heke delivered to his brother OKeroyll a letter from the Erll of Kildare. He can speke noon English, and therfor I causid Justice Brymyngham and Sir William Darcy examyn him, whoos confession I send your Grace herein closed, signed with their handes. I have doon asmouche as I can, to gete the said Abbot, but as yit I can not come by him; but I shall doo the best I can to gete him. Me thynk, yf Your Grace leyde to the Erl of Kildaris charge, that suche a letter he sent to OKaroyll by the Abbot of Monaster Evyn, in Irish, and that both the said Abbot and OKeroyl have confessid the same, and the said Abbot is comyng to advowe the same afore him, he can not wele deny the same. Your Grace can better order this examynacion, then I can write. I feare ye shal fynde him right obstynat to confess any thyng, to his owne hurt.

Also, it is thought by the Counsail here, that if Your Grace caused oon William Delahide to bee takin and put into the Toure, and to bee payned to confess the trouth, that no man can disclose more of the Erlis counsaill, then he; for of al men livyng he is oon of the moost secrete with him, and is his secretary, and is thought that he shuld write the said letter; for undoubtid eyther the Abbot, or he, wrote it. And the said Abbot and Delahide came both to gethers out of England, and my servaunt Cowley, in oon ship, 16 days afore Ester.

Here is daily suche reaportis made, and brought out of England, that the said Erl shuld mary the Kinges kyneswoman, and have his rowme and rule here agayne, that aswele Englishmen as Irish, beeing aferd therof, daily come unto me, and say, that, if he come agayne, this land was never in suche trouble,

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[1] Hence it appears that the second letter in this volume, which, from its internal evidence, cannot have been written later than the end of July, had not reached Dublin on the 6th of September. The reason of the delay is suggested in the text, and in the course of the volume many instances will be found of passengers being detained several weeks on the English side of the Channel.

as it shall bee; for suche Irishmen, as have followed my mynde, and served me, wol loke to bee distroyed by him, and for feare thereof wol combynd theym soo to gydders, that they wol rather adventure to destroy all thEnglishery, then to bee distroyed theym silf.

Sir, other newes I have not at this tyme to advertise Your Grace of, and as they shalbe occurrant, from tyme to tyme, soo shall Your Grace bee certified with diligence, God willing, who have Your Grace in his moost blessed tuycion. Writtin at the Cittie of Dublyn, the 6th day of September.

Your most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

Confession of Donogh OCarroll.

The saying of Donogh OKeroyll, brother unto OKeroyll, consernyng the letter sent by the Erle of Kildare to OKeroyll, which he hath deposid upon the Evangelest to bee true.

He saith, that in Ester weke last past, the Abbot of Monaster Evyn, called Heke, brought a letter to OKeroyll out of England, on the behalf of the Erle of Kildare, wherin was writtin thes wordes, in Irish, "Lyfe and helth to "OKaroyll, from the Erll of Kildare. There is noon Irishman in Irland, that "I am better content with, then with you; and when ever I come into "Irland, I shall doo you good, for any thing that ye shall doo for me; and any "displeasure, that I have doon to you, I shall make you amendes therfor. "Desiring you to kepe good peas to Englishmen, tyll an English Deputie "come there; and when any English Deputie shall come thydder, doo your "best to make warre upon Englishmen there, except suche as bee towardes "me, whom ye know wele your silf."[1]

Item, the said Donogh, beeing examyned, if thErl of Kildare's signe manuel were upon the said letter, said, he knew not his signe, but he did marke, that it was sealed with a seall having a cross, which he thought was the said Erl is seall.

(*Signed*) PATRIK BERMYNGHEM, Juge. WILLAM DARCY.

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[1] Kildare's letter is printed by Leland, Vol. 2. p. 132.

VIII. The Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

PLEAS it Your moost noble Grace to bee advertised, that this day came unto me a messenger from thErll of Ormond, with a letter expressing of a great discomfiture lately gevin upon thErll of Desmond, on Fryday last past, by Cormok Oge, McCarry Reagh, and Sir Thomas of Desmond[2], as by the contynue of the said letter, which I send unto Your Grace herein closed, pleyner it may appere. And, as the messenger reaportith, in the sayd conflyct were slayne, of the said Erll of Desmondes party, 18 baners of galoglas, which bee comonly in every baner 80 men, and the substance of 24 baners of horsmen, which bee 20 under every baner, at the leest; and under some, 30, 40, and 50. And emonges others was slayne the said Erll is kynesman, Sir John Fitz Gerot; and Sir John of Desmond takyn, and hys son slayne; and Sir Gerald of Desmond, a nother of his uncles, sore wonded and takyn; with many others, whereof the certainte yit apperith not.

Sir, oon ways it is no great hurt that he is punyshed; for of late he hath lent more to the counsayl of Irishmen, then of me, Youre Gracis Lieutenaunt, and of others of Youre Gracis Counsail here; and, contrary the direccion lately takyn at Waterford, by my Lord of Dublyn and others, hath invaded thoos that now have over throwne him, which bee swore to Youre Grace; and woold not forbere soo to doo, for divers commaundementes sent by me, Your Gracis Lieutenaunt, to him, upon his alligeance, to desist.

A nother way his dyscomfyture and losse may bee right hurtfull. The moost part of theym, that overthrew him, bee Irishmen; and I feare it shall cause theyme to wex the more prowder, and also shal cause other Irishmen to take pryde therin, setting the les by Englisshmen. Notwithstanding the said Cormok, who was chyef capteyne, is the man of all the Irishmen of the land,

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[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 415.

[2] Ware places the engagement between Desmond and Cormok Oge in 1521; but the allusion in this letter to the recent reconciliation of Desmond and Ormond, which was effected by the Archbishop of Dublin at Waterford in June 1520, the opinion here expressed of ODonell, compared with that contained in Lord Surrey's despatch of 14th September 1521, and the ending of the current month's wages on the Thursday fortnight, the 11th of October, which coincides with the fact, as stated in Surrey's despatch of the 25th of August, and in a letter from the Vice Treasurer to Wolsey of the 27th of that month, shew the engagement to have taken place in 1520.

save

save ODownyl, that I thynk wold moost gladly fall to English order. And undoubtid, yf the said Erl had not invaded his cuntrey, and brent and distroyed the same, he wold not have attemptid any thyng against him; and this discomfeture was in the said Cormok Oges owne cuntre.

And bycause it is ferid, and not unlike soo to bee, that the said Erll of Desmond shuld now newely confedre with some Irish men, and geve theyme part of his landes, to help hym to bee revengid of this discomfyture, I have now writtin a letter to hym, the coppy whereof I send Your Grace herein closed. And to morow, with Godes grace, I shall goo into Mounster ward, and doo the best I can to bryng every thyng to good order. And if thErll of Desmond had observed my comaundementes, as thErl of Ormond hath doon, he had not had any suche displeasure at this tyme: whoos foly, with beleving of light counsaill, hath put the contre of Mounster in great daunger to bee brought into Irishmens subjeccion; onles by my comyng thydder, and with good pollecy, it may bee withstandid. Beseching Almighty Jhesus to graunt Your Grace the accomplishment of your moost noble hertes desire. Writin at your Castell of Dublyn, the 25th day of September.

Sir, onles Your Gracis mony come hether shortly, we can not soo long remayn in Mounster, as it were convenyent for us to doo; for on Thursday come fourtnyght shall ende this monethis wagis, and ther can no man have no thyng here without redy mony. Wherfor we must soo order oure journay, that we must bee retourned by the said Thursday, onles the mony come; which we feare shall cause many thinges to bee left unperfectid.

Your most humble subjectes,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Signed*) JOHN STILE. PATRIK BERMYNGHM̃, Juge.

IX. THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to understand, that syth the writing of our letters to the Kinges Grace, signed with moo of oure handes then bee now here present, we have herd divers yll reaportes of thErl of Desmond, in his moving warr unto

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 2. leaf 24.

divers

divers of the Kinges Gracis subgietes, and other Irishmen lately sworn to His Highnes; off which reaportes we feare part be true. And to the entent all varyances betwene thErllis of Desmond and Ormond, and theyre adherentes, might be pacyfyed, entendyng to doo our best therein, or the fyer were to sore kendelyd betwixt theym, where we were determyned afore to have goon thydderwardes on Monday come a sevynight, now, for more expedicion, wee bee concluded to begyne oure journay rather by 6 days, and to doo the best of oure powers to pacify all their discordes.

And where the Kinges Grace hath now sent hether oon hundrith horsmen, with Sir John Bulmere, yeving us auctoritie to discharge asmany of His Gracis Garde, as may pay the wagis of theyme, after 9^{d}. a man by the day, we have not yet seene theym all, for many of theym arryved not tyll yesterday, which by the reaport of oure servauntes, and others that have seen theyme, bee not soo good personages, as were here before, and many of theym right yll horsid, and emonges theym all not passing 30 speris. Oure desire was to the Kinges Grace, and you, to have furnysshed us with Northomberland speris, and with summe Walsh speris, and not with bowes on horsbak. For yf it had stand, or may stand, with the Kinges pleasur and yours, to geve us auctoritie to take into wagis, and to discharge out of wagis, as we shall thynk expedient, we doubt not to furnysh His Grace, for suche wagis as they now take, with moche better personagis, better horsed, and more mete for the warr here, then the bowes on horsbak, that bee now come, for suche wagis, as Your Grace hath appoyntid theym to receve. Undoubtidly it is comenly reaportid here, as it is of trouth, that we have dischargid divers tall men, and taken in their stedis many symple personages; beseching Your Grace that where we bee, and daily shalbe, thoos that shalbe next the daungier, to geve us ample power to furnysh us with suche as we thynke shalbe moost mete to withstand the said daungier. And thus the Holly Trynytie have Your Grace in his moost tender tuycion. Written at Dublyn, the 25th day of September.

Your most humble subjectes[1],

(*Signed*) T. SURREY. WILL DUBLIN.

(*Signed*) W. VIC. of G.[2] PATRIK BERMYNGHM, Juge. JOHN STILE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legattis Grace.

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[1] This is probably only a clerical error.
[2] William, Viscount Gormanstown.

X. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertised, that during all the last hoostyng, in August[2], upon Iryshmen, thErll of Ormond accompanyd me with a right good power of horsmen, and also of fotemen. And over that, where at this tyme there was lymytted betwixt me, and suche Irishmen as have warre with the Kinges subgietes, a day of comynycacion or treatyse, the said Erll, with good diligence, hath come above foure score myles, from his awne parties, to accompany and ayde me at the said treatyse; and at all tymes shewith hym self toward, to doo the Kinges Grace thankful service, suche as no man in this land dooth, and to me right great ayde assistence. In consideracion wherof, I humbly besech Your Grace, that the Acte of Parlment, which I sent to Your Grace long sethens, concernyng the said Erll, may bee sent hether with all deligence, soo as it might passe at this next syttyng of the Parlment, whiche shall begynne the 17th day of October[3]. And I thynke the syttyng may not long contynue, but that I shall bee constreyned to proroge or adyorne it, by reason of the great trouble and byssynes with the warre of Iryshmen. Also, pleas it Your Grace to understand, that the said Erll, every wynter, is soo sore vexed and greved with the gowte in his fote, that he may not ryde, ne travaill; and yf I shuld have never somouche nede of his assistence, he may not repair to me, and his men wol never goo furth, onles they may have the said Erll, orels hys son and heyre[4], with theyme, to bee their capetayne. Wherfor I humbly beseche Your Grace, that the said Erll is son, James[4], beeing with Your Grace, may bee sent home with delygence, for thentent forsaid, which may doo the Kinges Grace right good service here, and me assistence, specialy at suche tymes as the said Erll may not labour; humbly beseching Your Grace tenderly to consider the great ayde and loving assistence I have of the said Erll, both in the felde, and in his discrete counsail, with his famylier conversacion, which is to me great eas and comfort, that therfor Your Grace wold wouchesauf, according my speciall trust, to shew unto the said Erll suche

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 1. leaf 10.

[2] Against ONeil.

[3] The printed Irish Statute Book does not notice any Parliament between 7 Henry VIII. and the 4th of June, 13 Henry VIII.

[4] James, called Lord Butler.

 favours,

favours, in bryefe expedycion of the premissis, that he may fele and perceyve to spede the better therin, by means of this my humble intercession and peticion. And the Blissed Trynytie have Your Grace in his moost tender tuycion. Writtin at Dublyn, the thirde day of October.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis Grace.

XI. THE LORD LIEUTENANT AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to understand, that the second day of this moneth we came to this towne; and yesterday came hether thErl of Desmond, and to morow we wol goo to Waterford, and thErlis of Desmond and Ormond with us. We have also sent for their kynesmen and adherentes of both parties, and we shall doo oure best to bryng theyme to peas, concord, and amytie, which if it may bee doon, and from hensfurth contynued, shall greatly further the Kingis entendid purpose. We fynde the said Erl of Desmond right confourmable by his wordes, and shewith hym to bee content in all thingis to follow the Kinges pleaser, and to bee ordred after our advyse and counsaill. And asfor thErll of Ormond, we can not desire to have hym more confourmable than he is. And by our next letters we shall certify Your Grace whate conclusyon we shall take with theyme. Beseching Your Grace to helpe that the varyaunce betwixt Waterford and Rosse[2] may bee broght to some good ende, and that they may have good and spedy expidicion; for the which both the parties have desirid us to write unto Your Grace.

And where, at our beeing with Your Grace, divers of us moeved you to cause a maryage to bee solempnysed betwene thErll of Ormondes son, beeing with Your Grace, and Sir Thomas Boleyns doughter; we thynk, yf Your Grace causid that to bee doon, and also a fynall ende to bee made betwene

[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 2. leaf 26.

[2] It appears by a letter from Lord Surrey to Wolsey of 15th September, (leaf 68 of the same volume, which contains the letter in the text,) that a controversy had been long depending before the Privy Council in England, between these two towns, "concernyng certain artycles of lyberties "and pryveleges."

theyme,

theyme, for the tytle of landes depending in varyaunce[1], it shuld cause the said Erll to bee the better wylled to see this land brought to good order; not withstanding, undoubtidly, we see not but he is as wele mynded thereunto, and as redy to geve his good advyse and counsaill in all causes for the furtherance of the same, as we can wyssh hym to bee. Other newes we have noon to certyfy Your Grace of, at this tyme, and as they shalbe occurrant, soo Your Grace shalbe advertised. Thus the Blissed Trynytie have Your Grace in his tender tuycion. Writin at Clonemel, the 6th day of October.

(*Signed*) T. SURREY. WILL DUBLIN. H. MIDEN.[2] J. RAWSON, Pōr of Kylm.

(*Signed*) JOHN STILE.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lorde Legatis Grace.

XII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* SURREY.[3]

RIGHT trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, &c. And by the contentes of suche letters, instruccions, and reapourtes, as We have receyved and herd, aswell by and of our welbiloved servaunt, Sir John Walop, as by sundry other your letters, summe bering date in August, and summe other the 23. 24. and 25. daies of September, We not oonely understande, to our singuler consolacion and comfourte, your valiaunt acquitailles, provident circumspeccion, and politique demeanour, with all towardly diligence doon and employed in and aboute the reduccion of that our Dominion, and the disobeisaunt subgiettes of the same, to pesible governaunce, due order, subjeccion, and obeisaunce, but also the greate labours, travailes, and paynes, that ye daily susteigne and take, aswell in causing the chieff capitains, by recognicion of their naturall dueties of liegiaunce, to

[1] This variance arose from Thomas Earl of Ormond, the predecessor of Sir Piers Butler, having left two daughters and coheirs, one of whom, Margaret, married Sir William Boleyn, and was mother of Sir Thomas. The one therefore claimed as heir male, and the others as heirs general. Sir Piers had no objection to terminate the variance by the proposed intermarriage, for he appears to have written a letter himself to Wolsey on the subject. It however did not take effect. In 1528 Sir Piers was content to accept the Earldom of Ossory, and Sir Thomas Boleyn in the following year received that of Ormond. But after Boleyn's death, in 1538, Sir Piers was recognized as Earl of Ormond.

[2] Hugh Inge, Bishop of Meath, translated in 1523 to Dublin.

[3] From a Minute, corrected by Bishop Ruthall, in Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 71. It must have been seen by Cox.

comme in unto you, as also in removing thoccasion and causes of division and discordes amonges the gretest Lordes, whiche hathe bene oon of the chieff causes of the disorder of that lande, reducing theym, by good mediacion, to peax, amitie, and concourde; wherin ye have doon, and dailye doo, unto Us right grete, honourable, and acceptable service, to your grete laude and preise, and to our singuler pleasure and contentacion; geving unto you our right esspeciall and cordiall thankes for the same, assuring you that We shall not putt your said laudable acquitailles and services in oblivion, but shall in suche wise bee remembred of the same, as thing doon to that Prince, whiche can and woll consider and remember good and faithfull servauntes, according to their desertes, wherunto ye may verily truste; willing and desiring you, therfore, soo to persever, and contynue accordingly.

And, inasmoche as the charge and enterprise, to you commyttyd, is this ferfurth advaunced, that Onele, and thoder Irishe capitains, be not oonely commen in, and accourding to their naturall duetie of liegeaunce, have recognised Us as their Soverain Lorde, but also have obliged theym unto you, for their fidelities towardes Us; We, and our Counsail thinke and verilie beleve, that in caas circumspecte and politique waies be used, ye shall not oonely bring theym to ferther obedience, for thobservaunce of our lawes, and governyng theym selffes accourding to the same, but also folowing justice, to forbere to deteigne rebelliously suche landes and dominions as to Us in right apperteigneth; whiche thing must as yet rather be practised by sober waies, politique driftes, and amiable persuasions, founded in lawe and reason, than by rigorous dealing, comminacions, or any other inforcement by strenght or violence. And, to be plain unto you, to spende so moche money for the reduccion of that lande, to bring the Irishry in apparaunce oonely of obeisaunce, without that they shulde observe our lawes, and resourte to our courtes for justice, and restore suche dominions as they unlaufully deteigne from Us; it were a thing of litle policie, lesse advauntage, and leste effecte. Wherfore We thinke right expedient, that at suche assemblies and commune counsailes, whan ye shall call the Lordes, and other capitains of that our lande, before you, as of goode congruence ye must nedes soo doo, ye, after and amonges other overtures, by your wisdomes than to be made, shulde declare unto theym the greate decaye, ruyne, and desolacion of that commodious and fertile lande, for lacke of politique governaunce and good justice, whiche can never be brought in goode order, oonelesse the unbridled sensualities of insolent folkes be browght under the rewles of the lawes. For reames without justice be but tirannyes and robories, more consonaunt to beestely appetites, than to the laudable liff of reasonable creatures. And where as wilfulnesse dooth reigne by strenght, without lawe

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or justice, there is noo distinction of proprietie in dominions, ne yet any man may saye, this is myn; but by strenght the weker is subduyd and oppressid, whiche is contrarye to all lawes, boothe of God and man. And it may be said unto theym, in goode maner, that like as We, being their Soveraigne Lorde and Prince, though of our absolute power We be above the lawes, yet We woll in noo wise take any thing from thaym, that rightuously apperteigneth to theym; soo, of goode congruence, they be bounde, boothe by lawe, fidelitie, and ligeaunce, to restore unto Us our oune. For it so moche toucheth our honour to conserve our rightfull inheritaunce, that We neither may, ne woll, suffre any Prince, of what soever preheminence he bee, to usurpe or detaigne any parte therof, but, by our puysaunce, to represse suche usurpacion and detencion accordingly. And moche more it soundeth to our dishonour to permitte and suffer our awne subgiettes to deteigne violently any parte of landes to Us ryghtuously appertaynyng. Endevouring your self by these and other persuasions, as ye shall thinke goode, to cause theym to knowe the waies of justice, wherby they shalbe the rather moved, not oonely to incline therunto, but also to leve suche unlaufull and sensuall demeanours, as they have hiderto used. How be it, our mynde is not, that ye shall impresse in thaym any opinion by fearfull wordes, that We intende to expelle theym from their landes and dominions, laufully possessed, but to conserve theym in their awne, and to use their advise, aide, and assistence, as of faithfull subgiettes, to recover our rightfull inheritaunce; ne yet that We be myndyd to constrayne thaym precisely tobserve our lawys ministeryd by our Justices there, but under goode maner to schow unto thaym, that of necessitie it is requisite that every reasonable creature be governyd by a law. And, therfore, if thay schall allege, that our lawys, there usid, be to extreme and rigorous, and that it schuld be very hard for thaym tobserve the same; then ye may ferther enserch of thaym, under what maner, and by what lawys, thay woll be orderyd and governyd; to thentent that if thayr lawys be good and reasonable, thay may be approvyd, and the rigour of our lawys, if thay schall thinke thaym to hard, to be mytigate and browzt to such moderacion, as thay may convenyently lyve under the same. By which meanys ye schall finally induce thaym, of necessitie, to conforme thayr ordre of lyvyng to the observance of summe reasonable law, and not to lyve at wyll, as they have usid heretofore. And if by these, and semblable driftes an entry mought be made, that parte of our landes, detayned by usurpacion, mought be reduced to our possession, either of thErledome of Ulcestre, wherunto, as ye write, Onele hath promised his assistence, or of any other, whiche notoriously apperteyneth unto Us, it mought be the meane that successively, and from tyme to tyme, not oonely the residue to Us belonging shuld be recovered, but also suche landes,

as

as by force be deteigned from all other Lordes, may be brought to their pristinate state; whiche is the beste and mooste spedie waye to bring that lande in goode order and obeisaunce, and to cause the same to be inhabited and manured; considering that every Lorde, having his awne, shulde not oonely be hable to lyve there honourably, and to subdue tyrannye, but also wolde see their landes inhabited, tilled, and labouryd for their mooste advauntage. How be it, this matier must be politiquely, paciently, and secretely handled; and so to procede therin, that the Irishe Lordes conceyve noo jalousye or suspicion, that they shalbe constraynyd precisely to lyve under our lawys, or putt from all the landes by thaym now detaynyd: remitting, therfore, the politique ordering of those matiers to your wisdome, to whome the experience and driftes of that lande be better knowen, than to Us.

Over this, where as We advaunced to you and our Treasourer, Sir John Stile, for thentretaynement of you, and our retynue there, the summe of 3300 poundes 15^{s}. 11^{d}. for the furst half yere, trusting that the wages for thoder half yere, or a goode part therof, shuld have bene paide of the revenues and other casualties of that lande; We nowe understande, by your writing, that inasmoche as our rent there, due at the Annunciacion of Our Lady last past, was received by thErle of Kildare, and that the revenues, due at Michelmesse, cannot be levied till nere Christemas; therfore we have, at this tyme, sent unto you, by our trusty and welbiloved servaunt Sir John Walop, Knight, the summe of 4000£, and have allowed unto hym 20£ for his coostes to be susteigned, as well for the cariage and passage over of the same, as of other dyverse thinges; whiche hath bene, and is unto us, for soo shorte tyme, a ryght greate charge. Wherfore We woll and desire you, soo substauncially to loke to the spedie recoverye of our revenues, and other dueties there, hooly and entierly, that our chargeis, or the mooste parte of theym, may be bourne upon the same. Signifying unto you, our mynde and pleasure is, that of our said revenues there, the entretaynment of you, and our retynue under you, shalbe levied and paide, and that We purpose not tadvaunce out of our coffers hereafter, any maner summes of money, but oonely such as shalbe in surplusage, over and above our said revenues; trusting that, aswell for releving our charges, as for the more assured payment of your self, ye woll substauncially loke to the improvement and spedye recoverye of the same revenues, from tyme to tyme, in as effectuall maner as ye wolde housebande your awne prouffites, in caas semblable.

And where as ye ferther write, that at the arrivall of Sir John Bulmer, with oon hundrethe horsemen, in to that lande, ye discharged the nomber of oon 100 and 17 of our Garde, with thassignement unto theym of 1^{d}. by the daye,

daye, to be paide out of our coffers, till the werres of Irelande were finished, to thintent the wages of theym, and of thoder 17 there deceased, shuld furnishe the nomber of horsemen thider brought by the said Sir John Bulmer; We understande by your said writinge, that the said horsemen, nether for their personnages, horses, ne other furnishement, be soo apte and hable for the werres, as ye loked fore; and for that cause ye, and our Counsail there, be desirous to be auctorised by Us to take in to wages, and to discharge out of wages, suche and as many as ye shall thinke goode, trusting to furnishe Us, with the wages that they now receyve, of ferre better personnages than the mooste parte of theym bee. As unto that matier, We supposed verilie, that the Northren men by you desired, shulde have bene more acceptable to you, under the leding of Sir John Bulmer, whome ye heretofore have moche praysed, than of any other. How be it, if ye had not discharged the Walshemen, We thinke ye shulde have bene better purveyed of speres. Neverthelesse, in consideracion that capitains, percaas, wolbe better pleasid with men of werre, after their appetites and chosing, than of any other, We be contented to geve unto you, our Lieutenaunte, full auctoritie, by thadvise of our Counsail there, to discharge as many of the Northern men, under the retynue of Sir John Bulmer, as ye shall thinke unmete to be entretayned, and to substitute in their places, at like wages and nomber, suche apte horsemen as may be agreable to your appetite; soo that our charges be not increased. Forseing alwaies, that ye put not your full truste in Irishe horsemen, whiche being more in nomber and strenght, than ye, with your Inglishe horsemen be, may percaas putt boothe you and theym in daungier, or ye be ware; wherunto We doubte not, but for our honour and your suertie, ye woll take speciall regarde, as it apyerteyneth. And thus, if ye chose hable men, the ill brute there, touching the discharging of tall personnages, shall soone cease.

And where as ye write it hath bene accustummed, heretofore, that our Lieutenauntes Generall of that lande, have not oonely had full and ample commission to procede and execute our auctoritie Royall against crymynous personnes, but also to geve thOrder of Knighthode to suche noble men, from tyme to tyme, as shulde deserve the same; ye make instaunce to have suche commission and auctoritie of Us: We, in consideracion of your laudable and right agreable service, and having full trust and confidence in your wisdome, sobernesse, and circumspeccion, and that ye woll not procede to the condempnacion or executing of any noble personne of name, till ye be advertised of our pleasure, and not to advaunce any maner personnage to thOrder of Knighthode, but suche as shall merite the same; We, accourding to your desire, sende unto you our ample commission and auctoritie for that purpose, accourdingly; and

and can be agreable, that ye not oonely make ONele, and suche other Lordes of the Irishery, as ye shall thinke goode, Knightes, but also to geve unto the said Onele a coller of golde, of our livery, whiche We also sende unto you, at this tyme, by our said servaunt, Sir John Walop. How be it, if ye mought, by policie, induce the said Onele, with other of the gretest personnages, to repaire to our presence, We trust so to entrete and enterteigne theym, that they shall not oonely the better love and obey Us herafter, but also chaunge their olde Irishe maners, and fall to more curiall, discrete, and clenly order, than ever they used before. Whiche thing We remitt to your wisdome.

We perceyve, over this, by your said letters, that albeit ye can in no wise gett other sufficient proffes against thErle of Kildare, and his servauntes, of and upon suche deteccions as were laide to his charge, than ye had before, by any inquisition or examination that ye have taken there, yet ye have putt Delahide, and thoder servauntes of the said Erle, under suerties; wherin ye have doon right discretely. And, inasmoche as ye write, that boothe Onele, and suche other as ye have examined, doo declare the said Erle in suche crymes as were objected ayeinst hym, rememberyng, also, that We have noon evident testimonies to convince hym upon the same, but oonely presumptions and uncertain conjectures, therfore We thinke right agreable to justice, to release hym out of warde, and putt hym under suertie, not to departe this our Realme, without our speciall lisence. And well assured may ye bee, We shall soo order the said Erle, that he shall not repaire to that lande, for many consideracions. Wherfore boothe ye, and all our subgiettes there, may settill your myndes in quietnesse, for any distrust or hoope of his retourne. And for that consideracion, We woll and desire you, our Lieutenaunt, clierly to determyn your selff there to remaigne, and make your abode, and to order your provisions and affeires accordingly; for our resolute mynde and pleasure is, that ye shall soo doo, till suche tyme that lande be brought to better obeisaunce and order, than it is yet; not doubting but ye wolbe right well contented soo to doo, accordingly.

We also, accourding to your desire, schall take suche an order with outwarde Princes, our confederates and alies, that all maner shippes, repairing from outwarde parties to that lande, shall arrive in the havyns under our obeisaunce, specified in a bill, delivered unto Us by the said Sir John Walop.

And where as ye ferther write, that ye be determined to establishe good peaxe, amitie, and concourde betwixt thErles of Desemonde and Ormonde, We can you right goode thanke for your laudable entent in that bihalf; for they being well agreed, and faithfully determined to doo unto us trewe service, ye shalbe the more hable to reduce that lande to goode order and obeisaunce, within brief tyme.

And

And like as ye desire Us to indevour our selff, that a mariage may be had and made betwixt thErle of Ormondes sonne, and the doughter of Sir Thomas Bolain, Knight, Countroller of our Householde; so we woll ye bee meane to the said Erle for his agreable consent and mynde therunto, and to advertise Us, by your next letters, of what towardenesse ye shall fynde the said Erle in that bihalf. Signifying unto you, that, in the meane tyme, We shall advaunce the said matier with our Comptroller, and certifie you, how We shall finde hym inclined therunto accourdingly.[1]

XIII. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas it Your Grace to be advertised, that syth my last writing to your Grace, I, and others of the Kinges Counsaill, being at Waterford, did our best devour to bring the Erlis of Desmond and Ormond to good concord and amytie, and hath theyme both solempnely sworne to kepe peas, and to help eche other in all their lauful causes; and also they bee bound, with collaterall suerties with theyme, soo to doo. There came thidder unto me, Cormok Oge, and McCarty Reagh, twoo Irish lordes of great power, and were brought in to me by thErll of Ormond, for they bee of his band; and they have put their pledgis in my hand, to kepe peas to thErll of Desmond and his adherentes, and to bee orderid by me, in all causes betwene theyme. They bee twoo wise men, and I fynde theyme more conformable to good ordre, then summe Englishmen here. I have mocioned theym to take their landes, and to hold theyme of the Kinges Grace; and they woll bee content soo to doo, soo they may bee defended. I knowe divers other Irishmen of like mynde; whereof, at suche tyme as the Counsayll shall bee here, which shalbe this next weke, I shall advertyse your Grace more of the same.

I have been soo bolde to discharge 50 of the horsmen, that came with Sir John Bulmer, which were no worse in apparaunce, then they bee in dede. Wherof I sawe good lyklyhode in OByrnes cuntry, this last weke, where I made

[1] See Vol. I. p. 92.; from whence it seems that this suggestion was not acted on for a twelvemonth, and finally came to nothing.

[2] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 43.

oon invasyone. And with the wagis of the said 50, I have wagid 20 good English horsmen, and 30 of this cuntrey, which shall doo mouche better service then they. Horsmete is soo skante to bee gottyn in this cuntrey, that it is thought by me and the Counsaill here, that it is better to wage, for this wynter, good horsmen of this cuntrey, which have provision for their horses, then to kepe suche rascalle as the others were.

Beseching your Grace to cause thankfull letters to bee sent from the Kinges Grace to the Erle of Ormond, aswele for his deligence shewed unto me, at all tymes, as also for that he shewith hym self ever, with his good advise and strenght, to bring the Kinges entended purpose to good effect. Undoubtidly he is not oonly a wyseman, and hath a true English hert, but also he is the man of moost experience of the feautes of warre of this cuntrey, of whome I have, at all tymes, the best counsail of any of this land. I wold thErll of Desmond were of like wisedome and order.

Also, please it your Grace to understand, that Sir John Bulmere hath, seth his comyng into this land, been sore vexed with siknes; and forsomouche as he doubtith that he shall not perfectly recover his helth, in this cuntrey, I have therfor lycensid hym to departe. The Kinges Grace shall save by his beeing hens 45 £ a yere; and for the nombre of persons that wee bee here, we have ynogh of suche yonge capetayns.

I humbly beseche your Grace to helpe that money may be sent hether with expedicion; advertising your Grace, that yf any Irishman wold make insurrection or invasion upon any of the Kinges subgietes, I can not bee hable, for resistence of the same, to yssue out of this towne, for lake of money. Shewing your Grace, upon my feyth, that I knowe assuridly, that I, and the Tresurer, with all the capteyns of the Kinges retynue here, have not emonges us all 20 £ in mony. As God knowith, who have your Grace in his blessid tuycion. Writtin at Dubline, the thirde day of November.

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis Grace.

XIV. King Henry VIII. *to* * * *[1].

Trusty and ryght welbelovyd, We grete you well. And have now of late receyvid from you, by the handes of your nepheu, this berer, the letters beryng date at Dublyn the 5th daye of December, wherein ye not oonly schew suche effect and consequent, as heretofore did ensue of thexpedicions doone and attemptyd by the capitayns and armyes, thedyr sent by our progenitours and auncestours for the reduction of that land to vertuous lyving, good ordre, and politique governaunce; but also in advoydyng semblable consequentes and inconvenientes herafter, ye ryght circumspectly, as our faythefull subject and servaunt, counsayle and advise Us royally and effectually to procede in this entreprises, with puyssaunce sufficient, and not to enterprise so greate a mater with so small a power: addyng, forthermore, that by desistyng and forberyng of our said enterprises and purposes, by revokyng of our Lieutenaunt, or not furnesching hym with power sufficient, thos that, accordyng to thayr fidelite and naturall dutie of ligeaunce, do and wol be glad to employ thayr bodyes, substance, and puyssaunce, for the accomplischement of suche laudable and meritorious purposes, may be afterward put in greate daunger, losse, and damage, like as summe of suche well determyned persons and faithefull subjectes wer servyd heretofor; exhortyng Us, therfor, not oonly to send suche a sufficient power and puyssaunce thedyr to our Lieutenaunt, as by the assistence of you, and other our faythefull subjectes, may be hable to bryng the intendyd purpose and enterprise to the desiryd effect and end, in advoyding thexpenses of our goodes in vayn, but also tadvertyse our said Lieutenaunt sumwhat to order hys enterprises after the forme and maner of the warrys of Irland: concludyng finally, that in cas we procede royally and substauncially in this mater, We schall have your servyse, after the best of your power, promysyng to be content to take all such landes, as ye have, with other parselles, of Us, by letters patentes, with a creacion of a name of dignitie to you and your heyrys maslys, beryng unto Us and our heyris a competent rent; and that ye woll cause many of the lordes and capitayns of that land semblablely to do, whiche wolbe lothe to put thaym in daunger, and jupert thaym self, for feare that thay schuld be servyd, as other

[1] This Minute, in the handwriting of Bishop Ruthall, is found in two separate volumes in the British Museum; the first part, containing the recital of the letter answered, is in Titus, B. XII. leaf 385., the rest in Titus, B. XI., leaf 411. It is uncertain, to which of the Irish chieftains this letter was addressed.

have been, heretofore, in our progenitours dayes, onlesse thay may perceyve that We woll royally and roundely procede in the same; like as your letters purport more at large.

As unto the premisses, We not oonly geve unto you ryght especiall and harty thankes for this your playne and substanciall advertysmentes, advyse, and counsayle, procedyng, as We ryght evidently perceyve, of your fidelite, and the fervent zele and affection that ye perseverantly bere, to do unto Us honour, pleasure, and faythfull servyce, but also to reduce that disorderyd land to summe goode, vertuous, and politique governaunce; whereunto We assure you, none of our progenitours or auncestours wer ever so desirous, and determynatly resolvyd, as We be at this tyme. And therfor to exclude your mynd from all ambiguities, distrust, or diffidence, and to incourrage you to persever and contynue in your faythefull mynd towardes Us, and thadvauncement of our interprises there, for the reduction of that lande to goode ordre, We signefie unto you, that when We electyd and chose our ryght welbelovyd cousyn, and nere kynnysman, thErle of Surrey, Admyrall of England, to be our Lieutenaunt there, whos wysdome, hardynesse, fydelitie, and actyvytie is to Us by experience evidently knowen, We myndyd not to revoke hym, or subrogate thErle of Kyldare, or any other, in hys place, ne yet to see hym on fournesched or dispourvayd of such thinges, as schuld be expedient and necessary for hym. Howbeit, and inasmoche as our intent and mynd was, and yet is, to cause our said Irische rebelles, and disobeysaunt subjectes, first to recongnise thayr errours, and reconcile thaym self by vertuous admonicions, reasonable offres, and charitable exhortacions, We therfore have hythyrto forborne to sende thydyr any puyssant army, trustyng that thay, folowyng our sayd charitable offers and monicions, woll not fall by cuntumacie in contempt and incorrigibilite, by refusell of the same; which charitable order is not oonly approvid by the Evaungelies, and all lawys, but also injunyd by precept to all princes, prelates, and governours. Nevertheles, in ca. thay, not regardyng our said charitable monicions, schall contynew in thayr disobeysaunt demeanures, and not conforme thaym self to our exhortacions, We then schall have goode grounde, and can no lesse do, but, with our maygne power, put our self in arredinesse to subdue and extermynat them for ever. Whereunto We be resolutely determyned; respityng and differryng the same oonly for that We purpose within brief tyme to call a generall counsayle of the lordes and estates of this our Reame, for a perfect and finall resolucion to be taken therein, so that every thing may effectually and substancially procede by the commune concord and consent of our Reame. Signifieng unto you, that inasmoche as We be so farre enteryd in this mater, which in regard of other our enterprises, bothe ayenst Fraunce and Scotland, is litle to be estymyd, We neyther

neyther purpose to desist from the same, by revokyng of our Lieutenant, or sendyng any other in hys place, ne yet by any suche meanys to put you, or any other our faythfull subjectes, in daunger, perill, or jeperdy, but rather, in our owne persone, with a sufficient power both by lande and see, to repayre thedyr for your conservacion, and thayr subduyng and extermynacion for ever; whereunto ye may assuredly trust. And therfore, in the meane tyme, our mynd is, that our Lieutenaunt ther schall contynue and hold hymself in termys and lymytes of defence, for the quiete preservacion and tuycion of our Englischery there, and not procede any invasion, tyll such tyme as We, eyther in our owne person, or by our army royall, schall geve or send unto hym sufficient succourse. Which thing We be verylie determynd briefly to doo, if our rebelles contynew in thayr perverse purpose. Wylling and desiryng you, in the meane tyme, to be aydyng, favouryng, and assistyng to our sayd Lieutenant, with suche other nobles, your frendes and adherentes, as yow have there; like as ye so promyse in your letters ryght thankefully. And where as ye wrote, that ye be determynyd to hold your landes of Us in chief, by letters patentes, with a creacion of a dignitie to you, and to your heyris maslys, for a competent rent, We can be ryght well contentyd so to accept and take you; signifyeng unto you, that We have now wretin to our said Lieutenaunt, not oonly to treate and commune with you, and suche other, as ye be myndyd to induce semblably to do, but also to make relacion unto Us thereof; wheruppon We purpose to take suche a conclusion, as schall be to the wele and advauncement of you, and your posteritie, for ever. Finally, We have consideryd your discrete articles contaynyd in your instructions; which we schall remembre accordyngly.

XV. Surrey *to* Wolsey.[1]

In my most humble wise I recommande me to Your Grace. And accordyng to your commandment, I have spoken with the Priour off Kylmaynon, and have caused hym to wright to your Grace, as he seyth the trouth is, in those causis your Grace wrote to me off. And as your Grace woll further commande me to do therin, I shall accomplishe the same.

Plesith it your Grace to understonde, I have at this tyme, with Leonard Musgrave, the Kynges servante, and Apliard, my servante, wryten answer to

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 41.

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the Kynges Grace off certeyne articles conteyned in my letter, broght to me from His Grace by Sir John Walope; wherin, amonges others, I have advertesed His Grace off the trouth, as I am bownde to do, how that I se it evidently by many wayes, that this londe woll never be broght to dew obeysaunce, but only with compulsion and conqwest; as more at length your Grace shall se conteyned in my seid letter. Most humble besechyng your Grace, that iff the Kynges plesure be not to go thorow with the conqwest off this londe, wich wolbe a mervelous charge, no lenger to suffer me to wast His Graces treasour here. Wheroff shall no better effect come, then to kepe this londe in peace, iff I may so do, wich neyther shalbe to His Grace honorable nor proffitable; and to me, his poure wel! willed servante to do His Grace gode service, shall ensew not only reproche and shame, to spende His Grace so moche money in vayne, but also I shalbe undone therby. For, on my faith, all that I have off His Grace, and off myn owne londes, with all that I may borow, woll skaunte serve me here. Notwithstondyng, if I myght se that gode effect shuld ensew theroff, I shuld, with gode will, spende my tyme here in His Graces service, with all that I myght make besyde. Besechyng your Grace, that I may be advertised off the Kynges plesure, and yours, in the premyssis; and as His Grace, and your Grace, woll order me, I shall, with gode will, to the best off my poure, folow the same.

Besechyng your Grace to be good lorde unto Leonarde Musgrave, this berer, in such cawsis as he hath to sew unto your Grace; and that your Grace wold help that he myght be sone dispeached, for off all the Kynges servantes here, he is the man that I most ocupy, can best skyll, and have most nede off: humble besechyng your Grace to yeve credence to hym, and to my servante Apliard, in suche thynges as they shall shew your Grace on my behalve; most humble besechyng your Grace to contynew my gode lord, and I shall dayle pray for the long contynewaunce of your noble astate. Scrybled at Dublyn, the 16 day off December, with the ill hande off hym, that is

Yours most bownden,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates gode Grace.

XVI. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Youre Grace to understand, I have sent to the Kinges Highnes, at this tyme, this berer, whom I have made Chief Baron of the Kinges Eschequier here[2], with certain articles devised by me, and the Kinges Counsayll here, to passe in the next Parliament, to bee holdyn in this land; which said Baron, and the Chief Justice of the Kinges Benche[3] here, bee the best wylled, and moost deligent to doo the Kinges Grace true and feithfull service, of all the lerned men of this land. And yf it pleas your Grace to examyn the said Baron of the estate of this land, and the disposicion of the inhabytauntes of the same, I doubt not his demeanure shall prove hym both discrete and true; besechyng youre Grace to geve credence unto him, and also to bee good and gracious lord to hym, soo that, by mean of your Grace, he may atteyne a patent under the Great Seall of England upon his office, in like maner as the Chief Justice of the Kinges Benche here hath; which shalbe more proffytable to the King, then to him. And thus the Blessed Trynytie have your Grace in his moost blissed tuycyon. Writtin at Dublyn, the 17th day of December.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

XVII. SURREY *to* WOLSEY.[4]

PLEAS it Your Grace to understand, that two days after the writing of myn other letters[5], the wynd beeing contrarious for the ship to passe, retourned to

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1 From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 2. leaf 69.

2 Patrick Fynglas. 3 Patrick Bermyngham.

4 From Wolsey's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Vol. XI. part 1. leaf 17.

5 These have not been found. They may probably be those which reached the King on the 7th of April, and were, by his commands, sent by Secretary Pace to Wolsey, with a letter (now remaining in Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 59.), in which Pace writes: "The Kynge "commaundydde me, thys same howre, to sende unto the same suche letters as Hys Grace haith "recevidde thys daye oute off Irelande, and to adwertise your Grace that he in nowyse lykyth "suche newes, as he haith recevidde thense. And therfore Hys Hyghnesse desyrith your Grace "diligently and substancially to considre and pondre the sayde letters, as to hys honor apparteignyth." In the same letter Pace conveys to Wolsey the King's approbation of the Prior of Conall (see before, p. 42. note 2.) succeeding to the vacant See of Limerick, for which the Irish Council recommended him. But the wishes of the King were, according to Ware, thwarted by the Pope.

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me Sir William Darcy, whom I had sent to thErll of Ormond, to pacyfy divers Irishmen, which were shrewdly dysposid to have made warre upon the Kinges subgietes; and the said Erll, and Sir William, have soo threatid the said Irishmen, with a great power comyng hether with thErll of Kildare, and with divers other good dryftis, that parte of the said Irishmen have takyn truce tyll All Hallontyd. Howe bee it, smale truste is in their promyses; and I thynk verily, that they wol no lenger kepe peas, then unto suche tyme, as they may see whate expedicion Sir John Wallop shall bring with hym. And yf they may perceyve no power comyng, they wol take their advauntage, notwithstanding any peas or truce takyn. Besechyng your Grace to bee favourable unto the said Sir William Darcy, that by your good favours he might opteyne the Kinges graunt, for terme of hys lyfe, of thoffice of the custumership of the townes of Drogheda and Dundalk, which undoubtidly he hath right wele deserved, syth my comyng into this land; and that also thankfull letters might bee sent from the Kinges Highnes and your Grace unto the said Erll of Ormond, for his feythfull and deligent service doon to the Kinges Grace, and me, His Gracis Lieutenaunt.

Also a great capteyn of Irishmen, called Cormoke Oge, dwelling nygh Cork, who is a sadd wise man, and very desirous to become the Kinges subgiet as an Englyshman, offeryng to take his landes of the Kyng; but whate yerely rent he wol geve, I am not certayne; desyring also to bee made a Baron, and to come to Parliamentes and Counsailes; hath shewed to me a charter graunted to his grauntfather, by the Kinges noble progenytours, under the Great Seale of England; the very coppy wherof, at his request, I have sent now to your Grace, duely by me examyned, to the entent by your Gracis favours the same may bee confermed by the Kinges Grace, which may encourage him to the better service. Suerly he is substanciall of his promyse, and without any saufconduct hath come to me, tending his service, and very willing to confourme him to the Englysh order, and hath no parcell of any land whereunto the Kinges Grace is intytelyd. Wherfor I beseche your Grace to tendre his desire in obteynyng the said confirmacion. And Almighti God have your Grace in his moost tendre tuycion. Writtin at Dublyn, the 27 day of Aprill.

Yours most bownden,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To my Lord Legatis Grace.

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[1] November 1.

XVIII. INSTRUCTIONS, yeven by the Kinges Highnes to his trusty and right welbiloved Counsailour, Sir John Petchie, Knight, to be declared and shewed, oonly and apart, unto his right trusty and right welbiloved Cousin and Counsailour, thErle of Surrey, Admirall of Englande, and his Lieutenaunt in the Dominion of Irland.[1]

FURST, after deliveraunce of the Kinges letters credenciall, now sent unto his said Lieutenaunt, the said Sir John Petchie shall saye, that the Kinges Highnes, calling to his remembraunce, aswell the manifolde and thankefull service heretofore doon by his said Lieutenaunt unto His Grace, boothe by see and land, as also his towardely mynde being determinately fixed and establisshed, perseverauntly to doo unto His Grace semblable service during his liff, either in that lande, or any other place and countreye, with a greate or small nomber, at the Kinges pleasure, refusing noo labour, pain, travaile, ne daunger so to doo; like as in the furst article of his said letter, lately delivered to His Grace by Sir John Walop, he hath more amplely declared; is not oonely singlerly well pleased and contented with this his mooste kynde, towardely, and faithefull determination, proceding of a loyall hert, serviseable mynde, and noble courage, but also geveth unto hym his right esspeciall thankes for the same; assuring hym that the Kinges Highnes not oonely acceptithe and takith this his faithfull and laudable acquitaile right agreably, but also shall, in suche thankefull maner, remembre the same hereafter, better by deedes than by wourdes, that he shall have goode cause to thinke his service well employed and doon to suche a kynde Prince, that woll not put faithfull service in oblivion. And where as the Kinges said Lieutenaunt, foloingly in his said letter, declareth the iminent daungers, that be like to ensue to the foure shires[2], being under the Kinges obeisaunce, aswell by reason of suche confederacies as be made betwixt Onele and others the Irishe rebelles, as also with the Scottes, being determined to enter that lande this somer under the conduyting of thErle of Argyle, and to joyne with the said Onele, and other the Kinges disobeisaunt subgiettes, for the distruction and finall extermination of the Inglishrye; whiche puysaunce, as he affermethe, cannot be resisted with suche small nomber as the said Lieutenaunt

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[1] From Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 63. The original Minute of the Instructions, corrected by Bishop Ruthall.

[2] Dublin, Meath, Kildare, and Oriel or Louth.

hath there; not oonely shewing the causes and occasions of this variation and chaunge of Oneles former promises, by reason of the not sending thider thErle of Kildare, but also the advertisementes that he hath had therof, aswell by letters written by Onele to certain his frendes, as also by other letters to hym sent from the Priour Maguynes; concluding, finally, in effecte, after accumulation of sundry considerations and reasons, that there resteth noon other remedye for the avoiding of the forsaid daungers, but either to send thider, out of this Realme, suche power as maye withstande their malices, orels to send thider thErle of Kildare, whose presence shall cause all suche Irishemen, as be of his bande, to bee as goode to Inglishe men, as they were used to bee, whan he was there: finally, desiring the Kinges Grace to directe comminatory letters to the Governours of Scotlande, for stopping of thErle of Argyles purpose in commyng to Irelande, as it is surmised he intendith to doo; like as in the said Lieutenaunt letters, the copies wherof the said Sir John Petchie shall take with hym, for his better infourmacion, it is more at lenght declared. All whiche matiers, with the circumstaunces and impourtaunce of the same, the said Sir John Petchie shall saye, that the Kinges Highnes, and his Counsail, have substauncially understande, considred, and pondred; knowing right well, that his said Lieutenaunt, being of his nere and secrete counsail, and in whome His Grace hath alwaies had and founde assured truste and confidence, wolde not so instauntely and seriously have writen therin, ooneles he had seen summe apparaunce, by probable groundes, of urgent necessitie. And for thaccomplishement of his desire in sending a more power to hym, at this tyme, for his assistence, the Kinges Highnes wolde have bene as glad soo to doo, as he to desire the same, if other right weightie matiers, and depe consideracions hereafter ensuying, had not moved His Grace and his Counsaile, for a tyme, to forbere the same.

And furst, His Highnes, regarding the manifolde quarrelles that be sett furthe, betwixt thEmperour and the Frenshe King, whiche is like, and almoost at the pointe, to growe to invasion, either on the oon partie or thoder; in whiche case, the Kinges Highnes, by vertue of the treaties heretofore made and passed betwixt hym and those Princes, shalbe required to geve ayde and assistence to the Prince invaded ayeinst the invasour, like as, for thobservaunce of his oothe, he must of necessitie soo doo, whiche assistence shall amounte to a right grete and mervelous charge: and if, besides that, His Grace, over and above the armye that is now in the retynue of the Kinges Lieutenaunt there, shuld also sende suche a nomber of horsemen and footemen thider, as is required and demaunded, and also shulde be infourced to make werre ayeinst Scotlande, whiche is also in apparaunce, by reason of the violation of promises

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on the Scottes parties, in suffering the treux to expire[1], and not yet pursuyng to the Kinges Highnes for ferther abstinence of werre; His Grace shulde than be charged with three severall puysaunt armyes; the on for thassistence ayeinst invasion, as above, thoder ayeinst the Irishe rebelles, and the thirde ayeinst the Scottes, which shulde amounte to inestimable charges, not possible to be borne, the derthe and scacitie of vitailles, with other inconvenientes, specially considred. His Highnes, therfore, wolde be loothe to bee charged with ferther expenses, in augmenting the power of his said Lieutenaunt, till suche tyme as the variaunces betwixt thEmperour and Frenshe King were appeised, or certainly knowen to what issue or ende all thoder matiers shall comme. For remembring the charges now by the King susteigned, in thenterteynment of his said Lieutenaunt there, with the capitains and retynue under hym, amounting to a right grete sume, to hym well knowen, if His Highnes shulde augment that armye, and send thider 300 horsemen, and 500 footemen, as the said Sir John Walop hathe nowe required, it is by due tryall estemed, that the Kinges charges, aswell for thentertaynment of the olde armye, and the newe, to be prepared oonely for the defence of that lande, counting the rewardes of capitains, wages, conduyte moneye, artilary, transpourting over, with other extraordinary charges, shulde yerely amounte, at the leest, to 16 or 17000£. And to saye that the Kinges Highnes, by calling of a Parliament in this harde and dere yere, coud have any prompte or redye graunte of any convenient subsidie or contribution, to be yeven by his subgiettes towardes his charges, it is not possible. For remembring the povertie of the people of every condicion, being decayed and in necessitie, by reason of this scacitie, though they were benevolently mynded furthwith to graunt suche a subsidie to the Kinges Grace, yet it coude not be levied within three yeres, at the leest, till suche tyme as God, of His goodenesse, by more fertile and plentuous yeres shall releve their indigence and povertie, like as it is notoriously knowen. And what intollerable charges shuld it bee to the Kinges Highnes to maintene suche a costlewe armye in Irelande, by the space of three yeres, amounting yerely, by estimation, to the summe of 16 or 17000£, oonely for the defence of the foure shires, the King doubteth not, but his said Lieutenaunt, by his wisdome and grete experience, can well considre. And inasmoche as the ayde or subsidie, to be graunted to the Kinges Highnes in his Parliament, of liklihode cannot extende to soo grete a summe after that rate, as shalbe spent in thentertaynyng of you, with the olde and newe armye, if the same shulde be thidre sent, by the space of three yeres, whiche woll amount to

[1] It expired 30th June 1521.

a ryght great summe, the layng out wherof, for the tyme, shulde moche dyminishe and decaye the Kinges treasure, and serve for noon other purpose, but oonely to defende the Inglishery: and yet those yeres passed and expired, in the termes and lymytes of defence, His Grace shulde bee in semblable caas, new to begynne the reduccion of that lande, as he was at the begynnyng, and consequently be infourced to spende that subsidie, soo to be graunted, with his other treasure; and when Hys Grace schuld herafter mynd to send thider a greate army, for the totall and finall subduyng of that land (the subsidie to be grauntyd by hys Parliament beyng spent byfore hand), then schuld Hys Grace be inforcyd to resort to hys treasour and substaunce, without any grete or profitable effecte, wherby His Hyghnesse shuld not oonely be the more unhable to defende this his lande ayeinst outwarde enemyes, but also be unpurveyde and destitute of suche substance, as shulde be requisite to provide and geve ayde and assistence to his frendes, confederates, and alies; whiche mought finally redounde to the diminisshing of his noble fame and estimacion, thorowte all Christendome. And it is the Kinges mynde and pleasure, that the said Sir John Petchie shall, in secrete maner, declare unto his said Lieutenaunt, in whome the Kynges Grace hathe as greate trust and affiaunce, as in any noble man of his Secrete Counsaile, that in caas His Grace were aswell purveyed of money to furnishe the three armyes before specified, as he hath bene heretofore, he wolde not forbere, ne sticke, to accomplishe the requestes of his said Lieutenaunte, in geving and sendyng the aide and assistence by hym desired; but inasmoche as upon the pursuyte to be made for assistence to be yeven, either to thEmperour, or Frenshe King, as the caas shall require, ayeinst invasion, whiche His Highnes, of necessitie, must geve, gretely dependith his honour and estimation, and consequently the suertie of this his lande, His Highnes, by the advise of his Counsail, is determined, furst, to loke substauncially to the furniture therof; secondely, to defende this his Realme ayeinst the temeritie of the Scottes, in whome is noo truste, ne constaunt suertie; not omitting to doo asmoche as may lye in the possible power of His Grace, to socour his Lieutenaunt there, for his suertie, whiche moche toucheth his honour. How be it, the Kinges affeires standing in this termes and estate, as they doo, His Highnes verilie trustethe, that his said Lieutenaunt, as that man in whome is his perfite confidence and assured affiaunce, woll not oonely take substaunciall consideration therunto; but also, by all the politique waies, driftes, and meanes to hym possible, provide that His Grace be not put to ferther charge, till suche tyme as thende of thoder greate matiers, bifore touched, may be knowen; wherin the Kinges Highnes desireth his said Lieutenaunte to endevour hym self in the moost effectuall maner, by circumspecte practises and provident devises,

to

to be made and sett furthe amonges the said Irishe rebelles, as he shall thinke goode.

And, at this poynt, the said Sir John Pechie schall not oonly reason, dyvise, and debate with the Kinges said Lieutenant, of and uppon such covenable wayes, as may be foreseyn, for the suertie of that land, without any farther charges to be sustaynyd and born by the Kynges Hyghnesse, then he now berith; but, also, substancially discusse enserche and trye the perellys and immynent daunger, that may ensue by the invasions of the Irische rebellys, and whethyr they may perceyve any assuryd likelyhode or certayntie, that they intend so to doo; signifyeng unto the Kynges said Lieutenaunt, that to thentent a brute may be made, aswell within this the Kinges Realme, as that lande, that His Grace is in prepairing a grete armye to be sent thider with all celeritie, letters be sent furthe to sundry nobles and gentlemen, aswell of Chesshire, Lancashire, and Wales, as of other countreis, to prepaire and put in arredinesse a goode nomber of horsemen and footemen, to repaire into that lande furthwith; whiche brute may percaas pacifie the malicious intentes of the said Irishe rebelles, and dryve them to take summe goode waye with the Kinges Lieutenaunt for the peisible governaunce of that countrey: which army schalbe put in such aredinesse, that in cas the Kynges rebellys can not be inducyd to abstayne from invasion, with thayr mayn puyssaunce, but woll actually procede thereunto, thay may be forthwith sent over to the Kynges said Lieutenaunt for hys ayde socour and assistence. Howbeit, the said Sir John Petchie shall, on the Kinges bihalf, in moost affectuous maner, require and desire his said Lieutenaunt, as his singuler truste and affiaunce is in hym, taking speciall regarde to the urgent causes and consideracions above touched, redounding moche to the conservation of the Kinges honour, to kepe hym self in the limites of defence for the tuicion and savegarde of the foure shires, with such retynue as he hath now there, and the assistence of the Englischrye, till ferther provision, at more commodious tyme, may be prepaired. And by the releving of the Kynges charges in this necessitie, tyll thend and conclusion of thothyr greate maters may be knowyn, the Kynges said Lieutenaunt schall do unto Hys Grace as greate pleasure and acceptable service, as thowgh, by hys policie and puyssaunce, he had conqueryd and subduyd the hole land. And it is thought, that in cas the Lordes Spirituall and Temperall woll effectually and benevolently do thayr diligence, and put thayr folkes in goode arredinesse to withstand and resist excourses, the malices of the Irische rebellys schall not do any greate or notable damage.

The said Sir John Petchie shall also saye, that if it mought stande with the honour of His Hyghnesse, and the suertie of his Lieutenaunte, His Grace coude have bene agreable to send thErle of Kildare thider, accourding to the desire

desire of his said Lieutenaunt; but the said Erle, being discharged of his roome there, and long deteigned here in duraunce and prisonament, the nobles and others of that Dominion being also putt in comforte, and part of thaym assuryd that he shulde not retourne, by reason wherof they have shewed theym self the better determined to serve the Kinges Grace, under the leding of his said Lieutenaunt, if he shuld now be sent thider, what dishonour mought insue therby to the Kinges Highnes, what daunger to his Lieutenaunt, what discomfourte to the Kinges true liegemen, that have taken his parte, and what he wold doo, upon displeasure, in joynyng percaas with the Irishe rebelles, to the hoole subversion of that land, and enterprising the hoole governaunce therof, it is to be doubted. And therfore the Kinges Highnes desireth his said Lieutenaunt not to leane to that opinion, whiche to His Grace and his Counsail is rather thought an inconvenient, than a remedye.

He shall also shewe that the Kinges Highnes, furthwith, upon the receipte of the said Lieutenauntes writing, directed his letters to the Lord Dacre, willing hym not oonely to make substanciall esspiell in Scotlande, for knoulege of thErle of Argile is intended purpose, for his voiage to Ireland; but also expressely to shewe, that in caas the said Erle attempte any suche thing, the Kinges Grace wolde furthwith breke and entre actuall werre ayeinst theym. Of which letters the Kinges Highnes daily loketh for aunswer, and Hys Grace, having certificat therof, shall advertise his said Lieutenaunte with all diligence.

XIX. King Henry VIII. *to* Surrey.[1]

Ryght trusty and ryght welbelovyd Cousin, We grete you well. And by such letters, as We lately receyvid, as well from you, as from our trusty and ryght welbelovyd Counsaylour, Sir John Pechie, We not oonly understond, how ye have acceptyd and ponderyd such overturys, as were comprised in our instructions, delyveryd to our said Counsaylour, Sir John Pechie, to be to you

[1] From a Minute, in the handwriting of Bishop Ruthall, in the Museum, Titus, B. XII. leaf 627. A prior draft of this letter, with the exception of the last paragraph, is in the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Bundle, $A\frac{6}{1}$. This letter appears, from the answer, to have reached Surrey on the 27th of June.

declaryd,

declaryd, but also how thankefully ye have conformyd your self towardes thaccomplischement of our pleasure, in that behalf; substancially regardyng the causes, reasons, and circumstances moving Us, for this tyme, to forbere the sendyng thedyr of any greatter ayd or assistence, eythyr of horsemen or of fotemen: for which your laudable acquitayle, well approving the towardly mynd, that ye be of, to do unto Us honour, pleasure, and servyse, We geve unto you our ryght herty thankes; commendyng moch the politique direction and order, that ye, and our said Counsaylour, dyd take, in dyvising such articles, as were deliveryd by hym to our Counsayle there, as charge to hym commytted, to be schewyd unto thaym, whereby ye have inducyd thaym playnely to disclose thayr myndes uppon the same. And, to be playne unto you, We, calling to our rememberaunce, such goode letters, as were lately sent unto Us by ONell, wherin he not oonly geveth unto Us speciall thankes for the honour to hym doon, in sendyng our lyvery of Knyghthode to hym, but also promyseth to do unto Us the best servyse that he can, for the reduction of that region to our obeysaunce; consideryng, also, the certificat to Us sent by the Lord Dacre, who, by our commaundement, hath made substanciall espiell, aswell in the countrey of thErle of Argyle, as in other parties of Scotland, for certayn knowlege to be had, where any preparacions made for hys transportyng in to Irland, affermyng expressely that no such enterprise is by hym intendyd; We suppose ye shall not be moch trowbled this somer, eythyr by the oon, or by thodyr. For, rememberyng the contynuaunce of the greate dyvision in Scotland, it is not in apparaunce that thay, having so moch to do at home, woll any thing attempt owtwardly, whereby they schuld breke the treux bytwyxt Us and thaym, and therby provoke Us actually to entre the warrys agenst thaym; which thing is also notifyed to the Governours and Counsayle of Scotland. And takyng regard to the preparacion of men of warre within this Reame, to be sent thydyr when the cas schall require, the brute thereoff schall also cause ONell, and other the Irische capitayns, to be well ware, how thay enterprise any thing ayenst you. Neverthelesse, and the premisses not withstandyng, We, singlerly tenderyng our honour, and your suertie there, have condescendyd and agreed, accordyng to your desyre, to advaunce unto you the summe of oon thousand markes, over and above the ordinary wages of our retynew under you, to be, by your discrecion, profitably employed, as ye schall think expedient and covenable, when the cas schall require; not doubtyng but ye, regardyng our profite, woll order your self thereafter accordyngly; which 1000 markes We schall cause to be convayed thedyr, at such tyme as the ordinary wages schalbe sent, and also, in the meane tyme, to establische such a convenient nombre of horsemen and fotemen in arredinesse, as may, uppon a scnort warnyng,

warnyng, repayre unto you, in cas any power of Scottes schuld enter that our Dominion, tattempt any thing ayenst you there.

And glad We be to here the declaracion, that ye make in your letters, towching such credence as Sir John Walop declaryd unto Us, on your behalf, for the 300 horsemen and 500 fotemen; and accordyng to your wretyng, We cowd not beleve that, uppon any surmysis or lyght reaportes of such intendyd enterprises, without certayn knowlege of the same, ye wold have put Us to so large charges, by demaundyng of so greate assistence; which your declaracion We accept in veray goode part. For the assuryd triall and knowlege wheroff, We and our Counsayle, suspectyng the said excessive demaundes, without substanciall groundes, thowzt ryght expedient to send thydyr our sayd Counsaylour, Sir John Petchye, wherein ye have now sufficiently easid our mynd. Instantly desiryng you, that takyng regard to the considerations and reasons, towchid in our said instructions, ye kepe your self in the lymytes of defence, so that We be not put to farther charges, tyll such tyme as it may be perfectly knowen, to what issue and end the contraversies and variaunces raysyd bytwyxt thEmperour and Frensh Kyng schalbe reducyd and browzt; wherby ye schall do unto Us as acceptable pleasur and servyce, as thowz ye conqueryd a grette part of that land.

XX. Surrey *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Plesith it Your most noble Grace to understonde, I have receyved Your Graces most honorable letter, by Sir John Peche is servaunt, the 27th day off Juny. And wher it plesith Your Grace to send hither one 1000 markes, over and above your ordinarye charges here, in my most humble wise I thank Your Grace for the same, and with Goddes grace asmoch of the same shalbe spared, as may be. Signyffying Your Grace that, at this tyme, all the Irishmen off the West parties off this londe have confedered and bownde to gyders, to do all the hurtes they may unto Your Grace's poure subjectes here; for the repressyng off whos malicious purpose, by thadvyse off Your Graces Counsell here, I have put me in a rydenes, within 10 dayes next ensewyng, to do the most hurt I can

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 33. Holograph.

to

to some off them; trustyng, by that meanys, to dissever some off them. For undowtedly the long using off them with faire wordes and gode perswasions, without doing them grete hurtes, hath put them in such pride, that they set but litle by me. But, and I be not restrayned by Your Graces letters, wich I dayle loke for to be broght to me by Thomas Jermyn, whom I sent to Your Grace, to have license to invade them, I trust they shalbe shortly more affrayed then they be yet, and more dissevered. And wher as, at this tyme, all those off Your Graces Counsell here doth advertise Your Highnes off their opinions consernyng the state off this lond, and the meanys for reduccion off the same; consideryng that it is aswell expressed in myn instruccions, as in dyvers Your Graces letters sent hither to me, that the principall cause, that Your Grace sent me hither for, was to enforme Your Highnes, by wich meanys and ways Your Grace myght reduce this londe to obedience and gode order; accordyng to my bownden dewtie, I shall, at this tyme, when your Consell doth certifye Your Grace of their opinions, in like wise shew myne.

After my poure opinion, this londe shall never be broght to goode order and dew subjeccion, but only by conquest; wich is, at Your Graces plesure, to be broght to pas twoo maner off ways. One way is, iff Your Grace woll one yere sett on hande to wyn one contree, and a nother yere, another contree, and so contynew, tyll all at length be won. After myn opinion, the lest nomber, that Your Grace must occupie, can be no les then 2500; for it is not to be dowted, that whensoever the Irishmen shall know that Your Grace entendith a conqwest, they woll all combyne to gyders, and withstonde the same to the best off their poure. And over and above their owne poure, undowtedly they may have three or foure thousand Irish Skottes, when soever, and as oftyn as they woll call for them; and they be not distaunt from the north parties off this londe, 4 owrys saylyng. Also I thynk thErle off Arguyle, and dyvers others off those we call Inglishe Skottes, woll come, iff they be desired.

And iff Your Grace woll, in more brieff tyme, have your purpose broght to pas, and to set upon the conqwest in dyvers places, at one tyme; then, after my poure opinion, 6000 men is the lest nomber that Your Grace must occupie. But to advertise Your Grace, in how many yeres eyther the one nomber, or the other, shuld accomplishe and perffight the conqwest, the matier is so high and uncerteyne, that I dare not medle therwith. Undowtedly this londe is fyve tyme as moch as Walys; and when Kyng Edward the Furst set on hande to conqwer the same, it cost hym ten yeres, or he wan it all. Wherfor, consyderyng the long tyme he was in conqweryng the same, and for the most part being present in his owne person, and no see being betwene Inglond and Wales, as is betwene Inglond and this londe, I feare, and can not byleve it wolbe so sone won,

won, as Wales was. For, ondowtedly, the countrees here be as strong, or stronger, as Walys, and thenhabitantes off the same can and do lyve more hardly, then any other people, after myn opinion, in Cristendome or Turky. Wheroff a part Master Peche hath sene, and can enforme Your Grace more largely, as he hath herd by the report off others; who hath not only, sith his commyng hither, takyn contynewall payne in rydyng abowtes with me, but also contynewally serched to attayne to the knowlege off the state and maner of this londe, and disposicion off the people off the same; and, as I thynk, can more assewredly asserteyne Your Grace off the same, then any man that ever came hither, that contynewed no lenger here, then he hath done.

Also, iff it shall lyke Your Grace to set on hande with the seid conqwest, Your Grace must furnyshe the most part of the nomber with vitelles, and cariage for the same, out of Ingland, or some other contrees; for here is moch to do, to furnysh this company that is now here. And ever, as the contrees shall fortewne to be won, strong townes and forteresses must be buylded upon the same.

And, after my poure opinion, onles Your Grace send enhabitantes, off your owne naturall subjectes, to enhabite such countrees as shalbe won, all your charges shuld be but wastfully spent. For iff thes contree people, off the Irishre, shuld enhabite, undoutedly they wold retourne to their olde ill roted customes, when so ever they myght see any tyme to take their advantage, accordynglie as they have ever yet done, and dayle do. And iff all the people off this londe shuld be compelled to fall to labour, (wich they woll never do, as long as they may fynd any countree in the lond to go unto,) yet, after myn opinion, ther shuld not be fownde nomber sufficient to enhabite well the third part off the londe.

And how few Inglish enhabitantes be now within thes 4 sheres, Master Peche can enforme Your Grace, for he hath sene a goode part theroff. And iff Your Grace shuld enhabite such contrees, as shuld be won, with Spanyardes, Flemynges, Almaynes, or any other nacion, save only your owne naturall subjectes, I feare, at length, they woll rather be obedient to the prince off their natyff countre, then to any other. The premysses consydered, after my poure opinion, the difficultie to conqwer this londe restith in thes three articles ensewing.

Furst, to furnyshe the army, that Your Grace woll have here, with mony, unto the conqwest be perffighted.

Secondly, how to furnysh the seid nomber with vitelles, and cariage for the seid vitelles, ordinance, artilere, and all other stuff that must be occupied in byldyng off strong forteresses.

Thyrdly,

Thyrdly, how to fynd enhabitantes in sufficient nomber, that woll contynew trew subjectes to Your Grace, and your noble succession.

Most humble besechyng Your Grace not to be discontend with thes myn advertisementes; for undoutedly, notwithstondyng that I am insufficient and unable, both in wit and reason, to advertise Your Grace off the premyssis, yet, God to my recorde, no man lyvyng meanyth, nor entendith, more trewly, then I. And consyderyng thentent Your Grace sent me hither for, before expressed, I am the more bolder to advertise Your Grace of the premyssis; besechyng Your Grace to commande Master Peche to enfforme Your Grace, how small ayde and assistaunce I have of your subjectes, how litle thank Your Grace hath off them, for the grete godes Ye spende here, for their welth, and what dangier and jopardie my poure parson shuld be in dayle amonges them, iff I loked not substancially for myn owne savegarde.

Fynally, in the most humble wise that any poure subject can thynk, I besech Your Grace to commande me, your poure servaunte, to serve Your Grace, in Inglond, or in any other place, then here, wher my poure well wyllyng servyce may appere; and I shall dayle pray for the long contynewaunce off your most noble and prosperouse astate. Wryten at Dublyn, the last day of Juny.

Your most humble subject,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To the Kinges Most Noble Grace.

XXI. SURREY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEAS it Your moost noble Grace to understand, that where as I, and others of Your Graces Counsaill here, have divers tymes advertysed Your Grace, how the Irysshmen bee confetred to gyddres to destroy your poore subgietes; they contynue daily in theyr yll determyned purpose, and aboutes 23 daies past assembled a right great power, after the maner of this land; whereof I, beeing advertysed, assemblid the best power I might gather, and the 9th day of this moneth departid towardes OConors cuntrey, where they were all to gydders. And, notwithstanding that I contynued in his said cuntrey, unto Tuysday last past, brennyng all his townes and houses, and destruyng a mervelous dele of corne, and also leyed siege to his castell, the strongest of all this land, and wanne the same; yit, of all the tyme I contynued there, they wold never

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 37.

fall to no conclusyon of peas, but aunswerid pleynly to suche, as moovid to have peas betwene theyme and me, that they wold never fall to peas with Englysshmen, tyll they had utterly destroyed theyme. Whoos wilfulnes hath been right chargeable unto the said OConore; for he hath not oonly lost his castell, and all his cuntrey burned, but also so moche of his corne is destroyed, that his people shalbe enforced eyther to forsake the cuntrey, or dye for honger this wynter comyng. Undoubtidly, thees Irishmen bee soo soore confeterid to gyddres, that I see no lyklyhod but contynuel warre, which shalbe right herde to withstand, without that the Englyshery, and moost especially the countie of Kyldare, shall take summe hurtes, principally for lak of oon good capeteyne to defende the same, when I am besy in othir cuntreys. Beseching Your Grace to advertyse me of your gracious pleasure, whether I shall kepe styll OConors castell forsaid, called Monesteroverys [1], or delyver the same to hym agayne. As long as I shall kepe it, he woll be at warre. And yf Your Grace entend to conquere this land, it is as necessary for the entre upon Irishmens cuntreys, as Berwyk is in Scotland. I have soo manned and vyctailed the said castell, that, with Goddis grace, it shalbe out of daungier of Iryshmen, tyll I bee advertised of your gracious pleasure.

Signyfying unto Your Grace that, when I was in OConors cuntrey, thErll of Ormond made sharpe warre upon OKerrol, and hath doon his part right wele. Beseching Your Grace to send your gracious letters of thankes unto him, aswele for his good counsaill yevin to me, at all tymes, as for his paynfull deligent service doon to Your Grace here.

Also, I have suer knowlage, by divers espyalles, that OKarwell dooth assemble a mouche gretter power, then he did this last tyme; entending to make a great invasion upon Your Gracis poore subgietes. For the repressyng of whoos malyce, I assay all the freendes I can, aswele Englysh as Irysh; and shall doo my best, not oonly to let hym to invade Your Graces subgietes, but also to doo the moost hurtes I can to hym, and his partetakers.

Also, oon Rychard Pepyr, of Calays, hath of late robbed and dyspoyled twoo Brytton shippis, upon the see, and hath brought with hym oon of their ballyngers. He had in his company aboutes 20 persons, and they bee in preson at Corke. Besechyng Your Grace, that I may bee advertysed of your gracious pleasure, whate shall bee doon with hym, and theyme. Yf Your Grace woll have theyme put to execusyon, Your Grace muste send me a comyssion soo to doo; for I haue noon auctoritie otherwise to put theym to deth, and the long kepyng of theyme woll bee chargeable to Your Grace. I can advertyse Your

[1] Now called Castropeter, in King's County.

Grace

Grace of noo moo of their names, but oonly Rychard Peper; wherfor, yf Your Grace wol have theym put to deth, there must bee lefte a blanke in the comyssion, for their names to bee put in, when I shall know theyme. Also, I beseche Your Grace, that there may bee joyned with me in the comyssion, Patryke Brymyngham, Chief Justice of your Benche, Rychard Delahyde, Chief Justice of the Comon Place, James Cantwell, Arthure Magyn, and Cormok McRoryk, Bachelers of Lawe.

Also, yf it myght stand with your gracious pleasure, to send me a comyssyon, with auctoryte to put to dethe all rovers of the see, that shuld fortune to bee takyn in this land, it is thought by Your Gracis Counsail here, it shuld doo mouche good, for this land is the very land of refuge that Englysh pyrattes resort moost unto. And I, having the said comyssyon, Your Grace shuld bee at no charge in kepyng of theyme, unto a comyssyon were sent fro Your Grace to me out of England. Besechyng Your Grace, yf it shall lyke Your Highnes to sende me any of the said comyssyons, to geve me auctorytie to pardon suche of theyme, as shalbe thought by me, and Your Gracis Counsail here, the leest offenders, and moost convenyent to bee pardoned; orels, yf there were never soo many takyn, all must dye, which I feare might bee rekenyd to bee to soore. Most humble besechyng Your Grace, that I may brevely know your gracious plesure in the premissis, and I shall dayle pray for the long prosperous contynewaunce off your most royall astate. Wryten in Your Graces Castell of Dublyn, the 29 day of July.

Your most humble subject,

(*Signed*) T. Surrey.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Most Noble Grace.

XXII. Sir John Stile *to* Wolsey.[1]

Pleasith Your Grace to undirstand, that by John Tryce, the beerer hereof, I receyvyd your honourable letter to me addressed, and also with the same I receyvyd, bi the handes of the said John Tryce, foure thousand poundes sterling money; of the which, and yt please your Grace, I have delyvered a bill assignyd with my hande to the said John. And where as that your Grace, by your moste perfitest letter, signyfied that, bi Syr William Darcy and others, reportis were made un to the Kinges Highnes, and to your Grace, that the proffites of the Kinges revenyce here, of this lande of Ireland, dothe amounte

[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 419.

to

to the sum of 2000 markes by the yere; verayly, and yt please your Grace, as yet hiderunto I cannot perceyve, nor undirstand, that it is so, nother was not of many yeres passyd, when that divers and many thinges were in the Kinges handes, which now be in the handes of the Erle of Kildare, and of others. and as it dothe appere bi the accomptes of the said Sir William Darcy, he beyng Under Tresorer for the Erle of Kildare, anno 18°. & 20°. Henrici Septimi, that then the revenyce amountid not above the sum of 1587£ 13^{s} 3$\frac{1}{4}^{d}$ of this money; at which tymes, the counties and liberties of Weysford and Kildare paid, every of thaym, 80£ of subsidy; which subsidy as now, and yt please your Grace, the said counties do, nor will paye ony; for my Lord Stuard his seneschall, who is here in the countie of Weisford, wilnot suffre ony subsidy to be levyed ther, sayeng that the tenauntes of the said countie ought non to paye. And as for the countie of Kildare, by ther awne defaltes, wilfull malice, and untrothe amonges thaym self, thaye be so distressed and troblyd with the Iryshe enemys, Conell and OConour, that the said countie ys nere distroyed and wastid; so that as yet oon peny of the Kinges subsidy, or other proffites, can be recoveryd. For whiche causes, and yt please your Grace, and for the contynewell warres, death, and derthe, that hathe ben, and ys, in this lande, yet hiderunto I have not, nor can recover of the Kinges revenyce, sithe my comyng hider, above 1400£ of this contre monéy, nor fully somoche; for the tenauntes be so poore, and moche of the contre ys waste and unocupied, nother the Kinges Courtis myght be keppid in due order, as thay oght to be, bi reson of the said contynewell warres, which gretely hathe distourbyd and lettid the recovery of the said revenyce. For the collectours and the receyvours of the same have be so occupyed with the warres contynewelly, that thay myght not answere the Kinges Courtes of Excheker and Justice. That notwithstanding, and it please your Grace, I have done theryn, and shalldo, the best that hathe or shalbe in my power. And where that your Grace, by your saide late honourable letter, commaundid me, that by my writing, I shulde acerten the Kyngys Highnes and your Grace the charges of the Kinges royall armye here now, and also of the recept of the Kinges revenyce with the particulers of the same; the which commaundment and pleasour of the Kinges Highnes and your Grace I shalbe, and am, redy for to fulfill to the best of my litill conyng and power, assone as yt may be possible. Which thing, at this tyme, and yt please your Grace, for lacke of layser, and that the officers and clerkes be so occupied in the hosting gonne furthe with my Lorde Lieutenaunt agaynst the Iryshe enemys, as OKarwell, OConour, and Conell, that almoste no man ys left at home, nor hathe not ben this monyth passid; for every man hathe ben so besyed in preparyng thaym self, and ther vitalles, for the warres,

warres, so that here hathe ben non other besynes applyed. For the afforsaid Iryshe ennemys, with others, had so confederid thaym self to geddirs, that thay entended to have invadid a grete parte of thEnglysh pale; as that Sir John Pechee, Knight, therof had perfite knolage, bifore his departing from hens. And therfore, and yt please your Grace, yt was thozt by my Lord Lieutenaunt, and bi the Kinges Councell here, as also bi the Parlement of late here holdyn[1], that yt shulde be more requysite and honour with profyte for the defence and savegard of the Kinges subjettes, that my Lorde Lieutenaunt, with the Kinges armye, shulde enter in to the contre of OConour, which is next adjoignyng to the countie of Mid[2], and to subdue the malice of the same OConour and hys adherentes, then that the said enemys shulde entre in to the Englyshe pale. And uppon the same conclucion, and yt please your Grace, my Lord Lieutenaunt, with the Kinges retynew, and the Maiours of the citie of Dublyn, and of the towne of Drogheda, the 9th daye of this monyth, with many other lordes and jentilmen of the Englysh pale, and some Yrishe gentilmen, with divers galoglaghes and kerne, which be retaignyd, parte at the Kinges charge, and parte at my Lord Lieutenauntes, in a great nomber, departid, and toke ther journaye, with 3 grete peces of ordynaunce, and 18 fawkons and hakbusshes, with other abillymentes of warre, towardes the said OConours contre, and ther entred the 13 daye of the same, and the said OConour, leving a warde and certen gonners withyn his castell and chieff place, callid Monaster Ooresh, estemyd the strongist holde withyn the Iryshry, the saide OConour, with OKarwell and Conell, with ther strenght and power, on horsebak and on fote, keppid the fildes, and fled awaye at large. How be yt, and please your Grace, the said 13 daye, OKarwell, uppon pleges of assurance, came to my Lorde Lieutenaunt, and uppon long comynycacion, promysing that he wolde take my Lorde Lieutenaunt his parte, in case that OConour wolde not put yn his plegges in to my Lordes handes. And theruppon the said OKarwell departid to the forsaid OConour, and toke fully his parte, and came no more to my Lorde, but assemblyd ther people, and made a skarmyge; wher was slayn oon Graunt John, gonner of my Lordes retynew, and 2 or 3 odirs hurte, and of the Iryshe partie were divers slayne and hurte. And so he departid towardes West Mythe, and ther brent and robbid a parte of the contre. And at ther retourne, a jentilman, oon Edward Nogent, of West Methe, accompanyd with 6 horsemen of thEnglishe pale, encountred with 9 horsemen of the said OKarwell, wherof the said Edward slew 3, and the other 6 took prisoners; of which 6 oon ys OKarwelles sonne, which he best lovith, and is callid Ferganam, and the other 5 be of the chieff

[1] The Irish Parliament sat from the 4th to the 14th of June 1521. [2] Meath.

mennys

mennys sonnys of OKarwelles contre; the which, and yt please your Grace, was a mervelouse gode pryese. The same prisoners were some what woundyt, and assone as thay maye ryde, shalbe brozt to my Lorde Lieutenaunt. The 14 daye of this monyth, my Lorde Lieutenaunt bisiegid the said castill of Monaster Ooresh, and with 3 peces of gret ordynaunce, and bete so the walles, that the kepers durste not abide the oder daye, but the same nyght stele awaye throgh a marres adjognyng to the said castill; and or ther departing, hurt 3 or 4 of thEnglishe souldiours with ther gonnys. And uppon the next daye, the 15 daye of this monyth, my Lord entrid the saide castill, and yt seasid, and hathe put a warde theryn, oon John Hilton and William Higforth, yomen of the Kinges Garde, with certen gonners and souldiors. My said Lorde Lieutenaunt contynewid with the armye, in OConours contre, un to the 23 daye of this monyth, and dystroyed moche godely corne, and brent many townes and houses; but all the people, with ther catall and godes, wer fled bifore my Lordes commyng thider. OConour, OKarwell, and Conell, retournyng from the said countie of Mithe, came in sight of my Lord Lieutenaunt, and of the army, at the forsaid castill, where divers of the army marchid furthe towardes ther enemys, which then fled, and ther folowid not so many as nedit: whiche perceyvyng, the said ennemys skarmygid with thaym, where was slayne Sir Edward Plunket, Lorde of Dunsany, a valiaunt man; and a kynnesman of his soore woundid, and yf the horse of the said Sir Edward had not broken his leg, he had escapid. Notwithstanding, he hurte and woundid the said Conell soore in 2 places, with a spere, and slew a foster broder of the said Conell. And Plunket, cousyn to the said Lorde of Dunsany, slew an Iryshe horseman, and woundid Conell his sonne. And so departid for that tyme, and not passyd 4 or 5 men of our syde slayne; but dyvers moo of the Iryshe men, of which thay wilnot be knowen. And so my Lorde Lieutenaunt, leving the said warde in the castell, retournyd to Dublyn the 24 daye of this monyth. And uppon the 28th daye of the same, my Lord Lieutenaunt had tithinges, that the said ennemys, OKarwell, Conell, and OConour, wolde be with ther power, as yestirdaye, or this daye, in the countie of Kildare, to bren the towne of the Nas, which is but 12 myles from the citie of Dublyn; for thay of the said countie now be of suche condicion, that thaye wilnot defend thaym self; for thaye be Geraldyns, and of dyvers opynyons, not gode for thaym self. And ymmediately uppon the said tithinges, my Lord Lieutenaunt, with all his power, as yestirdaye, departid towardes the Nasse, for the defence of the same. And assone as the armye, bi Goddes grace, shall come home, I shall cause my clerkes to make up a view of my rekonnynges, and send the same with diligence to the Kinges Highnes, and to your Grace, bi the which His Highenes, and your Grace, shall have

have the perfite knolage of all the Kinges charges, which, and yt like your Grace, the grace that now ys wilnot moche vary from the furste charge, bi the reason of mynyshing of the Kinges Garde, bi reason of deathe, as otherwise; for now, in stede and rowme of thaym, be divers horsemen, at the Kinges charge, of 9 sterling bi the daye, and also divers horsemen of this lande of Ireland, with certen galoglaghes and kahernes; of the which, accourding to the trothe, your Grace shall have the perfite knolage, assone as shalbe possible aftir my Lorde Lieutenaunt his commyng home, which I truste wilbe shortely. For, and yt please your Grace, that in case my Lorde cannot now take an ende with OKarwell, Conell, and OConour, he entendith, and hath made proclamacions for a new generall hoste, to set forthewarde, bi Goddes grace, uppon the 8 daye of August now next commyng, and so to enter in to Conellis contre; oonles that OKarwell, Conell, and OConour, at thisside that daye, put yn ther plegges in to my Lordes handes, which as yet thaye refuse to do; and in ther promyses, bi oothes or otherwise, is no truste to be takyn.

And yt please your Grace that, as for the Erle of Desmond, we here no wurde of hym, thes many dayes. My Lorde Lieutenaunt sent to hym, 6 wekes passid, the Bisshoppis of Waterford and of Fernys; and as yet thay be not come, nor have send ther answere, what the said Erle will do.

The Erle of Ormond, and yt please your Grace, as it is said, hathe done moche hurte in OKarwelles contre, when that my Lorde Lieutenaunt was in OConours contre. ONeell and ODonell have made peace, unto Our Lady Daye[1], amongis thaym self; and ODonell lokithe daily for Scottes commyng to hym in his favour, as he wrote of late to my Lorde Lieutenaunt, and also to me, that in case that he maye have peace with Oonell[2], that then howe he, with the said Scottes, wolde do servyce to the Kinges Grace, and to my Lord Lieutenaunt. Oonell hath sent to my Lorde Lieutenaunt, that in case that he maye be in peace with ODonell, and with Hugh Makneell, that he, with all his power, will come to my Lorde Lieutenaunt agaynst OKarwell, Conell, and OConour, and also the Priour Makgaynose.[3] And in case that they so do, and yt please your Grace, yt is to be trustid, that the Kinges entendid entirprise shalbe well fortheryd. And yt please your Grace, Sir John Pechee, at his beyng here, sawe the mustres of the retynew here, and hathe a bill bi me delivered of ther names. And in the moste humbly wyse that I can or maye, I beseche your Grace to contynew my gode and graciouse lorde, and for to have me in your noble remembraunce to the Kinges Highnes; for here I have gret labour, payn, coste and charge, more then evir I had in my lyff, moo wayes then oon.

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[1] August 15. [2] ONeil. [3] Magennis.

And

And for the tide, and hasti departing of John Trice, and other besynes, as he can infourme your Grace, I have no more layser to wryte. As yt knowith Almyghti God, who preserve the long lyff of your Grace, with the encreases of honours. Writen at Dublin, this 30 daye of Julij.

At the comandement of Your Grace,

Your moste humylle servant,

(*Signed*) JOHN STILE.

XXIII. SURREY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLESITH it Your most noble Grace to understond, that by Water Ewstace, I receyved a letter from Your Grace, and therin closed a letter, sent to Your Grace from ODonayll; wherin he writeth that, by myn advyse, he hath waged 3000 Irish Scottes, with many horsmen, to resist Your Graces ennemys; off wich letter undoutedly the hole effect is untrew; for neyther I desired hym so to do, nor off trouth he hath waged no such nomber, nor is not able to do. The mony, that shuld wage 3000 men for thre moneths, I thynk wold hardly be fownde in ten the grettest Irish capytayns coffers in Irlond.

I advertised Your Grace by Sir John Walope, and also by others, that I was enformed, that the seid ODonayll made labour to have the Scottes come to this lond; besechyng Your Grace to send men hither to help to resist them, iff any suche shuld fortewne to come, wich I wold not have do, iff I had be prevy off the sendyng for them. Your Grace knoweth, there is no such love betwene the Scottes and me, that I shuld be desirous to have them stronger in this londe, then I.

Beffore Ester, when I hard furst that he made labour to have them come hither, I wrote to hym, commandyng hym, in Your Graces name, that in no wise he shuld labour to bryng any hither. Wheropon he sent to me dyvers tymes, shewing me that he was at war with ONele, on the one syde off hym, and with McWilliam Clanricard, and McWilliam Bourk, on a nother syde, and with McDermoute, on the third syde; whos warrys he was not able to withstond, without distruccion off his countre, onles I shuld come to helpe hym, or els that he myght bryng some Scottes to help hym. Wheronto I wold never consent, unto after Mydsomer, that Sir William Darcy shewed me, that, onles

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From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 28. Holograph.

ODonayll

ODonayll shuld bryng some Scottes to help hym shortly, he shuld be compelled to fall to agrement with Onele, and to put his ostages in to his handes. Wherfor I, and others off Your Graces Consell here, considerynge it wer dangerfull to have them both agreed and joyned to gyder, and that the lenger they contynewed in war, the better it shuld be for Your Graces poure subjectes here, thoght it convenient to licens hym to bryng to hym, for his deffence, only 3 or 400 Irish Scottes. Notwithstondyng, off a gode tyme after he sent for none, unto the tyme I wrote to hym, that he shuld prepare hymself to come to me, to make war upon Conell McMelaghlyn, and that Onele was commyng to me with a grete poure, and that I dout not, at such tyme as they both shuld be with me, to mak agrement and peas betwene them. And he, understondyng that Onele made grete preparacions to come to me, feryng that I shuld bere favour unto the seid Onele, for such service as he shuld do, at that tyme, unto Your Grace, entendyng to let the same, caused Hew McNele, his brothir in law, (whom he namyth in his letter Your Graces trew servante) to bryng unto hym som Scottes. And the seid Hew, seing Onele, and the Priour McGuynnas, commyng towardes me with 400 horsmen, 400 galoghglas, and 800 kerne, entred in to the seid Priours contre, and brent 17 townys, and toke away all the goodes off the same, and 1500 kyne. And ODonayll, with all his poure, came to a castell off his owne, joynyng to ONele is contre; whereoff the seid ONele and Priour being advertised, fearyng the distruccion off their contrees, retourned home to deffend them selffes. And so the goode service, that ODonayll, and Hew McNele, hath done Your Grace, is not only to forbere to come to me, when I had nede off them, but also to kepe ONele fro commyng to me, with so grete poure, that, iff he had come, all such Irishmen, as be at war with me, wold have be so affrayed theroff, that they wold have put their ostages in to my handes, to have kept contynewell peas unto me. And assewredly, unto this day, ODonayll hath not waged any Scottes. Your Grace may be assewred, what so ever he sayth, no men in Erlond wolbe more sory to se Your Grace recover your rightfull enheritaunce of thErldome off Ulcester, then he, and Hew McNele; for they, theyr servantes, and subjectes, have more grownde off Your Graces seid enheritaunce, then 6 the gretest men of lond in Inglond have, within your Realme; notwithstondyng it is not so proffitable to their pursys, only for lak of gode order.

And wher he writeth to Your Grace, he woll no peas have with no Irishman, that is rebell to Your Grace, and that woll not answer your courtes, and obey your lawes (wich he, nor his subjectes, woll not do), he observith ill his seid promes, for he is at peas with all such, as be at war with me, and makith war with such, as wold help me agaynst myn enemys. Notwithstondyng all the

premysses, I shall handle hym with faire wordes; for thogh he do litle gode, it is gode to kepe hym from doing hurt. Besechyng Allmyghty God to send Your Grace thaccomplishmentes of your most noble hertes desires. Scrybled at Your Graces Castell of Dublyn, the 14 of September.

Your most humble subject,

(*Signed*) T. SURREY.

XXIV. SURREY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

SIR. In the most humble wise, that any poure subject and servant can thynk, I besech Your Grace to be my gode and gracious Lord, and beffore this wynter shall come, to commaunde me, your most humble servante, to be discharged off this office here. I have contynewed now here one yere and an halff, to Your Graces grete costes and charges, and to myn undoing, for I have spent all that I myght make. This contree is so moche disposed to flux off the body, with which disease I have off late be so sore vexed, and yet am, that I feare, iff Your Grace shuld commande me to remaynę this wynter commyng, I shuld be in right grete danger off my lyff. Ther is ded off the same disease here, off Your Graces retynew, above 60, and off the grete syknes a more nomber. I have be, am, and ever shalbe, redy to serve Your Grace in what place so ever your plesure shalbe to commande me. Beseching Your most noble Grace so to loke on me, your poure servante, that onys, or I dy, I may do Your Highnes service in such besynes, in your owne presence.

By my next letters, wich shalbe with Your Grace within 10 days after the receyte off thes, I trust Your Grace shalbe advertised off the state off this lond, to your contentacion and plesure; for I se goode liklihode, that all such Irish men, as be not come in, and sworne to Your Grace as yet, woll shortly be; the contynewance off whos trouth is no lenger to be trusted unto, then they shalbe kept in feare. And thus most humble I besech Your Highnes to have me, your poure servante, in your gracious remembrance, and I shall dayle pray to the Blissed Trinete for the long contynewance off your most noble and royall astate. Scrybbled at Your Graces castell off Dublyn, the 16 day off September, with the hande off

Your most humble subject,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) T. SURREY.

To the Kynges Most Noble Grace.

[1] From Letters to the King and Council, in the Chapter House, Vol. X. No. 108. It is wholly written by Lord Surrey. See Vol. I. pp. 69, 70.

XXV. STILE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESEITHE Your Grace for to understand, that sithe the writeyng of my laste letters sent un to your Grace, here be no newis recresid, other then that now of late my Lorde Levetenant hathe taken a peas with the Yrysshe rebelles, OKarell, OConor, and Conell, and other dyvers Yrysshemen: of whome, of some of theym my Lord Levetenant hathe pleggys, and of some promyse by othes; in the whiche promyses and othes, and yt please your Grace, standithe no suerty, longer then that they do se theyre advantage, or elles that they be pleasid with grete rewardes, in like maner as that they have byn sithe my Lord Levetenantes comeynge hether; for they be naturally covituse, and dissaytefully sottill pepille. For, and yt plese your Grace, for a suerty, ther ys never a grete Yrysshe lord or cappytan in this land, excepte Conell, but that they have had wages or rewardes of my Lord Levetenant; and muche in waste, for they have not deserveyd yt by the reson of theyre untrawthes. And so, and yt plese your Grace, what by the reson of contynwall warres with the said rebelles, as with gyftes gevyn, the Kynges money, and also my Lord Levetenantes, gothe faste awaye, and the Kynges revenwis come slackly in, the litill that yt ys, by the reson of the contynwall trobilles of warres, dethe, and derithe of vitualles, whiche was here this laste yere, and yet contynuith.

And also, and yt plese your Grace, the officers of the Cortes here, some of theym do not theyre delygences for the Kynges profytes, as they schuld do, for they be admyttid and apoyntid by my Lord Levetenant, suche as pleseith His Lordschippe; and when that Y do speke theroff, and do complayne on theyre evill servyse, in theyre said offices, Y have my Lordes displesure therfore, and am put to sylens; my Lord Levetenant sayeynge to me, that by the Kynges hyghe commandment, as also by Acte of Parlament, hathe the full attorite for to make al maner of officers within this land, collectores, receyvors, and al other. And yt plese your Grace, with the Kinges plesure and youres, reason yt ys, that His Lordschippe shuld so do, yet the Kynges profyte shuld be seyn to, that the officers by hym made, schuld take labores and payne in theyr offices, for the Kynges advantage. For the whiche, and yt wold plese the Kynges Hizghnis and your Grace, by your next letters sent un to my Lord Levetenant, for to tuche some what that mater, in suche maner, as that the

[1] This letter, which is holograph, is in the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 37.

Kynges

Kynges Hizghnis, nor your Grace, hathe had no knowliche of the mater by my writeynge or sendeynge. Y truste that my Lord Levetenant wold hereafter admyt and apoynt suche men as shalbe abille, and that wille aplye to the Kynges Cortes and offices, to the Kynges avantage, and to me, the Kynges faythefull subjecte and servant, a grete eas and quyetnes for the recoverry of the Kynges revenwis of this land; in the recoverry wherof standeythe grete bessynes and trobill, and Y am but one man alone, in a maner with owte helpe, that contynually callith for the said revenwis.

And yt plese your Grace, and the Kynges Hizghnes and your Grace beynge so plesid, yt were ryzght nescessary for the gode order of this land, and also for thencreaseynge of the Kynges revenwis, that some lernyd men of Yngland were here; for here be ryzght fewe well lernid men in the lawe, or clerkes of the Kynges Cortes; and thoes that be, use grete parcyallyte to ther fryndes, all, excepte the Cheiffe Justyce of the Kynges Benche[1], and Cheife Baron of the Kynges Excheker.[2] All other that byfore were Barons, Justices, and officers of the Kynges Cortes, in the tyme that thErle of Kildare was the Kynges Deputy here, they be not of gode mynde towardes the recovery of the Kynges revenwis; and the county of Kildare, with the defence of thErle of Kildares kynnesmen and servantes ayenst Conell and Oconer, hathe put my Lord Levetenant, and the Kynges armey here, to more payne, costes, and charges, then all the rest of this land after. For when that my Lord Levetenant hathe made peas by twyxt theym and the Yrysshemen, then they, as men that willfully wold be in trobille, do seche meanes for to cawse the Yrysshemen for to breke the peas or truys with theym taken; and the said jantelmen of the cownty of Kildare do not, nor wilnot, defend any parte of that cownty.

My Lord Levetenant, sone after his comeynge hether, made Jamys Fitiz Garrard, thErle of Kyldares brother, cappytan of the cownty of Kildare; the which Jamys defendyd not the contrey, but rather dyd grete opression therunto, with coyne and leverry, and now of late full undyscretely usid hym selfe, and ys now taken with the Cavanahes, Yrysshe rebelles, to my Lord Levetenantes displesure.

In the moste humylle wise, that Y can or maye, Y be seche your Grace for to be and contynwe my gode and gracios lord, considerynge my fydelyte payne and labores; for Y have non other socur in this warld, but of Almyzghty God, and of the Kynges Hizghnes, and of your Grace. And, at this terme, Y shall endevor my sellfe for the recovery of the Kynges revenwis, and then

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[1] Patrick Bermyngham.

[2] Patrick Fynglas.

theruppon

theruppon to make myn acompte, with the sertefycathe of the same, un to your Grace. And by my last letters Y sertefyed unto your Grace of the sum of money, which was litill more or les then 10 or 1100 £, which, by exstymacion, shuld paye the Kynges charges here un to the monythe of February, excepte my Lord Levetenentes fe; whiche halfe yere of the new, shal begyn the 26 daye of thys monythe of October. And my Lord Levetenant ys nowe in nescessite of money in suche wise, and yt plese your Grace, that Y do and muste paye to His Lordshippe parte of suche money, as that Y have, unto suche tyme that provision of money shalbe sent hether by the Kynges Hizghnes; for here, at tyme of nede, can no remedy of money be had in no maner wyse, now that thArchebysshoppe of Dulyn ys departid from hens. And yt plese your Grace, as Y can persayve by some persons, that theyr mynde ys, that yt ys and shalbe chargeabille to the Kynges Hizghnis, the kepeynge of the castell, whiche was taken from Oconer, and peraventure that yt hathe byn so sertefyed unto your Grace; the whiche maye plese to understand, that, as Y am informed by rizght wyse men of this land, and of gode exsperyens, that in cace that the Kynges Hizghnis dothe entend for to follow his royall enterprise, and for to reforme this land to gode order, that the sayd castell, beynge in the Kynges handes, schalbe verry requisite and nescessary, whiche may be kepid with fewe men. And Y be seche your Grace, that yt may plese your Grace to comand, in your next nobill letters to be wretyn to my Lord Levetenant, so that he may persayve and understand that the plesure of the Kynges Hizghnis, and yours, ys, that he be gode lorde unto me, and favorabill in myn office in the Kynges roiall servise. And by the grace of God Y shall deserve non other wise, then to have his gode lordshippe and favor. How be that, as your Grace knowithe, that he ys a grete lord, and some tymes hasty, more then nedithe, whiche ys hard for a pore man, as Y am, for to contrary his mynde; as yt knowithe Allmyzghty God, who preserve the longe lyffe of your Grace with thencreas of honores, &c.

And yt maye plese your Grace to comand to be wretyn hether to my Lord Levetenant, and to me, that the musters of the Kynges armey here maye be taken acordeynge to the indenture by your Grace devysid, yt shalbe wel don; and that your Grace maye plese for to write un to me some what sharpely; derectynge, in me defawlte, that Y do not calle for to have the said musters vewyd and seyn, acordeynge to the indenture; whiche indenture, as my Lord Levetenant saythe, that in some poyntes he can not fulfille, and therof hathe made his answer to your Grace; the whiche maye plese to understand, that here be dyvers of the Garde and other, ajed and seke, not abille for the warres.

As

As Almyzghty God yt knowithe, ut supra. Wrytyn in Dulyn, on the 19 daye of October, Anno 13 Regni Regis,

By the moste humyll Orator and servant to Your Grace,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) JOHN STILE.

To my Lorde Legate, Cardynall of Ynglandes
his gode Grace.

XXVI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* SURREY.[1]

By the King.

RIGHT trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, We grete you well. And calling to our rememberance your laudable acquitailles and right acceptable service, shewed and done unto Us, aswell sundry tymes heretofore, as during your abode there, in

[1] This is the fair minute of the King's letter to Lord Surrey, which appears to have been despatched to him on the 30th or 31st of October 1521. (See before, Vol. I. p. 81.) It agrees, verbatim, with Sir George Carew's copy of the original despatch, which is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 611. p. 329. Wolsey's minute, in his own handwriting, from which this despatch was altered by the King himself, (see Vol. I. pp. 73, 76, 81.) is likewise preserved at Lambeth, Vol. 602. leaf 70, and is as follows:

" Ryght trusty and ryght welbelovyd Cousyn, We grete you well; and calling to our remem-
" braunce your laudable acquitaylis, and ryght acceptable servyce, schewid and doon unto Us,
" aswell sundry tymes heretofore, as duryng your abode there, in that our Land and Dominion; it
" was, and is to Us ryght displeasaunt to hyre and understand of your grevous disease and sickenesse,
" takyng moch regrete for the same. For remedieng wherof, and conservation of your person,
" whom We repute and take, for your wysdome, experience, and activenesse, ryght mete and hable
" to do unto Us notable servyce in gretter maters, than ye have now in hand, We wold be ryght
" gladde to do that thing, that mowght be to your comfort, convalescence, and recovery. And
" inasmuch as ye suppose that by your abode there, in that contagious ayre, your infirmytie schalbe
" rather increasid, than swagyd, to your daunger; We therfore cowd the rather be agreable, that ye
" schuld retourn to this our Reame, if covenable provision mowght be made for a substanciall and
" actif personage to supplie and fournesche your rome and auctoritie there, in your lieu and place,
" for the defence of our said land. And in dyvising, reasonyng, and debatyng that mater with our
" Counsayle, We, and thay, takyng regard, aswel to the mervelous greate charges that We yerely
" sustayne by entertaynement of you, our Lieutenant, with the retynew under you there, as also
" the litle effect that succedith therof, thowgh no man cowd have more substancially usid hymself
" therein, than ye have doon, have clerely perceyvid, and in maner determyned, that to employ
" such summys of money yerely, uppon any Englisch Lieutenant, with like retynew as ye have now,
" schuld be frustratory, and consumpcion of treasur in vayne, which beyng, by politique provision
" reservyd and savid, mowght stand in goode stede for thadvauncement of other hygher enterprises,
" that may percas be sette forthward, within few yeris hereafter. Wherefore, if any substanciall
" gentylman of the Englische Irischry mowght be fownd to take uppon hym that rome, under suche
" forme

in that our lande and dominion, it was, and is, to Us right displesant to here and understand of your grevouse disease and sikeness, taking moche regrete for the same. For remedieng wherof, and conservation of your personne, whom We repute and take for your wisedome, experience, and activenes, right mete and able to do unto Us notable service, in gretter maters then ye have nowe in hande, We wolde be right glad to do that thing, that might be to your comfort, convalescence, and recovery. And inasmoche as ye suppose that, by your abode there, in that contagious aire, your infirmities shalbe rather increaced then swaged, to your daungiour; We therefore coude be content, and the rather agreable, that ye shulde retourne to this our Reame, yf convenable provision mought be made for a substanciall and active personage to be your deputie there in your absence, with suche interteignment as ye and he canne agre upon, for the defence of our seid lande. And in divising and debating with our Counsaill what personage shuld be mooste mete to occupie the rowme of your deputie there, We have remembred Sir Piers Butler, pretending himself to be Erll of Ormonde; who, as We bee enfourmed, aswell by your writing, as otherwyse, is nowe reputed and taken for the best amonges other our obeisaunt subgiettes of that lande. In consideracion wherof, our mynde and pleasure is, that ye, in secrete maner, shall declare unto the seid Sir Piers Butler, as of yourself, binding hym, also, by the feithe of a gentilman, in lyke maner, to kepe the same secrete, that We entende to minishe our retynue there, and that We have sent for you, to have with you communicacions, aswell therin, as in other

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" forme and maner, and with such intertaynement as thErle of Kyldare perceyvid and had, it schuld " be most exspedient and advaylable for Us: and for that entent We have rememberyd Sir Piers " Butteler, pretendyng hym selfe to be Erle of Ormond; who, as We be informyd, is now reputyd " and taken for the best amonges other our obeysaunt subjectes of that land. In consideracion " wherof, if ye, as of your self, withowt our knowlege or commaundment, cowd politiquely and " assuredly inserch and know, whethyr he, for hys wysdome, puyssaunce, and activitie, be mete and " hable to take uppon hym the said rome; and, that knowen, if ye, by summe circumspect dryftes, " cowd fele hys mynd, whethyr he cowd be agreable to be our Lieutenant there, in such forme and " maner, and with like intertaynement, as thErle of Kyldare occupyed the same, in cas ye, by your " policie and mediacion to Us, cowd convay the said rome to hym: then We, having knowlege by " your certificat, aswell of hys habilitie, as of hys towardly mynd for thacceptyng of the said rome, " schall not onely auctorise and advaunce hym there unto, but also forthwith licence you to retourn " to this our Reme, with the retynew under your ledyng, for the recoveryng of your said helth; " wherof We be moche desirous. This mater wold be so closely handelyd, that the said Sir Piers " Buteler, ne any other of our Counsayle there, may in any wyse take suspicion or conjecture, that " eythyr We be agreable ye schuld retourn, or that ye were myndyd so to do. For thay, having the " lest deteccion or overture therof, schall so extremely sticke to thayr advauntages, that hard schall " it be to bryng thaym to any reasonable wayes; wherby both our pleasur, and your desirous mynd, " schuld be clerely frustrate."

 weighty

weighty matiers, and for the great wisedome and feithe ye have by dailly experience founde in hym towardes Us, above all other our subgiettes inhabiting within that our lande, towardes the politique governaunce of the same, ye may desire hym to take upon hym to be your deputie there, tyll ye shall retourne again. And percevyng his towarde mynde to occupie the seid rowme under you, ye maye then further breke with hym, as of youre selfe, to knowe whether he coulde be contentyd to be your deputie there, if ye, by your laboure, coulde unduce Us to be agreable therunto, by declaracion of his wisedome and activenesse made unto Us, at your repaire unto our presence, with suche interteignment as the Erll of Kyldare hadde, or lesse, as ye canne by good policie move hym to be contentyd with. And if ye canne induce hym to be your deputie there, in maner and fourme affore rehersydde, then our pleasur is, ye shall repare to Us incontynently; leving our retynue there in good order, contentyd and paied of their wagis for the tyme past, if ye have sufficient money in your handes soo to do; if not, ye shall certifie Us, with all diligence, to thentent We may make provision accordingly. And, in the mean season, whiles ye shall move and procure hym to accepte that rowme, in suche maner and fourme as is affore expressed, We shall cause our licence to be made to you, for to surrogate a deputie there; whiche auctoritie ye have not, as We suppose, in your patent; for the trothe wherof to be to Us parfectely knowen, We have sent unto the Rolles, to peruse the seid patent. And at your retourne unto Us, We wolbe by you, in ample maner, infourmyd of the qualities of the seid Sir Piers Butler, whether he be mete to occupie that rowme, or not, affor he shalbe made our Deputie there by our royall auctoritie. And necessarie it is this matier be closely handelyd, that the seid Sir Piers Butler, ne any other of our Counsaill there, may, in any wise, take any suspicion or conjecture, that either We be agreable ye shulde cum home, otherwise than to retourne again, or that ye were mynded soo to do. For they, having the lest deteccion or overture therof, shall soo extremely sticke to theyr advauntage, that hard shall it be to bring them to any reasonable wayes; whereby both our pleasure, and your desirouse mynde, shulde be clerely frustrate. And to thintent ye may know our interior mynde in this cause, We advertise you, that We and our Counsaill, taking regard aswell to the mervalouse great charges that We yerely susteyne, by enterteignement of you, our Lieutenaunte, with the retynue under you there, as also the litle effecte that succedeth therof, (though no man coude have used hymself more substancially therin, then ye have done) have clerely perceyved, and in maner determyned, that to employe suche sommes of mony, yerely, upon any other English Lieutenaunte, with lyke retynue as ye have nowe, shulde be frustratorie, and consumpcion of treasour in vayne; whiche being by politique provision reserved

reserved and saved, mought stande in good stede for thadvauncement of other higher interprises, that may percace be set furthward in fewe yeres herafter. Yeven, &c.

XXVII. Surrey *to* Secretary Pace.[1]

Master Secretary, in my hertiest maner I commend me to you. And wher in my last letter, wich I sent you by my servant, Umfrey Rogerson, I certified you, that I was well amended off my disease; yesterday, at after none, it came to me agayne, so sore, that I have had 22 sith that tyme. I requyre you help that the commission myght with diligence come to me; and iff percas the Kynges Grace wold send me a commission clerely to discharge me hens, under his high correccion, me thynk it wer best, furst to here me before his Counsell; for this lond, being now in goode peas, myght els take hurt. I dout not to shew His Grace the ways how it may be kept, without puttyng Hys Grace to more charges then thErle off Kyldare had before my commyng. And without such order be taken, as I shall shew His Grace, I feare moch hurt shall come theroff to this lond. Iff His Graces plesure be to have me clerely discharged, before I come to speke with His Grace, then I requyre you to cause me have mony sent for my payment. Sir John Stile shall nede none, so tharmy be discharged before Candlemas. And thus Our Lord have you in his blessed tuition. Scribled in my bed, this second day of December, at 2 at after none.

Yours assewredly,

T. Surrey.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Worshipfull Master Secretary, in hast.

XXVIII. The Council of Ireland *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas yt Your G[*race. We*]wing of the Kynges Lieutenauntes departure from hens to se the Kingis Highnes, canne of very duetie no lesse do, then to gyve your Grace especiall thankes for your greate godenes shewid

[1] From Miscellaneous Letters, in the Chapter House, Vol. III. leaf 142. Holograph.
[2] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 15.

un to us, and all the Kingis subgettis of this lande, in your graciouse soliciting for the reduccion of this land; wherby your Grace hathe obtaigned the love and prayer of us, and all the Kingis said subgettes here. Humbly beseching your Grace of contynewance in the same. Advertising your Grace, that this lande is broght in towardnes of reformacion by the actyve proues and greate pollycy of the said Lorde Lieutenaunt, which hathe right substancially and wisely deameanyd hym self in feaultes of warre, and right indifferently in causes of justice, with oute ony parcialyte or corrupcion, and hathe the best experience of this lande, and the wayes how the said reformacion may rathest be brought to effect, of ony man, that ever came in this lande in our tyme. And we thinke undoubtidly, that if yt maye please the Kinges Grace to furnesshe hym with sufficient nomber of men, the lande, bi his pollycy, maye nowe be brought to subjeccion and reformacion, seyng the wayes well prepayred; which we know, assuredly, cannot be obtaignyd, but oonly by your graciouse mediacion, soliciting, and setting forwardes; wherein we humbly beseche your Grace to persevere in your charitable bygonne enterprise to bring the same to gode effect. And we do and shall contynewelly praye for the preservacion of Your gode Grace. Writen at Dublyn, the 21te daye of December.

Your contynuel Oratours,

(*Signed*) H. MIDEÑS[1]. J. RAWSON P^o^ W. VIC. of G.
JOHN, Abbot of SAYNT THOM̃S COURT. of KYLMAÑ. JOHN, thAbbot off SEYNT MARY ABBEY. Sr NYCHOLAS Lord HOUTTHE. Sr JOHN, Lord of TRYMLETESTONE. P. FYNGLAS, Chef Baron of thEscheker.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legate, Cardynall of England, his gode Grace.

XXIX. THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* WOLSEY.[2]

MOSTE Reverend Fader in God, and our singler gode Lorde. In moste humble manner we recommend us un to your Grace, moste entierly thanking the same for the grete godenes and favour that your Grace hathe hiderto borne to the weale of this pouer lande of Ireland, not oonly in councelling and stirring

[1] Hugh Inge, Bishop of Meath.
[2] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 607. leaf 18.

the

the Kingis Highnes for the gode reformacion of the same, but also, fro tyme to tyme, evermore avaunsyng and socoring thexployte therof, which, at this tyme, was brought to a mervelouse towardnes, and never to suche in ony mannys dayes lyving; but now we feere to be in no small daunger, by reason of this sodayn departing of the Erll of Surrey[1], and the Kingis armye here, what for the Kingis Irishe rebelles of oon partie, and the Scottes of the other partie, oonles, by your moste prudent advertisement, yt maye like our most high Soveraigne to send fyve or syx of his shippes, to kepe the sees by twixt us and the Scottes, which shalnot oonly kepe many of ther pleasours and commodities from thaym, but also put the Irish rebelles in great feere, and, if necessite shulde requyre, a greate puyssaunce agaynst thaym. Wherfore, in moste humble wyse, we beseche your Grace to ferther this our peticion to the Kingis Highnes, that His Grace have the rather, by your circumspect mediacion, compassion on us, in this extreme daunger and parell; gyving ferme credence, in this bihalf, to our singler gode lorde, the Erll of Surrey, to whom we all ar gretely boounde, not oonly for his right noble and diligent actyvyte here, but also for the favourable mynde that we truste to fynde on hym, intercedyng to your Grace for our necessities in tyme commyng; inwardly beseching your Grace to gyve hym thankes, acourding as our true servyce and prayer shalbe contynualli for the long prosperouse preservacion of Your said Grace. At the Citie of Dublyn, the laste daye of Februarij.

By your humble Oratours,

(*Signed*) P. ORMOŪD. H. MIDEÑS. J. RAWSON Prio^{r}.

(*Signed*) W. Vic. of G. R. Baron of DELVYN.[2] J. P. of KYLLENE.[3]

(*Signed*) Sr J. Lord of TRYMLETESTON. WALT̃ P̃o^{r} de CONNALL.

(*Signed*) PATRIK BERMYNGEHM̃, Juge. P. FYNGLAS, Chef Barō of thEscheker.

(*Superscribed*)
To our Moste Reverend Fader in God,
Thomas Cardinall of Yorke, Legate de
Latere, and Chancelour of England.

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[1] Ware represents Lord Surrey to have quitted Ireland about Christmas 1521, and to have been received at Court on the 25th of January; which dates appear to be nearly correct.

[2] Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin.

[3] John Plunket, Lord Killeen.

XXX. RAWSON *to* WOLSEY.[1]

MOST Reverend Fadre in God, in my moste humylly maner I recommend me to Your Grace; and moste affectuously thankyng your seid Grace, for your great goodnes showid unto me many wais, and specially nowe late, at the being of my Lord of Surraye with your Grace; by whom I understond your graciouse and favorable mynde to me, your poore bedisman, in movyng the Kynges moste graciouse Highnes to assume me, though I be nott worthy, to the office of the Thesaurershipp of his Excheker here; wherin I shall indever me with true and diligent mynd, acording to my bondyn dewty, that your Grace, God willing, shal not be discontent, preferring me to that rome.

Farthermore it maye please your Grace to be avertizid, how thre yeres past, by the favir and mene of your seide Grace, I obteynid my licens of absentie of the Kynges Highnes from this his land of Ireland. I, then intending and preparing me to have gonne to the service of my religion at the Rodes, was, for dyverse causes, fayn, and in maner ayenst my will, to graunte and lett owt certeyn my fermys and tithis to the Erle of Kyldare, during his liff naturall; by reason of whiche graunte, sense it pleasid the Kynges Highnes, and your Grace, to revoke my seid licens, and that I shuld retourne ayen hethir, at that tyme, with my good Lord of Surray, His Graces Lieutenaunt here, hath byn mych to my hynderans, and shalbe for the tyme of my here abode, so that I shall not be so able to do the Kynges Highnes, and your Grace, such service, as my mynde and hertte is to doo. In wich cause, and other concernynge me, it maye please your Grace to geve ferme credens to my seid Lord of Surraye, and I shall continually, acording to my dewtie, praye for the prosperus astate of Your Grace long to endure, to the pleasure of God, and defens and mayntenaunce of His Church. At Kylmañ, the 6th day of Marche.

Your Graces Bedysman,

(*Signed*) J. RAWSON P^o.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Moste Reverend Fadre in God,
my Lord Cardynal of Yorke, Legat
de Latere, and Chanceler of Yngland.

[1] From Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 29.

XXXI. STILE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH Your Grace for to understand, that on the second daye of this monyth [*of Mar*]che, I receyved the Kingis roiall letters to me, his pouerist servaunt, sent, [*bearing*] the date of the 25 daye of Februarij, in his roiall Manner of Grenewich, [*by*] which His Highnes signyfieth that his pleasour and commaundment [*is*] that my Lord Admyrall, his Lieutenaunt of this his land of Ireland, shall retourne from hens un to his roiall presence, and that the Erll of Ormond for to be Deputie of this lande; and that, acourding to the charge to me committed, at my commyng hither, that I shuld applie and endevour my self for the levieng and recoveryng of all suche revenews bilonging to His Highnes, or shalbe due, un to the daye of deliverance of the auctorite and letters patentes un to the Erll of Ormond, as Deputie of this land: the which commaundment and pleasour of the Kingis Highnes I shalbe glad to fulfill, as a trew subget and servaunt, to the best of my litill power. How be it that, and yt please Your Grace, hard it is, and shalbe, to me for to levie the Kingis revenews acourdingly, as it shuld be; for the lande is moche waste, and the people mervelously pouer, the Kingis Courtes and recordes ferr oute of order, and I am not lernyd in the lawe, nor course of the Exchecker my self. For the whiche consideracions, and it please your Grace, it hathe ben, and is, to me a right gret thoght and labour for the recovering of the revenewis, oonles that I have other councell and helpe. My gode mynd and diligence shal not faile, bi the grace of Almighti God. And if yt pleased the Kingis Highnes, and your Grace, to send hider somme experte clerk of thExchecker, to overse the Kingis recourdes, and to sorte thaym, and put thaym in order, or my departing from hens, yt shuld gretly prevayle the avaunsement of the said revenews. And also, yf it please your Grace, the Kinges Highnes, bi his moste roiall letters, signyfied unto me that His Highnes had sent hider an auditour, with my Lord Lieutenaunt, for to vew and engroce myn accompte, which shalbe redy and gyven, bi the grace of God, to the said auditour, who as yet is not come hider. And if it please your Grace, as touching the Kinges retynew and army here, every man is contentid and paid, after ther rates and porcions, from the 26 daye of Aprill anno 12°. un to the 25 daye of Aprill now next comyng, fully for two yeres;

[1] From Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 61.

in

in this manner, and it please your Grace; — The gentilmen capitans, for ther quarter fees, and the Garde, after 6d. sterling by the daye, except for the monyth 24 day Lieutenant retynew of two yeres. And go over with my Lord daye of this monyth of Marche, unto the monyth, bi the commaundment of my Lord of 4d. a daye sterling. And as for the Kingis wages, acourding to ther patentes, for the said nomber of the Garde that be now here, and 65 persons, and 3 that of late bi fore Cristmas, bi the licence of my Lord Lieutenaunt, went over in to England, entending for to have retournyd agayn. And also, if it please your Grace, ther go over now with my Lord Lieutenaunt 9 persons of the Kingis gonners, whose names, and also of thaym of the Garde, be contaigned in a bill, which my Lord Lieutenaunt hathe with him. Also, and yt please your Grace, sithe my Lorde Lieutenauntes retournyng, now, of late, I have made rekonyng with His Lordship, for certen other thinges by twixt hym and me, concernyng the armye of the King our Soveraigne Lorde here, and for the reparacions of the Castill of Dublyn, with reparacions of the galeyes, for the vitailling of the castill of Monaster Oores, bilonging to Oconour, for suche tyme as yt was in the Kingis handes, and for the cariage of the Kingis ordynaunce thider. So, the rekonnyng made the 9th daye of this monnyth, my Lorde Lieutenaunt dothe owe to the Kingis Highnes, to be allowid uppon myn accompte, 135 £. 19s. 4d. sterling. How be that, and yt please your Grace, ther be divers thingis in a bill indentid by twixt my Lorde Lieutenaunt and me, wherof his Lordship desired to be allowed, which thinges as yet be uppon the pleasour of the Kingis Highnes, and of your Grace. I wolde not take that accompte, for thaye be thingis not certenly knowen, how thaye shulde be allowed: that is to saye, the warde, and keping of the Kingis galleys here, and for the vitalling of thaym homward; the charge wherof, and it please your Grace, is not certen un to ther commyng hom in savetie; and also the costis of suche servauntes, that my Lorde Lieutenaunt hathe sent with his letters un to the Kingis Highnes, at divers tymes, sithe his commyng hither. Beseching your Grace for to contynew my gode and graciouse lorde, as all wayes your Grace hathe ben, as that the Kingis Highnes, and your Grace, knowith my contynewell servyce, fidelitie, and trouthe, to the best of my litill power, which shal not faile duryng my pouer lyff; and comforte nor socour have I non in this worlde, except the Kingis Highnes, and of your Grace. In the moste humble wise beseching your Grace, that I maye have knolage of the pleasour of the Kingis Highnes and of your Grace, how that I shall order my self; and I do and shall

shall contynewally praye to Almyghti God for the contynuall prosperouse estate of Your Grace long to contynew. Wryten in the Cite of Dublyn, the 11th. daye of Marche, Anno 13°. Regni Regis Hen: VIII,

By the moste humylle servant and Orator to Your Grace,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) JOHN STILE.

To the Moste Reverend Lorde, my Lorde
Archebysshop of Yorke, Legate a Latere,
and Cardinall of England, His gode Grace.

XXXII. STILE *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESEITHE Your Grace for to understand, that sithe the departeynge of my Lord Admyralle, of late Levetenant to the Kynge our Soverayn Lord in this his land of Yrland, here hathe no new bessynessis nor trobilles recreasid, of any grete affecte, other wise then after the old acustumyd maner of this land of Yrland, as frayes, prayes, and pety robbories, as well amonges theym selfe, the Kynges subjectes in the Ynglisshe pale, as amonges the Yrysshe rebelles; whiche thynges, and yt plese your Grace, will never be lefte withowte the grete power of Almyzghty God, and of the Kynges Hizghnis &ca.

And yt plese your Grace, thErle of Ormond, the Kynges Deputy here, acordeyng to the Kynges commandment, toke his charge and othe on the 26 daye of Marche; and the thrid daye after that, the said Lord Deputy departeyd from this Cite of Dulyn, for to comune with Maghe Mur[2], and other Yrysshe cappytayns; and so from thens home in to his awne contrey, to the cownty of Kilkenny, where the said Lord Deputy kepid his Ester. And yt plese your Grace, yt is sayd that within this 8 dais the Lord Deputy shall speke with thErle of Desmond, in the marchis of his contrey of Mownster; and after that immedeatly that the Lord Deputy will come hether to Dulyn at this Ester terme. And said yt ys here, that Conell Omore, hireynge of the comeynge home of thErle of Kildare, wille kepe no more peas with the Kynges subjectes; so that therfore, and yt plese your Grace, the Kynges subjectes of the cownty of Kildare be in grete fere and danger to be disstroyed, in cace that the said Conell goe to warre; for the said cownty of Kildare ys almoste disstroyed alredy by the jentelmen of the same cownty, and theyre servantes, with

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[1] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 40.

[2] McMorough.

coyne and lyverrey. And all that contrey ys almost waste, and more other ys like to be, by the reson of the same, within this 4 sheris, so that the Kynges Hizghnis shal nother have rent, nor subcide, here, within fewe dais, and remedy therfore be not fownd. And Y dowte not, but that, by fore this tyme, the Kynges Hizghnis, and your Grace, hathe had the knowliche of the dethe of the late Bysshoppe of Corke[1]. The Archebysshoppe of Dulyn Ellecte[2], by the reason of Kynges letters patentis, ys restorid to all the profittes of the said Archebysshopry sithe the decesse of the late Archebysshoppe[3]. And acordeyng to my dewte, and to the comandmentes of the Kynges Grace, and yours, Y do and shall do the beste, that Y can or maye, for the recoverynge of the Kynges revenwis here, and to ordor myselfe acordeynge to the Kynges plesure, to the beste of my litill power, by the grace of Almyzghty God. And in the moste humylle wise besechynge your Grace to contynew my good and gracious lord, and that Y may have the knowliche of the Kynges plesure, and yours, what that Y shal do, and how for to order my selfe; and Y shall contynwally, and do pray for the longe liffe and prosperus astate of Your Grace. Wretyn in the Cety of Dulyn, on the 25 daye of Aprell, Anno 14°.

By the moste humyll Orator, and servant to Your Grace,

(*Signed*) JOHN STILE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Moste Revernent Lord, my Lord the Archebysshoppe of Yorke, Cardynall of Yngland, and Legatte a Latre, His gode Grace.

XXXIII. THE EARL OF KILDARE *to* WOLSEY.[4]

IN my moost humble maner I recomaunde me unto Your Grace, beseching God to rewarde your Grace, for the good favoures that pleased you to shew unto me, in my causes, at all tymes. Pleas it your Grace, to be advertised, that at my being in England, eight yeres passed, I made peticion to the Kinges Grace, that I might have had the next avoidaunce and denomination of the Bisshopprik of Kildare, where withall he was then contented; which Bisshopprik do not exede the yerely valure of an hundrith marc sterling, the substance

[1] John Fitz Edmond.
[2] Hugh Inge, Bishop of Meath, translated to Dublin by papal provision.
[3] William Rokeby.
[4] From the Chapter House, Bag "Ireland," No. 18.

whereof

whereof lieth in the Irishry, and will not be lightly had, but by temperall power. It is now voide by the dethe of the last Bisshop[1] there, so as I have now writtyn to the Kinges Grace, desiring to have his letters of denomination therefore unto this berer, Maister Edward Dillon[2], Deane of the Cathederall Chirch of Kildare foresaid; which is of vertuous living, and of English name and condicion; unto whom I beseche your Grace to be good and gracious lord, and that he may have youre gracious favoures in thexpedicion of the same, and the rather at this my pore contemplacion.

At my departure out of England, your Grace was crased, so as I coude have no ende in my causes, notwithstanding my long abode there; so as I have lefte certayn instruccions with certain of my servauntes there, to pursue unto your Grace for remedie therein. Wherefore it wold pleas you to be so good and gracious unto me, that I may have short expedicion in my said causes, as my special confidence is in your Grace, and I shall daily pray for the prosperous contynuance of the same. As Our Lord God knowith, who have Your Grace in his tendre tuycion. Writtyn at my manour of Maynoth, the 8th. day of Februarij.

Yours at your comaundement,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) G. OF KYLDARE.

To my Lord Cardynals Grace.

XXXIV. KILDARE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[3]

PLEAS it Your Grace to be advertised, that in the begynnyng of this May, I made a journey into the north of this your land on certain your Irish rebelles, aswell for burnyng of part of my landes there, as for robbing certain your subgietes of West Chester; and at my being there, herde that there was a Britton ship, laded with Gascon wyne, at your town of Cragvergouse[4]; whereunto I adressed me, and my retynue, through the contres of myn ennemyes, with som deficultie, for the passages there were defended by Hew McNeile, and others, which, besides ther awn retynue, had 1500 Scottes in wages, of whome there

1 Edmund Lane, who died about the end of 1522.

2 His successor is called by Sir James Ware, Thomas, not Edward, Dillon. If what is stated by Cowley in a subsequent letter, No. LIII., be correct, Edward and Thomas must have been different persons, and Kildare must have failed in this application.

3 From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 50.

4 Carrickfergus.

was about 20 slayne. And before I came to Cragvergouse, the Britton, hering that I had som 4 or 5 vessils commyng by see, departed and fled away, leving part of his payment for the wynes, that he sold to the inhabitauntes of the said Cragvergouse, unreceyved. And then I had knowlege, that a Scottish vesshell, laded with vittailles, lay ferre out in the havon; whereupon, for that myn awn vesshels were not then comyn, I manned furth 3 bootes with my servauntes, and such ordenaunce as I had there, which chased the said Scottes upon a dosyn myle, so as they ranne their vesshell agrounde, and went theym self to land; which were rescowed by the contre longing to Hew McNeill. Notwithstanding, my servauntes brought the vesshell with them. For the which rescowes, I brake a castell of his, called Belfast, and burned 24 myle of his contre, and toke and burned 2 other pilis, that Scottes kept there. And, for that thenhabitauntes of your town of Cragvergouse did bye and sell with your ennemyes, as well Scottes as Brittons, I toke the Maier of the same, and 3 of his bretherne, being of good substaunce after the rate there, which now I sent Your Grace. And during my being in that journey, your Deputie here, in cruvell wise, did not oonly burne the landes of diverse of my servauntes, your subgietes, being then with me in your service, but also brake 3 pilis, which were then chief defence against the Irishry, and besides that toke 2 castels or piles of me, without any defence; for my servauntes, having the custodie of theym, mystrusted him not. Whereof oon he brake him self, and delyvered the other to OConour, who brake hit. I toke thos same of Irishmen, and kept theym for the defence of your subgietes, having litill or no proffit by theym. Your said Deputie, sethens it was bruted here that Your Grace mynded to amove him from your deputacion, hath bene nothing in effect ruled by your Counsaill here, but hath made bondes with diverse of the Irishry, and in especiall with OKeroll, and such as hath hetherto moost greved your subgietes here; by whos assistence he intendith to defend his title to thErldome of Ormond, be it right or wrong. I am in veray evill caas; for, in avoiding your displeasure, I forbere to make any bondes with Irishmen against him, that hath your auctorite; and my frendis of your English subgietes may not conveniently asist me in my defence against the same; so as, without the hastier help of God and Your Grace, I am like to be undone therby.

And now, after the writing hereof, part of your said Deputies retynue hath takyn from me and myn 500 steide mares and coltes. Beseching Your Grace, in my moost humble wise, to have respect unto the premisses, for your Counsaill here, to whom I do and have oftyn complayne, sayth that the Deputie is not ruled by theym, ne will take their advertisment in the same. How be it, they do always avise me to suffre him without any revenging, and that they doubt not,

not, but that Your Grace will see redresse therein your self; whos advertisment I have hitherto folowed, and shall do, not suffring myn utter destruccion, which I am suer Your Grace wold not wil me to suffre. And thus the Holy Trinite have Your Grace in his moost tendre tuycion. From Kildare, the 24 day of Maij.

Your moost humble subgiet,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) G. of Kyldare.

To our Souverayn Lord the King.

XXXV. The Countess of Kildare *to* Wolsey.[1]

In my most humble maner I recomend me on to Your Grace, beseching your Grace to be good and grassius lord unto my Lord, my husbond, in such pwrsuitys, as hys servauntes persuith for hyme wnto your Grace, that it may aper un to theym, that your Grace ys som vhate the bettyr un to theym, at thys my humble petycion; for as yet my sayd Lord and husbond hat not had enny gret proffyt by me, yet I fynd hym as good and kynd unto me alwes, as eny man may be to hys wyf. Humble thankyn your Grace, for that it ples your Grace to remember me to my Lady my moder[2], as tucheng my maryag mone, when she was beffor your Grace. Asserting your Grace that I heme yn contynuell fer; and thogh of the Kynges Deputes sore and unfaworable demenour on to my sayd Lord, yt ys comenly noyssed here, that yf the sayd Deputie moght have my sayd Lord at eny avaunttage, that he wold utterly dystroy hym; of the whyc I have knowen hym, twys yn on mornyng, warned, er he rose owte of hys bed. As I hyre say, the caus why that he ys so cruell dysposed towardes hyme, ys, for that my sayd Lord reffused to endent to have tackyne part wyth hyme, ayenst theyrs of the late Erle of Ormond, whych pretendyth tytle to the sayd Erldome, en cas the Kynges Gras had wylled my sayd Lord to the contrrey; whyc claus yn no wys he wold be contented wyth all, but wold have had my sayd Lord bound, wyth oute enny exception. For the whyc he doth not only oppres my sayd Lordes frendys and serwantes, to the extremyte, but also maynteyneth the Kynges Iresh rebelles, ayenst hyme,

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[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 412. Holograph.

[2] Elizabeth, Countess of Kildare, was daughter of Thomas, second Marquis of Dorset, by Margaret, his second wife.

contynually.

contynually. And now off late, sens Maij last past, the sayd Deputy hath brokyn dywers castelles longeng to my sayd Lord, and to hys frendes, whych castelles was emong the Kynges Iresh rebelles, and wer gret defens for the Kynges Engles subgyectes; not only thes, but dywers other ynjurys and wronges dayly to my sayd Lord, hys frendys and serwantes, to long to me to wryte of unto yowr Gras. And my sayd Lord suffreth pacyentle the same, feryng the Kynges dysplesure; and yf yt were not therfor, lytyll wold he suffre such wronges, as the sayd Deputy doth unto hym, hys frends and serwantes. My Lord complaynes to the Kynges Counsayll here styll therof, and the Deputy wyll not be ruled by them, nether my sayd Lord dare not ster hym self, for fere of the Kyngys dysplesuer; so that he hath no remedy, onles yt be by the Kyng and yowre Gras. And yt fere me full sore, that my sayd Lord ys lyke to take gret harme, yn the mene whyle; besekyng yowr Gras, for the lof of God, to helpe for the expedicion of the redres here of, whych ys nedfull both to my sayd Lord, and to most part of all the Kynges subgyectes in thys land. As knowyth God, who have Yowr noble Gras yn hys blysed kepyng. Fro my Lordes maner of Maynoth, the 25 day of May.

Yowrs,

ELYSABETH KYLDARE.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Cardinals Grace.

XXXVI. JOHN ALEN *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEASITH it Your honourable Grace to pardon me of my presumption in writing to the same, thinking it my dutie, for that ye have whichsaved to admitte me (moche onworthie) to your service, to asserteigne your Grace, from tyme to tyme, of the causes committed to me. Herin inclosed your Grace shall receive a scrow of such dispensacions and other thinges, as hath been spedde by your honourable auctoritie, synes our comyng in to thies exile parties, conteynyng what sommes of money have and shalbe received for the same. Assuring your Grace, it is great marvell that so moche is doon, considering the onseen povertie that is in thInglishrie, at this season, otherwise than hitherto it hath been, as it is said, and thinestablisshment of the same; soo that we have no resorte to us,

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 58. Holograph.

ought

ought of thIrishrie, for any of your faculties. And although alwaie messangers hitherto mought passe safely, yet now many tymes they been robbed and spoiled or murdred.

Over this, if my Lorde of Dublyne wer not the Kinges Chauncellour, wherby he doth ponysh, with temporall power, soche as wold resist your auctoritie, it wer not likelie to be executed here with so moche honour, as it is; for moche doubt is made abought your Graces bulles, whether ye be Legate here, or not; insomoche we be in feare to shew the transsumptis of them, and besides that, we have noither bridgementes nor transumptes, according to your Graces commaundement. Beseching the same, that I maie have the transsumptes of all your bulles, from the daie of your first creation Legate. For your Grace hath some faculties that ye use not; wherof oon is, after deprivation, by your Grace made, of an abbot or priour, &c. from ther dignitie, ye may make provision of the same, not withstonding eleccion. This was graunted to Laurence[1] and your Grace jointelie; yet Leo hath innovate, and confirmed it to your Grace, in such wise, as though it had been graunted to you alone. Abought the degrees of consanguinitie and affinitie, your Gracis bulles be not veraie cleare for this countrie; which hurtith. Wherfor herin enclosed I do sende your Grace a copie of a bulle of this Pope, graunted hertofore to the collectour, which Raphaell Maruff ded use in Irelonde, wherin the doubtes, that I moved to your Grace abought the same, ye shall mowe see right well declared; trusting your Grace will have yours, after the same wise.

Besides this, my Lord Chauncelour is veraie difficille in graunting of your dispensations (which hindreth your Grace), and is lesse to be regarded in this lande than any wheare. For many partes under the Kinges obeysaunce ther been penall statutes, that no Inglishman shall marie with thIrish, so that they be so intricate in consanguinitie or affinitie, and besides that, the people of them self be so propine to evill, they wold marie withought dispensacion, orelles be infourcid to sue to the Courte of Rome. Wherof hath insued the decaie of the churche of Irelonde; for, whan an idill person gooth to the Courte of Rome, the compositions be to Irishmen so small for ther povertie, that by him many other exhorbitant matiers be sped. So that, in this lande, your Graces dispensations be necessarie to be graunted with lesse difficultie, than elles wheare, for thavoiding of contempte of holy canons, and thoccasion of the inconvenience

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[1] Campeggio, who in 1518 was made Legate jointly with Wolsey. On the return of the former to Rome, Leo X. granted to Wolsey alone, by a bull dated 6th January 1521, (Rymer, Vol. XIII. p. 734.) all the powers which had been enjoyed by him and Campeggio jointly; and the same powers were confirmed to him by Adrian VI. and Clement VII.

that

that foloith of theis Rome runners. And over that, that the maner of the compositions in this lande, for ther povertie, shulde be reduced from sterling money to the money of this countrie; wherby I suppose we shuld spede thre dispensations than, to oon nowe.

Finallie, maie it please your noble Grace to remember us, that to do your Grace service, been retourned from our owne, living here as it wer in captivitie, in great feare daielie of our ennemyes. Insomuche the Chief Justice shewith me, that if Inglish power comyth not shortely, we shalbe fayne to retourne from hens at Mihilmas. And I (by the Deputie and Counselles indifferent eleccion) occupieng (onworthie) the Clerkship of the Counsell[1], do perceive and knowe the patchid and inhonourable treuges, which, by inforcement of pure necessitie, be tollerate. Wher by I do perceive how moche Inglond is bounde to praie for your Grace, who peraventure sometyme shuld know parte of Irelandes misery, wer not your Graces high and excellent wisedome, experience, and noble justice. That knowith God, who ever preserve Your noble Grace in longe lif, with continuance in honour. From Dublyn, the first of June

Your Graces most humble servaunt and Register,

(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
Reverendissimo in Christo Patri, ac Domino Domino, Thome, tituli Sancte Cecilie Presbytero Cardinali, Apostolicæ Sedis in Anglia et Hibernia de Latere Legato, Domino meo colendissimo.

XXXVII. EARLS OF ORMOND AND KILDARE.

THIS Indenture, made the 28th. daie of July[2], in the 16 yere of the reign of Our Soveraign Lorde, Kynge Henry the Eight, bitwixt the right honourable the Erle of Ormond, Deputie unto our said Soveraign Lorde in his lande of Ireland, of the one partie, and the right honorable Erle of Kyldare, of the other partie, Witnesseth, that where there is, and hathe been of longe season, debate unkyndenes and varyaunce had bitwixt the said Erles, for divers oppressions,

[1] The date of John Alen's appointment to the Clerkship of the Council does not appear; but he held the office in 1523, and this letter was probably written in that, or the following, year.

[2] Two or three days before the government was transferred from Ormond to Kildare.

wronges,

wronges, brynnynges, roberies, and spoylinges, had doon and committed by the confederates, adherentes, and alies of the same parties, either of them to other, and to their tenauntes, frendes, and other persones of their pease and bandes, to the excessif costes, charges, losses, and damages of every of their parties; for the pacefieng wherof, and for other great urgent causes touching the good ordre and weale of this lande of Ireland, our said Soveraign Lorde hath sent hether his Commissioners[1], which, by the advise of the hole Counsaill of this lande, have duely harde, examyned, and by deliberate advise perceyved, the complayntes, aunsweres, and replicatyons of either of the said parties, with the deposytyons of their witnesses; wheruppon they have, by the consent and advise of the hole Counsaill of this lande, mocyoned and devised divers articles, acordes, and agrementes, to be made, concluded, and agreed betwixt the same parties, in maner and fourme herafter declared and specyfyed; at whose contemplation and request, and to the pleasure of God, and for thonour of our said Soveraign Lorde, and the commen weale of this lande, the said parties ar fully accorded and agreed, for all matters causes and quarels betwixt them, or their servauntes, tenauntes, frendes, adherentes, and alyaunces had moved or depending before the date herof, as is herafter rehersed and conteyned: And for the more suretie of perfourmans therof, either of the said parties promise graunte and agree, aswell upon their honours, trouthes, and fidelitees, as upon their othes, to perfourme kepe and fulfyll the said agreementes and promyses, to the best of their powers.

First, the same parties, of their owne fre willes and consent, frely and fully foryeve and remitte, either to other, al maner causes, wronges, oppressions, extorcyons, and all other displeasures, rancours, and malices, had moved or doon to theym, or to their tenauntes, frendes, alies, and adherentes, before the date herof.

Also the said parties ar agreed and graunte, every of theym to other, to be loving, kynde, and frendly, either of them to other, from hensforthe; and every of them to take parte with other agaynst the Kinges enemyes and rebelles, and noon of them to mayntayne, favour, aide, or assyst, or to make pease with, any the said Kinges enemyes or rebelles, to the hurte or losse of other of the said parties, without assente and agrement of either of them.

Also the said parties covenaunt and graunte, that if any varyaunce, oppressyon, or wronges happen or fortune to be doon herafter, by any of the servauntes, frendes, tenauntes, adherentes, or alies, of either of the said parties,

[1] Sir Antony Fitzherbert, Sir Ralph Egerton, and James Denton, Dean of Lichfield, were appointed Commissioners in April, and arrived in Ireland about Midsummer, 1524.

or bitwixt any of the said parties, that then the said parties, upon complaynte made therof to them, shall indifferently electe two persons to ordre the same; and in case the said two persones, so elected, can not agree, that then that matter to be directed by the Lorde Chauncellour, and the Kinges Privey Counsaill of this lande of Irelande, for the tyme being: And over that, the said Erles graunte, either to other, that if any varyauns herafter fortune bitwixt the said Erles, that then nether of them shall revenge the same, but that the partie greved shall complayne to the Chauncellour and Privey Counsaill; and therupon thother partie to make aunswere; and therupon the same Erles to abide suche ordre and awarde, as the same Chauncellour and Privey Counsaill shall make therin, without ferther delaye, or other sute to be made therfore.

And where there is claymed by the same Erle of Kyldare certeyn arrerages of the subsedie in the counties of Kylkenny and Typerar, for the tyme that he was Deputie of this lande[1], and for somuche as it is somewhat douptfull to the Counsaill, whether the same Erle shuld have the same subsedie within the said countie by reason of the Acte therof made, the said Erle is content to remitte unto the said Erle of Ormond all the same arrerages, and also all suche arrerages as the same Erle of Kyldare claymeth of the same subsedie, as executour unto the late Erle of Kyldare, his father[2].

And where as the said Erle of Ormond promysed unto the said Erle of Kyldare, yerely, one hundreth poundes, as long as he was Deputie, for his aide and benyvolens, as apperethe by awarde made bitwixt them, sens whiche tyme there is half a yere past and more, the said Erle of Kyldare graunteth and remysethe unto the said Erle of Ormond the said hundreth poundes, and the arrerages of the same.

And where the said Erle of Kyldare claymeth the arrerages of the rentes and proffites of the manour of Callan, parcell of the Kinges inherytaunce, receyved yerely by the same Erle of Ormond duryng the tyme that the same Erle of Kyldare was Deputie; the same Erle of Kyldare, by thes presentes, at the mocyon and desyre of the same Commissioners and Counsaill, remyseth and graunteth unto the said Erle of Ormond all the same arrerages of the said manour of Callam.

And where as the said Erle of Kyldare hathe his stode of mares and coltes taken by James Fitzgerrot sonnes, the said Erle of Ormond graunteth to doo the best he can to cause the same stode to be restored; and over that, graunteth to restore unto the said Erle of Kyldare asmany of them, as came within the said countie of Kylkenny, or the value of them.

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[1] In 1515.

[2] Maurice Earl of Kildare, who died in 1512.

And

And where there is divers oppressions, wronges, and spoyles doon by divers persons of the bande and pease of the said Erle of Kyldares, unto the servauntes, tenauntes, adherentes, and alies of the peas and bande of the Erle of Ormond; the same Erle of Ormond for hymself, his servauntes, tenauntes, adherentes, and alies, graunteth and remiseth unto the said Erle of Kyldare, his tenauntes, servauntes, adherentes, and alies, all the same oppressions, wronges, and spoyles; and likewise the same Erle of Kyldare for hym, his servauntes, tenauntes, adherentes, and alies, remyseth unto the said Erle of Ormond, and to his servauntes, tenauntes, adherentes, and alies of his peas and bande, all wronges, oppressions, and spoyles doon by them, or any of them, before the date herof.

And over that, the said Erle of Kyldare graunteth unto the same Erle of Ormond, to gather and levie, to and for the said Erle of Ormond, all the arrerages of the subsedie of the countie of Kyldare, that is leviable and due unto the said Erle of Ormond, duryng the tyme of his deputacyon; and the same to content and paie unto the said Erle of Ormond, except one hundreth markes, parcell of the said arrerages; whiche hundreth markes, for the busynesses, and for the remission before specyfyed, made by thErle of Kyldare unto the Erle of Ormond, the same Erle of Ormond graunteth unto the said Erle of Kyldare, to kepe and retayne in his owne handes, of the subsedie due unto the said Erle of Ormond within the said countie of Kyldare.

And over that, the said Erles ar agreed and graunte, every of them to other, that if any doute or grudge happe or growe herafter bitwixt them, for non perfourmaunce of eny of the articles in thies indentures specyfied, or for or upon the exposycyon or declaracyon of the entente or meanyng of any clause, article, worde, or sentence in thies present indentures, or for any other cause or quarell, that then the same dowte varyaunce declaracyon and grudge be ordred pacyfyed declared and determyned by the Chauncellour, Chief Justice, and the Chief Baron of this lande, for the tyme being, or by two of them; and the same parties to obaye and perfourme the same awarde, order, and direccyon.

And over that, every of the said parties remyseth and releaseth to other, all accyons personalles, sute, quarels, and trespaces, had, moved, or depending bitwixt them, before the date herof, excepte onely suche paymentes and satysfaccyons, as be conteyned in thies indentures, to be payed to every of the said parties.

And for perfourmaunce of theis covenauntes, the partie of the said Erle of Ormond to be kepte and perfourmed, the said Erle of Ormond and A. B., by their dedes obligatory of the date herof, have bound them, and every of them, unto the said Erle of Kyldare, in the somme of one thousand markes;

and likewise the said Erle of Kyldare and C. D., by their dedes obligatory, have bounde them, and every of them, unto the said Erle of Ormond in the somme of one thousand markes, to perfourme and kepe all the covenauntes and agrementes of the partie of the said Erle of Kyldare to be kepte and perfourmed. In witnes wherof &c. P. ORMOND. G. of KYLDARE. JAMES DENTON. RAUF EGERTON. ANTONY FITZHERBERT. J. RAUSON P̃OR. TH. ABBAS S^ti THOME juxta DUBL̃. JOHN PLUNKET of KYLLEN. SIR NICHOLAS Lorde HOUTH. RICHARD P̃OR of LOUTH. JOH: RICHARD, Deane of DUBLYN. P. BRYMIGHM, Justice. T. NETTERVILE, Justice. PATRIK WHITE, Baron.

XXXVIII. RECOGNISANCE *for the* ENGLISH *and* IRISH MARCHERS, BERMYNGHAM, ORMOND, *and* KILDARE.

The Bande of Recognisaunce for Englyshe Marchors.

MEMORANDUM, quod 12° die Julij, Anno Regni Regis Henrici VIII^vi. 16mo., omnes quorum nomina sequntur, venerunt coram dicto Domino Rege, in Cancellaria sua Hibernie, et recognoverunt se debere dicto Domino Regi pecuniarum summas immediate post eorum limitatas, de terris et catallis cujuslibet ipsorum ad opus dicti Domini Regis levandas.

Georgius Drake, de Drakeath, in quadraginta libris.
Oliverus Plunket, de Tallounston, in octaginta marcis.
Ricardus Nugent, Baro de Delvin, in ducentis libris.
Johannes Plunket, Dominus de Kyllen, in ducentis marcis.
Robertus Plunket, Dominus de Dunsany, in ducentis marcis, quarto die Augusti, annoque supra.
Cristoferus Plunket, de Rathemore, in ducentis marcis, exceptis fratribus suis, qui sunt Presbiteri.
Johannes Plunket, de Bewley, Miles, in centum marcis.
Walterus Bedlowe, de Roche, Miles, in centum marcis.
Jacobus Flemyng, filius Georgij, in quadraginta libris.
Patricus Betak, de Mynaltey, in centum libris.
Thomes Veldon, de Raffyn, in quadraginta libris, exceptis Petro et Henrico, fratribus.
Georgius Darcye, de Rathvill, in centum marcis.
Petrus Tathe, de Balibragan, in centum marcis.

Nicholaus

Nicholaus Hussey, Baro de Galtrim, in centum marcis, excepto Raulando Eustace, fratre.
Walterus de la Hid, de Miclare, Miles, in centum marcis.
Jacobus Gernon, de Killincoull, in centum marcis.
Johannes Okinlane, de Ballynykill, in quadraginta libris.
Petrus Lewce, de Knok, in quadraginta libris.
Cristoferus Barnwall, de Kyrkkestoun, in centum marcis.
Geraldus Flemyng, filius Baronis, in quadraginta libris.
Cristoferus Bedlowe, de Bedlowstoun, in centum marcis.
Ricardus Hadsore, de Drogheda, in quadraginta libris.
Patricus Ardaghe, in quadraginta libris.
Willelmus More, de Bormeth, in quadraginta libris.
Edmundus Dowdall, de Rathekste, in quadraginta libris.
Nicholaus Clynton, de Stabanane, in quadraginta libris.
Patricius Gernon, de Germonstoun, in centum marcis, excepto Johanne Gernon.
Jacobus Werdon, de Glonecyr, in quadraginta libris.
Thomas Babe, de Derver, in quadraginta libris.
Cristophorus Taffe, de Stewnston, in quadraginta libris.
Georgius Gernon, de Milton, in quadraginta libris.
Patricius Chamerlyn, de Sysly Rathe, in quadraginta libris.
Robertus Gernon, de Mayn, in quadraginta libris.
Johannes Plunket, de Monfelliston, in quadraginta libris.
Geraldus Vesly, de Dengin, in centum marcis.
Johannes Taffe, de Cokyston, in quadraginta libris, exceptis fratribus.
Willelmus Bedlowe, de Verdonston, in quadraginta libris.
Philippus Bedlowe, de Heynyston, in 40 £.
Johannes Dowdall, de Glaspistell, in quadraginta libris.
Willelmus Flemyng, de Maunston, in quadraginta libris.

The condition of the foresaid Bande.

Our Soveraigne Lorde wille, and by thes presentes graunteith, that if the said A. B. his brethren, and servauntes, and sonnes, doo not, at any tyme hensforward, take any coyn or lyveray of any of the Kinges saide subjectes, otherwyse then shalbe contayned in a payre of indentures made betwene our saide Soveraigne Lord the King, and the Erlle of Ormounde, nowe the Kinges Deputie in this lande of Ireland, or any other Deputie, for the tyme being: also if the said A. B. uppon resonable monition, and warneing, by write, letter missif, or pryvate sealle, doo personally appere before our saide Soveraigne Lordes

Lordes Chauncellour, Treasurer, Chief Justices of Benche and Comyn Place, and Chief Baron of his Excheker, within this lande of Ireland, or before any three of them, at suche daye or dayes, as shalbe lymyted in the saide writes, letter missiffes, or private sealles, and doo make suche restitution or recompence, as shalbe determyned by them, or any three of them, for all maner of theftes, roboris, trespaces, extortions, riotes, oppressions, and for all other offenceis that may be restored or recompensed by pecunyall somes, whiche, at any tyme hereafter, shalbe commytted or don by the said A. B. his sonnes, brethren, or servauntes, or any of them, within thys lande of Ireland: besides this, if the saide sonnes, brethren, or servaundes of the said A. B. or any of them, at any tyme hereafter, shalle commytte any treason, murder, or homycide, rape, or any other felony within the saide lande; yf the saide A. B. doo his devor and dyligence, to the uttermoste of power, to bring in suche of his sonnes, brethern, or servaundes, as shalle commytt any suche treason, murder, homycide, rape, or any other felony, and them, and every of them, delyver too the counstable or jaylour of our saide Soveraigne Lordes Castell of Dublyn, ther to suffer accordeing to their demerites: then this to be voyde, otherwise to stande in strengyth.

The condition of the Recognisaunce for Iryshe Marchers.

Item Our saide Soveraigne Lorde wille, that if the saide A. B. indifferently, withoute any parcyaltye, do cause every man to have sufficient men of warre, after the rate of his landes, as horsseman and kern, &c[a], and not to be charged with mo men of warre, after the rate of ther said landes, then he himself shalbe after the rate of his landes, to be contynually resydauntes in the saide landes, for ther defence agaynste our saide Soveraigne Lorde the Kinges Irishe and Englyshe rebelles, yf they be soo contentid: and in case the owners of the said landes wille not soo doo, that then the saide A. B. cesse men of warre, equally and indifferently, withoute parcialtye, to be resident uppon the saide landes, for defence aforesaid, as he doo uppon his owne propre landes, after the rate: and if the saide A. B. see that hit be nedefull, for a tyme, by reason of any urgent causis, that mo men of warre muste be hadde for the defence aforesaid, as a holdeing a bowe, or beside suche as be dayly resident ther, and that then he bring no suche men of warre, but by the advyse and consent, aswell of the owners and inhabitauntes of the saide landes, as of the Kinges Deputie, for the tyme being, and his Counsaill heere; and that no blak men be to the charge of the owners and inhabitauntes of the said landes: and that the saide A. B. do mayntayne the Kinges officers, as shryffes, eschetors, coroners, and other officers, as be requisid for the order and ministration of justice, after the manour and

and forme of our saide Soveraigne Lorde the Kinges lawes, in ther best maner, and see the Kinges writes and proces to be obeyed and executid: and that he use, ne take, cooshers, or coyddeys, ne suffer any person, after his power, to take the same within the saide barony: that then this recognisaunce to be voyde, otherwyse &c. And that ye shalle aunswere for all your servauntes, sonnes, and brethren, for all suche extorcion and oppression don by them, and every of them, whiche oughte to be recompensid by any pecunyall somes of money, and for all treasons, murders, rapes, or any other felony, don by them, or any of them, to do the uttermost ye can, or may, to bring in the bodies of them, and every of them, to be justyfied by the lawe; and that no Brehoune lawe be used among the Kinges subjectes, but onely to be confyrmable to the Kinges lawes.

Garrot Tute, 100 marcis.

Symon Petyt, 100 marcis.

Item, Our Soveraigne Lorde wille, if the saide A. B. suffer not any of the Kinges enimes to passe and repasse thrughe oute his countrey, to the hurtte and prejudice of any of the Kinges subjectes, but that he shall resiste them to his power: also if he, nether any of his brethren, sonnes, kynnesmen, and servauntes, take no coyne ne lyverye of any other mannes tenauntes within his countrey, but of suche mennes tenauntes, as have not sufficient horssemen and kernne contynually resydent uppon the saide landes, for the defence of the same against the Kinges Iryshe enimeys: and if he bring no holdeing of horssemen, nether kernne, into his countrey, at any tyme, but by thadvyse of the Kinges Deputie and Counsaill, with thassent of the inhabitauntes of his countrey: and also if he take no coddeis, ne coshers, ne suffer any other person to his power to take the same, within his countrey: and also if he aunswer for the extorcion and oppression don by his sonnes, brethren, kynnesmen, and servauntes, and for the same make recompence as the Kinges Deputye and Counsaill shalle devise and appointe, and for all other treasons, rape, murder, and felony, donne by them, or any of them, if he doo the uttermuste of his power to bring in the bodyes of suche persons, or any of them, to be justyfied by the lawe: and also if he personally do appere before the Kinges Deputie or the Counsaill, when he, at any tyme reasonable, shalbe commaundeid by them: and also if he mayntayne and ayde the Kinges shryffe, coroners, exchetors, and other his officers, within his countrey, when he shalbe requyrid by them: then this recognisaunce to be voide, &c[a].

Brymmyngham, Captayn of his nation, 40 £, exceptis Willelmo filio Valteri, et Johanne filio Willelmi.

ORMOUNDE.

ORMOUNDE. Decimo die Junij, anno Regni Regis Henrici 8^vi^. 15to.
1000 marc̃.

Item, Our Soveraigne Lorde wille, that if the saide Erlle, indifferently, withoute any parcyalltie, do cause every man to have sufficient men of warre, after the rate of ther landes, then he himself shalbe after the rate of hys landes, to be contynually resydent within the saide landes, for resistence and defence agaynste our Soveraigne Lord the Kinges Iryshe and Englyshe rebelles, if they be so contentid; and in case the owners of the lande wille not so doo, that then the saide Erlle do cesse men of warre, equally and indifferently, withoute parcialtye, to be resydent uppon the saide landes for defence aforesaide, as he shalle doo uppon his propre landes after the rate: and if the saide Erlle do see that it be nedefull, for a tyme, by reason of any urgent causes, that mo men of warre muste be hadde for defence aforesaide, as an holdeing a bowe, and besides suche as be dayly resydent ther, and that he bring no suche holdeing, but by advyse and consent of the gentillmen, freholders, and inhabitauntes of the saide countye, or the more parte of them, and sende ther hoole certificat unto the Deputie and Counsaill, testifying that it is don by all ther consentes, for greate urgent causeis; and that the countrey be not chargeid with black men, saving captaynes, sharefes, as allway is usid; and that aswell the wages, as mete and drynke, of all suche holdeinges be equally cessid, aswell uppon the saide Erlle is propre landes, as the landes of all other gentyllmen and freeholders, after every man his rate: and that the saide Erlle doo see officers to be made in the saide countye, as shryffes, eschetors, coroners, and other officers, suche as shalbe requisid for thadvauncement of justice, after the maner of our saide Soveraigne Lorde the Kinges lawes, and to the best of his power see the Kinges wrytes and processe to be obeyed, and the shryfes, and other the Kinges officers to be mayntayned, and that he shalle use no cooshers, or codeis, with congregations, ne to his power suffer no gentillman or freeholder in the saide countey to take any, and if they wolde, to represse them: and if in case that any of his kynnesmen, or gentillmen of the countrey, for restrayneing them from suche coshers or codeis, or yet for compelling them to reforme them to the Kinges lawes and good ordre, wille rease warre uppon the saide Erlle, and confeder with thErlle of Desmounde, the Brenes, or others, that in suche case all the Kinges subjectes of the 4 shyres, shalbe aydeing, fortyfying, and strengtheing the saide Erlle, in reformyng his saide kynnesman and inhabitauntes of the saide countie, to bring them reformable to the saide ordre: and moreover the saide Erlle shal bring in before the Kinges Commissioners all his kynnesmen, servauntes, and inhabytauntes of the said countye, to aunswer to ther

ther defaultes, and make restitution for them, and, in defaulte of the saide Commissioners presence, to bring the mysdoers to suche placeis, where the parties grevid may have justice and remedy.

KYLDARE. Quarto die Augusti, Anno Regni Regis Henrici VIII^vi^. 16to. in 1000 marcis.

The condition of this Recognisaunce is suche, that if the above bounden Erlle, his sonnes, brethren, and servauntes, nor any of them, except his brethren Thomas and James, at any tyme hereafter, doo take coyne or lyverye of any of the Kinges subjectes, otherwise then of ther tenauntes, but as shalbe contayned in a payre of indentures to be made betwene the King, our Soveraigne Lorde, on the one partye, and the saide Erlle, the Kinges Deputie of this his lande of Irelande, of thother partie; but that the saide Erlle of Kildare may take suche coyne and lyverye of all his tenauntes, within the counties of Kildare and Catherlaghe, and others his tenauntes elsewhere, as hathe byn by his fader, or hym, usid for the speciall defence of them, and others the Kinges subjectes, against the Kinges rebelles, and of all other inhabytauntes within the same counties and marcheis of this lande, by the consent of the inheritours of the same, or the more parte of them dwelling therin, or by the consent of the more parte of the Kinges Counsaill: also if the saide Erlle do his dyligence to see the Kinges lawes mayntayned, and all writes and proces of the same, obeyable and curraunte within the saide countie of Kyldare, obeyd and executeid, and do make all suche officers as he oughte to make by reason of his libertie for thadmynistration of justice, and also shalle assyste all suche officers as the King shalle and oughte to make, within the saide countie and libertie of Kildare, in doing of their officis, and do not take or use coshers, nor codeys, nor suffer any other person or persons to take any suche coshers or codeis, but do represse them to his power, when the same shalbe complayned unto him: and also if the saide Erlle, or any of his saide sonnes, brethren, or servauntes, uppon reasonable monition by write, letter missife, or private sealle, do personally appere before our saide Soveraigne Lordeis Chauncellour, Tresaurer, Chefe Justice of his Benche, or Comyn Place, and Chief Baron of the Excheker, of this his lande of Irelande, or before any thre of them, at suche daye or dayes as shalbe lymytid by the saide writes, letters missifes, or private sealles, and do make suche restitution or recompence, as shalbe determyned by them, or any 3 of them, of all maner of theftes, roboris, trespacis, extortions, ryotes, oppressions, and for all other offenceis, that may be restored or recompenced by

pecunyall somes, whiche, at any tyme hereafter, shalbe commytted or don by the said Erlle, his sonnes, brethren, or servauntes aforesaid, within this lande of Irelande, not being determynable within the saide lybertie: besides this, if the saide sonnes, or brethren, of the saide Erlle, or servauntes, or any of them, at any tyme hereafter, shalle commytte any treason, murder, homycide, rape, or any other felony within this saide lande, if the saide Erlle do his devoyre, or power, to bring in suche of his brethren, sonnes, and servauntes, as shalle commyt any suche treason, murder, homycide, rape, or any other felony, and them, and every of them, to delyver to the jayles of our Soveraigne Lorde the Kinge, or to any other jayle, that they oughte to be deliverid unto, to suffer accordeing to the Kinges lawes: that then &c.—Provideid alwayes, that at every tyme that any of the saide Erlles sonnes, brethren, or servauntes shalle take any coyne or lyverie, otherwise then is before rehersid, then if the saide Erlle, uppon complainte made unto him therof, do see due recompence made for the same unto every of them, that suche coyne or lyveraye shalbe taken of by his saide sonnes, brethren, and servauntes, or by any of them; that then the saide Erlle shall not stande in any daunger or forfeture of this present Recognisaunce.

XXXIX. The Copie of the Indenture, made betwene Our Soveraigne Lorde the King, and the Right Honerable Erlle Gerralde of Kildare.

This Indenture, made the 4th daye of Auguste in the 16th yere of the Raigne of Our Soveraigne, King Henry the VIIIth., betwyxte our Soveraigne Lorde, of the one partye, and Gerralde Erlle of Kyldare, of the other partye, Witnessyth, that our saide Soveraigne Lorde, aswell for the trewe and faythfull service, that the same Erlle hathe don to His Grace before this tyme, as for the greate affyaunce, and assurid trewyth, that His Grace hathe founde and provid in the same Erlle twicheing his allegeaunce, and for suche benyvolent services and approves, as the same Erlle can and maye doo to our saide Soveraigne Lorde, in represseing of his Irishe and Englyshe rebelles and enimeys of this his lande of Irelande, His Grace, by his letters patentes under his sealle, hathe ordayned and constituteid the same Erlle of Kyldare to be his Deputie within this his lande of Irelande; to occupie, perceyve, and inyoie the same office, with all rentes, revenues, and profites therunto appertayneing, dureing the pleasure of our saide Soveraigne Lorde; as more at large by the same letters patentes dothe appere.

And

And the same Erlle, for his parte, graunteth to oure saide Soveraigne Lorde, that he shalle not make no warre nor peas with any Irishe men, or oder person, to or at the charge of the countrey, or inhabitauntes of the same, withoute assent of the Lordes and the Kinges Counsaill, or the more parte of them.

And over that, the same Erlle graunteith, that as ofte as he shalle passe throughe the Englyshe pale to any osteinges, or jornays, or to parlle with any Iryshe man, he shalle not sett his men too coyne uppon the Kinges subjectes within the Inglyshe pale, but by bille made by the arbinger, by thadvyse of too gentillmen of every baronye, where the sayde coyne shalbe sett; and that every of his men, so lyveryd, shalbe content to have suche meate and drynke, as folowith; that is to saye, every horsseman, and captayne of kerne and galoglasse, to have, in flesshe dayes, fleshe, bredde, and ale, and in fysshe dayes, fyshe, or butter; and his kyrnne and boyes, suche as the husbond hathe; orelles to take but for every horsseman 2^{d}. a meale, every foteman 1$\frac{1}{2}^{d}$., and for every horskeper 1^{d}.; every chief horsse 12 sheives for a nyght and a daye, every bereing horsse eyghte sheives, and but 1 boye for a horsse. And allso the saide Erlle graunteith, that at suche tyme as he shalle sett his men to coyne in the marches, that they shalle not take noo coyne, but after the said rate; and also but oone boy too oone horsse.

And also the said Erle graunteth, that he, being at any Parliament, counsaill, or in his private busynes, in the Inglishe pale, shall not take coyne or lyverey of any persone, but onely upon his owne tenauntes; but for to pay for mannes meate, and horsemete, of every of hys men, and their horses, in maner and fourme folowing; that is to witt, for a horseman two pens every meale, and for a horsboy a peny, and for every sex reasonable sheves of ootes a peny, and for a bushell of ootes 8^{d}.; and that his said horsemen, yemen, and horsboyes shalbe contente with suche meate and drynke, as the husbondes have, paieng 1^{d}. for a meale therfore. And also the said Erle graunteth, that at suche tyme as he shall ride thorough the Englishe pale, to parle with any Irisshe man, or otherwise, that he shall take with hym as small a company, as he may convenyently for saufgard of his persone.

Also the said Erle graunteth, that he shall see and ordayne musters to be kepte in every barony, every yere, or every two yere; and also to commaunde every man to have harneys and artyllery, accordyng to hys degree, as Englishe speares, bowes, and billes.

Moreover the said Erle graunteth, that he shall not compell no man to paye lyvery for any man that will not appere personally to receave the same, saving galloglages, whiche shall have but sextene in a batayle; whiche men, so

makyng defalte, be commonly called blakmen, in this lande. And also the said Erle graunteth, that at suche tyme as he shall put hys men to lyvery within the Inglishe pale, he shall not lyvery theym in one place, but for one night, excepte Sunday; and if they have lyvery for the next night, he shall not lyvery theym within the space of 9 or 10 myles to that place, where they had lyvery the other night. And also the same Erle graunteth, that where as hys men take lyvery for a nyght, or reyse payment for the same, that then he shall in no wise take lyvery for theym at eny other place for the same night.

And also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall not make any bande or assuraunce with any Irishe man, that shalbe prejudyciall to our Soveraign Lorde, his heires, deputies, and subjectes of this lande of Ireland, for the tyme being.

And also the saide Erle graunteth, that he shall not graunte pardons for heynous offences, as treason, murdre, ryottes, routes, and unlawfull assemblies, or for other suche like offences, but onely by the advise of the Lordes of the Kinges Counsaill, or the more parte of theym.

And also the saide Erle graunteth, that he shall not suffer any man to occupie the Kinges manours and landes, that ar yerely the Kinges, and have been in the Kinges possessyon, but onely suche as have letters patentes to showe therfore.

And also the said Erle graunteth, that he shall not purchas any landes, being depending in contraversy bitwixt any of the Kinges subjectes, within this his said lande, duryng the tyme of his Deputacyon.

Also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall endevour hymself to cause the shrives, coroners, and other the Kinges offycers, to doo, serve, and execute their offices, and all processe to theym directed, accordyng to the ordre of the lawe. And also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall not make any officers of the Kinges Courte, as of the Kinges Benche, Comen Place, and Eschequier, but suche as shalbe thought mete and able therfore, by the advise of the Kinges Counsaill, or the Kinges Justices, or Barons of his said Courtes, or the more parte of theym. Also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall cause yerely shriffes, eschetours, crowners, and other officers, to be made yerely in the shires of Myth, Dublyn, Lowth, Wexford, Kylkenny, Typperary, Watterford, Lymeryk; and to cause justices of pease to be made within the same shires, or in asmany of theym as he may convenyently, and to cause theym to kepe quarter sessyons yerely, and to here and to determyne all cawses and matters at their sessyons, accordyng to the lawes; and to alowe the same justices, for their costes, of the fynes and amercyamentes that shalbe assessed, or made, in the same sessyons.

Also

Also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall dyspende and ley owte, in upon and aboute the reperacyons of the Kinges castels and manours of Dublyn and Tryme, and other the Kynges castels within this his lande of Irelande, of the rentes and revenues of the Kinges possessyon of the same lande, the fyrst yere fourty poundes, and yerely fourty markes, duryng the tyme of hys Deputacyon.

Also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall endevour hymself to cause the Kynges subjectes of the foure shires to goo in Englishe apparell, after their degree and power, and to use the Inglishe langage, and to have the upper berdes to be shaven, and not to suffer theym to growe, upon certen paynes to be assigned by the Deputie and Counsaill.

Also the same Erle graunteth, that he shall not procure, styrre, nor mayntaigne any warre ayenst thErle of Ormond, nor the Baron of Delwyn, nor Sir William Darcy, nor ayenst their sonnes, nor servauntes; ne revenge eny quarell for hym, or for any other man, ayenst theym, or any of theym, without the assent and advise of the Kinges Counsaill, or the more parte of theym.

Also the said Erle shall endevour hymself to cause yerely suche ordynaunces, as is devysed by James Denton, Clerke, Sir Rauf Egerton, Knight, and Antony Fytzherbert, Commissioners of our Soveraign Lorde, and the Counsaill of this lande, and to see theym put in execucyon, as shalbe thought expedyent by the Kinges Counsaill.

Also the said Erle of Kyldare shall cause and provide that the Kinges Justices of this lande of Irelande, and the Barons of the Kinges Eschequier, may be trewly and yerely payed their fees and wages, to theym due, and to be payed, by reason of their offices.

Also the said Erle graunteth, that he shall suffer and cause the same Erle of Ormond to have and receave the hole rentes, revenewes, and profytes, commyng and growing of the Kinges manours, lordeships, landes, tenementes, rentes, custumes, feefarmes, and profites within Ireland, before the Feast of the Nativitie of Saynt John Baptist last past before the date herof; and to have and enjoye all other profittes and casuelties, that the same Erle of Ormond hathe receaved before the date herof; and the same Erle of Kyldare to have all rentes, revenewes, issues, and proffittes, that be or shall comme growe, or by due of the same manours, lordeships, landes, and tenementes, custumes, and feefermes, syns the same Feast of the Natyvitie of Sainct John Baptist, whiche be not receaved by the same Erle of Ormond. And over that, the said Erle of Kyldare graunteth that he shall content and paye unto the Erle of Ormond, within one yere next after the Feast of Saynt Mighell next commyng, the one half of the Subsedie, that shalbe due unto our said Soveraigne Lorde,

or

or to his Deputie in this lande of Ireland, at the same Feast of Saynt Mighell, excepte onely £10 therof; whiche somme our said Soveraign Lorde will that the Erle of Kyldare content and paye unto William Bushe, Sergeaunt of the Pantry of our said Soveraign Lorde, whiche is due to hym by reason of his patent of the office of Chamberlayn of the Eschequier in this lande of Ireland; and also excepte £45 therof, whiche somme our Soveraign Lorde will that the same Erle of Kyldare shall content and paye unto Sir Bartylmewe Dyllon, Knight, for the arrerages of his fee for his office of Secondary of the Kinges Benche in this lande of Ireland, and Chief Remembrauncer of the same Eschequier.

And for perfourmaunce of their covenauntes, the same Erle of Kyldare, by thies presentes, byndeth hym, his heires and executours, to our said Soveraign Lorde, in the somme of one thousand poundes of Irishe money. In witnes wherof, to the one of thies indentures Our Soveraign Lorde hathe caused his letters patentes therof to be made unto the same Erle, and to the other partie of theis indentures, the same Erle hath put too his seale, the daye and yere abovesaid.

XL. Ormond *to* Lord Butler.[1]

In my loving maner I recommende me unto you. And lately hath had relacion, that certain of the Counsaill, by the Deputies meanes, have written over thider, to have the Kinges letters addressed to me, prohibiting me to take any Irishe mens part. Whereupon ye most ever have good, secret, and diligent esspyall, lest the Kinges letters be so optayned, whiche then wold not oonly bee grete prejudice to me, and to you, in tyme commyng, but also great discorage to all myne adherentes, to continue any amytie to me, or you, herafter. Now ye may perceive the parcialitie of theym, that so certified, being ordred and conducted therin, as the Deputie wolde have theym. And during my being in thauctoritie, they never certified any of thErl of Kyldares apparaunt mysorder, or transgression, in any maner. Shewe the Kinges Grace, and my Lord Cardynall, of the soden wilfull invasion doon by the Deputie upon OKeroll, long after the date of the Kinges letters now directed; wherof I have rather certified you by a frere of Mowskery. Wherupon ye must devise,

[1] From a contemporary copy in Lambeth Library, vol. 602. leaf 30 a.

in

in my name, to the King and my Lord Cardinall, as my trusty servaunt, Robert Couly, shall penn and endite.

As for thindentures, they bee infrenged by the Deputie, and in maner no point observed; and as for my parte, I will justifie, I have truly observed theym, to my gret losses, in suffring my adherentes and servauntes distruccions. The Deputie, nowe afore Ester, did set suche coyn and liverey in the 3 obedyent sheres, that mervaile it were to here two litell townes of myne, called Castell Warning, and Oghterarde, with any other towne, did bere 420 galloglas. For 4 myles the pore tenauntes be so empoverysshed, that they cannot paye my rentes, and the landes like to bee clere wast. Now lately he hath sente out of the Eschequier a writ to Waterforde, that all maires and bailliffes, that were there sens the furst yere of our Souverain Lord that now is, shold appere in 15 Pã[1] to geve accompt, before the Barons, for al maner the King duties, revenues, and poundage there; whiche is doon for a cautell, to put me to losses, and my heires. For Waterford hath a sufficient discharge, but oonly for my halff of the prises, and the 10£ of anuite, with the 20 markes to the churche. And asfor the price, and 10£ of annuite, I must see theym discharged. Wherfore ye must labour to gette an especiall patent of the King, of all the prises in this land, according to my graunte, made to myne auncesters by his most noble progenitours, and specially in Waterford, and the 10£ of annuitie, without any accompt-making; with this clause, "absque aliquo "compoto" &c. If it bee not had, it will be moche prejudice to you, in tyme commyng; for this is doon to dryve you ever from the principall wynes, and the said annuitie, and not to have your prises, till ye have a discharge out of thEschequier, from tyme. In any wise, slepe not this matier, and if ye do, the most losses and trouble wilbe yours, in tyme commyng. Immediat upon the receipt herof, sende for Robert Couly, and cause hym to seche remedies for the same; and if James White bee not commyng, let hym endevour hym self to obteigne it. Furthermore, I desire you to make diligent hast hyther, with the Kinges licence; for surely, onles I see your tyme better employed in attendaunce of my great busynes, then ye have doon hither, I wolbe well avised, or I doo sende you any more, to your costes. Written at Kilkenny, the 22 daye of Aprill.

(*Superscribed*)
To my son James Butler, with
the Kinges Grace in England.

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[1] Quindena Paschæ.

XLI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* KILDARE.[1]

RIGHT trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, We grete you well. Signifieng unto you, that complaint hath been made unto Us, on the behalf of Our right trusty and right welbiloved Cousin, thErl of Ormond, that where as, at our Commissioners being there, they awarded unto the said Erle the oon half of our Subsidie there, and other parcelles of our revenues there due, unto hym, which Subsidie, and other revenues, our said Commissioners auctorised you to levie and receive to the use of the said Erle, and to have made full payement of the same unto hym at the Fest of Saint Michell thArchaungell last past, as by thindentures therupon made betwixt you, in that partie, playner it doth appere; Ye, not regarding our said Commissioners award in that behalf, do still reteigne and kepe in your handes the said Subsidie, and other revenues, of the somme of 800 £, or theraboutes, as We bee infourmed: Wherfore We woll, and natheles commaunde you, that within 20 dayes next after the sight herof, ye make full delivery and payment of the said Subsidie, and other revenues, unto the said Erle, according the purport of our said Commyssioners awarde, without any stoppell or further delaye, as ye tender our pleasure. Yeven under our Signet, at our Manour of Grenewiche, the 20th day of Maye.

XLII. ARTICLES to bee shewed, on the behalf of THERL of KILDARE, unto the KINGES GRACE by my Lord LEONARD GREY, towching the mysedemeanour of THERL of ORMOND, sethens the departure of the Kinges Commyssioners out of Ireland.[2]

FURST, where as the sayd Comyssioners, by thadvice of the Kinges Counsaill here, ordred that the said Erle of Ormond shuld take no coigne ne leverey of any of the Kinges subgiettes, other then of his owne tenauntes, without the consentes of the gevers therof, the same consentes to bee approved by the said

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[1] From a contemporary copy in Lambeth Library, vol. 602. leaf 34. The following note is subjoined, in the same hand: "This letter was not delivered till Sainct Laurence Even, in the presens of my Lord Chaunceller."

[2] From a contemporary copy in Lambeth Library, vol. 602. leaf 31 b. It appears by the indorsement to have been inclosed in Lord Leonard Gray's letter to the King, conformably to the title of the Articles.

Counsaill;

Counsaill; which notwithstanding, the said Erle hath sithens contynually taken coigne and liverey of all the Kinges subgiettes within the counties of Kilkenny and Typperary, not oonly for his horsemen, kerne, and galloglas, but also for his masons, carpenters, taillours, being in his owne werkes, and also for his sundry huntes, that is to seye, 24 personnes with 60 grehowndes, and howndes for dere hunting, a nother nomber of men and dogges for to hunt the hare, and a third nomber to hunte the martyn, all at the charges of the Kinges subgiettes, mete, drinke, and money; the hole charges wherof surmountith 2000 markes by yere.

Item, where as the sayd Commyssioners endented with the Kinges said Deputie, that he sholde not, to his power, suffre any to occupie the Kinges manours and landes without His Graces letters patentes on the same; the said Erle of Ormond hath ever sithens occupied the manours of Callan, within the counties of Kilkenny and Kilmore, and other landes in the countie of Tipperary, to the yerely value of 60 £, to his owne use, without any patent, or other auctoritie; and, besides this, usurpyth on all the Kinges roiall jurisdiction within the said two counties, taking all the Kinges eschetes, fynes, forfaitures, and all other casuallties there, as his owne.

Item, where as the said Deputie had warre with OKerull, whiche ever hath been oon of the Kinges grettest ennemyes in this land, and most hurte hath doon unto the Kinges obeisaunt subgietes of the same; the said Erle of Ormond, at a certain tyme, when the said Deputie invaded the same OKerull is countie, did sende 4 of his gunners, with gunnes and powder, to defende the said OKerullis castell, against the Kinges said Deputie; and, besides this, did make fast promysse with the same OKeroll to have taken his parte against the said Deputie, contrary to his alegeaunce.[1]

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[1] The deposition of Fergennaymne, eldest son to OKeroll, in the presence of my Lord Deputie, my Lord Chaunceller, my Lord of Gormanson, and the Chief Justice; sworne on the Holy Sacrement, and the Evangelistes, the 23th day of May, anno 17° Hen. VIII.

Furst how Piers Clynton, Donyll Wony, Nicholas Anels son, and an other blak fellow, gunners and servauntes unto thErl of Ormond, came from the said Erle unto OKerroll, after Ester last past, to thintente to ward his castell of Lemebanan *, and to defende the same castell, and OKeroll, against my Lord Deputie and all other men.

Item, that my Lord of Ormond promysed OKeroll, at sundry tymes, to defende hym of all men, for al maner hurtes that the said OKeroll did unto any of the Kinges subgiettes, during the tyme that my said Lord of Ormond was Deputie.

Item, the said Ferganaymne deposed, as ferre as he and OKeroll cowd understande, that the saide Erle of Ormond promised to comme, with all his people and power, to defende the said OKeroll against the said Lord Deputie, or any other that wold invade hym in his contrey.

Item, he deposed that OKeroll shewed hym, that the said Erll promised hym to go with hym, upon any man that wold invade the said OKeroll.

* Lemanaghan, in the King's County.

Item, where as depended certain contraversies betwene the saide Erle of Ormond, and the Brenys, whiche are of the grettest power of any of the Irishry of this land, the same Erle, at a communication with theym, for a concorde to bee had in the same, offred unto theym their owne desire touching ther said controversie, so as they wold have been bownden to have taken his parte against the Kinges said Deputie; which they refused.

Item, where as the late Bisshop of Leghlyn[1] was heynously murdered by thAbbot of Duske's son[2], being the said Erle of Ormondes neigh kynnesman, for that intent the said Abbot might have enjoyed that Bisshoprik; at the whiche murdre ther was 3 of the same Erles servauntes, for the whiche he hath not as yet punysshed theym; and farthermore did succour the said Abbot, in his cuntre, at suche tyme as the said Deputie did persecute hym as the procurer of the same murder.

Item, the servauntes of the said Erle of Ormond did burne, robbe, and spoile a towne of the said Deputies, called Lyvetiston, within the countie of Kildare, where they cruelly murdred and burned 17 men and women, diverse of theym being with child, and oon of theym, that fled out of the fire to the churche, was slayne on the high auter; and burned, and toke with theym, goodes of the value of 200 £: and, this notwithstanding, the said Erle kept theym still in his service, he knowing burnyng, and wilfull murdre, to bee treason by statute here. For the which the Counsaill here decreed 200 markes for a mendes to bee payed by the said Erle unto the said Deputie, at this last Michelmas and Ester termes, whiche is not yet payed. And besides this, his servauntes have been, at sundry tymes, in company with Irisshemen, taking diverse prayes of the Kinges subgiettes; the certaintie wherof were to prolix to bee writen of here.

Item, the said Erle of Ormond kepeth a warde of evill disposed personnes, in a pyle adjoynyng to the see, called Arclow, which do not oonly robbe and spoyle the Kinges subgiettes, passing ther by, but also do ravisshe women, maydens, and wydowes. And besides all this, where diverse of the Kinges subgiettes, before the peace, were chased by Britonys at see, which fled and toke lande there for their saufgarde; when they came to land, the said warde set upon theym, and spoiled theym of all that they had, and put theym in suche daungier of their lyves, that they refused the land, and were glad to yelde them self to the Brittones, trusting more in their humanities, being their mortall ennemyes, then to the crueltie of the said warde.

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[1] Maurice Doran. [2] Maurice Kavanagh.

Item,

Item, where as the said Deputie did sende his nigh kynnesman, Thomas Fitz Maurice, into a certain wast grounde of his, called the Fasagh OBentre, for thinhabiting of the same, whoys fader was slayne in the Kinges service at my Lord of Northfolkes being here; certain of the Irishry, accompanyed with parte of the said Erle of Ormondes servauntes, laye in awayte for the said Thomas, and so toke hym prysoner.

Item, all the churchis, for the more parte, within the said counties of Kilkenny and Typperary, are in suche extreme decaye, by provision, that, in maner, there is no devine service kept there, and shalbe well proved, that fewe or none laboureth to the Appostill for any benefice there, without the consente of the said Erle, or my Lady, his wif, by whome he is only ruled, whiche are the veray maynteners of all suche provision; in so muche as they lately mayntayne certayn provisers against the said Erle is son being Archebisshop of Casshell[1], contrary to the Kinges letters directed in the favors of the said Archebisshop: so as, and if the Kinges Grace do not see for the hasty remedy of the same, there is like to bee no more Cristentie there, then an the myddes of Turkey; for the spirituall swerd is there clierly dispised.

Item the said Erle of Ormond now lately, before his suddain departure out of this land, without making the Kinges Deputie or Counsaill pryve to the same, did, by cohercion and extort power, levie and perceive of every of the Kinges subgietes passing the age of twelve yeres, within the said countie of Kylkenny, 4^{d}, for a subsidie towardes his charges, at this tyme, into Englande, and made collectours to levye the same, as and it had been graunted by auctoritie of the Kinges Parlament; and suche pore wretches, as shepherdes and others, as had nothing to paye, their maisters were compellid to paye for theym; wherof a myserable clamor is through out all the cuntre, for like extorcion hath not been hiderto sayn in this land; and besides this, levieth subsidies on the cuntre, to his owne use, against their willes, and wold suffre no peny of the Kinges subsidie, whiche is graunted by Parliament, to bee levied there.

Item, he hath used to sende over see, unto oon Robert Cowly, by whome diverse untrothes hath been proved, to indite complaintes, at his owne pleasure or discression, against the said Erle of Kildare; having with hym a singnet of the said Erle of Ormondes, to seale the same.

Item, in caas thErl of Ormond make any new matier of the letter, that thErl of Kildare sente to thErl of Desmond, the trouth therof was this. After that the same Erle of Kyldare repaired last out of England, he had with

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[1] Edmund Butler, natural son of Lord Ormond, was not consecrated Archbishop till 1527. His predecessor, Maurice Fitzgerald, died in 1523.

OKeroll, OMullowy, OConnour, ODympsye, ODoyn, OMallaghlyn, McMaurice, and others of the Irishery, whome the said Erle of Ormond, then being the Kinges Deputie, mayntained and bare in the same, contrary to the tenour of the Kinges letters directed unto hym, for to have aided the said Erle of Kildare against the Kinges said rebelles; in so moche as, notwithstanding the grete contraversies and warris that, before this tyme, were betwene hym and the Erle of Desmond, whose cuntre, for the more part, the said Erle of Kildare invadid, burned, and distroyed, yet was he then fayne to write unto the saide Erle of Desmond, to have metten with hym at a certain place, where he thought to have desired his aide against the Kinges said rebelles; and by his said letter advertised hym to have bene at unitie and concorde with his kynnismen, so as therby the rather he might have had the same, and the same Erle of Desmonde the more hable to resist his ennemyes of the Irishery there, as both the McCarties, Cormok Oge, and other the Kinges Irish rebelles; which letter his sister, the Lady of Ormond, caused to bee taken from oon of his servauntes that bare the same, he being then lodged in her owne house. At the writing of whiche letter, the said Erle of Kildare knew nothing of the said Erle of Desmondes mysdemeanure towardes the Kinges Grace, ne no knowlege had therof, till it was at the Commyssioners being here; by whome he sent instructions of his mynde unto the Kinges Grace, for his punysshement, and also wrote sundry letters to His Grace, and my Lorde Cardynall, to have knowen their pleasures how to have used the said Erle. Wheron, ne on any other letter sente unto theym sithen his commyng hider, he never had aunswer, as yet; so as it were very hard for hym to know how to ordre hym self therin. The said letter sent to thErl of Desmond was shewed to the Commissioners, against hym, by thErl of Ormond; who, upon the debating therof, toke it to procede of noon evill intente; and to prove the same, when it shall please the Kinges Grace to commaunde hym to do any thing for his reformation or punysshement, then it shall wele appere, whether he shall do his devour to accomplisshe the same, or not.

Item the said Erle of Ormonde toke 40 markes of the senesshall of the countie of Wexforde, for a penaltie, be cause he toke part with the said Erle of Kildare against the Kinges Irishe rebelles; notwithstanding that the Kinges Grace wrote unto the said Erle of Ormond, to have assisted the said Erle of Kildare against the said rebelles.

XLIII. KILDARE *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

AFTER my most humble recommendation. Please it Your Grace to bee advertised, where as by your moost drad letters, dated the 20th day of May last passed, it pleased the same to commaunde me to delivere and make payement unto thErl of Ormond, within 20 dayes after the sight of your said letters, the halfyndele of your subsidie, and other parcelles of your revenues, to the somme of 800 £, unto the said Erle due, whiche your Commyssioners, at their being here, willed me to levye; so it is, I did not receive the said letters, till on this last Saint Lawrence is even, before the receipt wherof, the said Erle was clierly payed of the said subsidie, and of all other your revenues unto hym due, and received by me, whiche amounted not to the said somme, as shall appere by thaccompt of your Under Treasourer here. In my most humble maner besechyng Your Grace not to regarde suche untrue surmyses of myne adversaries, till the trouthe bee tryed, trusting and knowing right well, that I never did, ne thought, any thing, wherby I shuld deserve your moost drad displesure: wherunto I was not oonly bounde by my dutie of allegiaunce, but also for that in my youth I was brought up in your service; and when I came to discresion, hit pleased you to make me your Treasourer, and consequently your Deputie, and gave me landes to the yerely value of 100 markes. My first wife[2] was your pore kynneswoman, and my wif now[3] in like maner. And in all my troubles before this, by untrue surmyses against me, Ye were good and gracious unto me, which ought inogh suffice to bynde to owe unto Your Grace my true and faithfull service. And though there were no suche cause, yet cowd I fynde in my hart to serve Your Grace, before all the Princes in the world, aswell for the grete noblenes, valiaunt proweys, and equitie, which I ever noted in your most noble personne, as also for the vertuous qwalities wherin ye excelle all other Princes. And besides that, I do knowe right wele, if I did the contrary, it shulde bee the distruccion of me, and my sequele, for ever. As knowith Almighty God, who ever have you in His tender tuicion. From my manour of Maynoth, the 17 daye of August.

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[1] From a contemporary copy in Lambeth Library, vol. 602. leaf 30.

[2] Elizabeth Zouch. [3] Lady Elizabeth Gray.

XLIV. ARCHBISHOP INGE[1] *and* LORD CHIEF JUSTICE BERMYNGHAM *to* WOLSEY.[2]

MOOSTE Reverend Father in God, and our singuler goode Lorde, in our mooste humyll maner we recomend us unto Your Grace. Advertising the same, that this poor londe hathe taken great lostes and damagies this winter, aswell this partie of thEnglisshrie, and marches of the same, by reason of the absence of thErll of Kildair, as the counties of Kilkenny and Tipperary, by great trobles emong them selffes, that wold have been moche easid, if the Lord of Ormonde had been at home.

Thabsence of thise bothe Lordes hathe greatlie enhaunsed and couraiged our Soveraine Lordes Hirissh and Englisshe rebelles; wherby the londe is alway in daunger, and wolde be ferr more, werr nat the feree of their retourn.

And now, within this thre or foure daies, their is privey reaporte, that thErll of Kildair, for som his mysdemeanours of late, is committed unto the Tour. If it so be, the seid Erll is mervellous, and hathe been unknowen unto us and other divers the Kinges true subjectes of this his londe. In consideration wherof, it was never so great nede to provide for defens of this poor londe, in oure daies, as nowe; for the Vice Deputie[3] is nat of power to defende the Englisshrie; and yet the poor people is ferr more chargid and oppressed by hym, than they have been, thErll of Kildair being here. He hathe no great londes of his owne, and the Kinges revenues, besides the subsidie, is skante ynowe to pay the Kinges officers ther ordinarie fees; and the subsidie may nat be hadde, till it be graunted by Perliament, without the whiche the Deputie hathe full litle to manteyn his chargies. ThErll of Kildair coude help hym self, in taking advantaige of Hirishemen, better then any other here.

James Butler have had great laboures for thapprehension of the unhappy Erll of Decimon[4], whois person it will be harde to take, as we suppois, but by trayn.

Your Grace, we doubt nat, hirithe the sorroufull decay of this londe, aswell in good Christianitie, as other laudable maners; whiche hathe growen for lakke of goode prelates and curates in the Chirche. Wherfore your Grace may doe meritoriously, to se suche persons promoted to busshoppricks, that ther maner of living may be exemple of goodenes and vertue. The residens of suche shall doe more goode, then we can expres.

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[1] Lord Chancellor of Ireland.
[2] From the bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 8.
[3] Richard Nugent, Lord Delvin.
[4] Desmond.

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The dioces of Meth, whiche is large in cure, and moste of value, in this countrey, for an honorable man to contynue in, is ferr in ruyne, bothe spiritually ande temporally, by thabsence of the Bisshopp[1] there. If your Grace thinke so convenient, som good man, being towardes the same, mought be provided unto the saide bisshoppricke, whiche sholde be to the great comforte, manifoldely, of all that dioces; for it is said here, the Bisshopp wol nat retourne.

In moste humylle maner we beseche your Grace, in whome all the Kinges poor subjectes of this londe hathe, under God and our Soverayne Lord, ther singuler comforte for ther releve, to extend your eygh of compassion apon us for remedie of the premisses. And this the Holy Trinitie continually have Your Grace in His blissed tuition, to the comforte of all our Soveraine Lordes subjectes of his realme of Englonde, and His Graces poor lande here. From Dublin, the 23th daie of Februarij.

Your Graces humylle and continuall Oratours,

(*Signed*) H. DUBLINẼS.

(*Signed*) PATRIK BERMYNGHM̃, Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Moste Reverend Father in God, and our singuler good Lord, the Lord Cardinall of Yorke, Legat de Latere, ande Chanceler of Englonde.

XLV. THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* WOLSEY.[2]

MOOSTE Reverend Father in God, in our due and right humyll maner we recomend us unto Your Grace. Certefying the same, that we have written unto our Sovereyn Lorde of a great mysfortune, that happyned to the Vice Deputie of this His Graces lande; whiche, the 12th daie of this monneth, in a parliament betwen hym and OChonour, was, by trayn precogitate, taken prisoner, and many of his men slayn, and other also taken, to the great discomfourt of all the Kinges subjectes here, and encoraiging of His Graces rebelles; wherby the said rebelles be so enhaunsed in mynde, and bolded, that we ferre great damaiges shall insieu to the Kinges poor subjectes here, befor ther be any provision made for the same. ThEnglishrie of this parties be so destitute of capitaines, that we couthe none othirwis doo, in this sodayn chance, tyll the tyme it may pleas our Sovereyn Lord othirwis to provyde, but to

[1] Richard Wilson.

[2] From the bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 7.

choose

choose Sir Thomas Fizgarrat[1] capitayn for our defence in this quarters; bicaus that the Garrantynes[2] be next to the defense of this parties, and thErlle of Osserie is so ferr from us, that the contrey mought be sore dammaiged bifore his commyng hither.

Diverse tymes we have advertised the Vice Deputie to be ware of the said OChonour, and to have paid hym the waiges, that he and his predecessoures have long hadd, rather then to rynne to further daunger or warr; considering thenfidelitie of the Kinges Hirisshe rebelles, and confederacies, that we herd the foresaid OChonour had made with divers great Hirishemen, in case the Vice Deputie wolde attempte any thing againste hym. Which our conseill natwithstonding, this mysfortune is falln; wherby we know nat, at the writinge hereof, what perill shall insieu for lacke of substanciall defence, whiche can nat be had by any man being now in this londe, without the utter destruction of the same by coyne and lyverey, unles our Sovereyn Lord be at great charge; for the revenues ar so dymynisshed, that the Deputie hath litle or nought to his chairges, thordinarie fees paide. This premisses substancially considered, in mooste humyll maner we beseche your Grace, in whome is all our esperance, under God and our Sovereyne Lorde, to help for provision of this poor lande, before that the Kinges poore subjectes here be utterly destroyed.

Assone as we herd of this chance, we did send the Priour of Conall[3], a Lord of Parliament, wise and experte in suche causis, to OChonour, whois answer apperith by the saide Priours letters[4], whiche we send to your Grace herein inclosed. And this Almightie God prosper Your Grace, to the universall well of Christes Chirch. At Dublyn, the 15th daie of May.

Your humyll and bounden Oratours,

(*Signed*) H. DUBLINẼS.
(*Signed*) G. ARMACHAÑ.[5]
(*Signed*) W. V. of G.
(*Signed*) P. BERMYNGHEM, Justice.
(*Signed*) P. FYNGLAS, Baron of thEscheker.

(*Superscribed*)
Too the Moost Reverend Father in God,
and our singuler goode Lord, the Lord
Cardinall of Yorke, Legate de Latere,
and Chanceller of Englonde.

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[1] Sir Thomas Fitzgerald, brother of the Earl of Kildare. Piers, Earl of Ossory, is generally, but as it here appears erroneously, supposed to have been elected Deputy by the Irish Council, upon Lord Delvin's captivity.

[2] Or Geraldines.

[3] Walter Wellesley.

[4] They are not found.

[5] George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh.

XLVI. INGE *and* BERMYNGHAM *to* THE DUKE OF NORFOLK.[1]

AFTER our humyll and enter recommendation. Your Grace, we doubt not, dothe remembre howe often tymes we have made supplication to our Sovereine Lorde, and his honorable Conseill, for som good defensour of this His Graces poor londe, ever fering that som mysfortune mought chanse, the Baron of Delvyn havyng the governance of the same, whome we ever conseilled rather to suffer for a tyme, then to gif occasion of warr to any Hirisshman, specially suche as be invironed about us, and namely to OChonour: for betwixt them hathe been contynuall contention, sith thErll of Kildaires departing from hens, for divers robberies made on Englishemen, and conveyd to his contrey; for which the Vice Deputie hathe stopped such waiges or tribute, that OChonours have had in tymes passed. For which causis, the 12th daie of this present moneth, they appointed a parliament, nighe OChonours contrey, by a castle of Sir William Darces, called Rathyn; wheir the said Vicedeputie was (by trayn) taken, all his footmen slayn, divers of his horsmen sore wonded, and som taken, as Christopher Cusake and others; to the great discomforte of all the Kinges true subjectes here, and the great danger of thEnglishrye, as your Grace may se by the copie of the Priour of Conalles letters inclosed: to whome, and Sir Walter Delahide, as sone as we herd of this sorroufull myshap, we wrote; desiering them to speeke with OChonour, for deliverance of the Vicedeputie, and observance of peace, according to his promis, and othe, made to our Sovereyn Lord, aswell in your Graces beyng here, as sithe to thErlle of Kildair. Whiche nothing advantaged, but greatlie to be fered that suche destruction shalbe doone, which can not be recovered in long tyme commyng; for this parties be destitute of good capitaynes, and few apte to warre. The strenght (if any be) is by the Garrantynes, by reason wherof we ar compelled to make Sir Thomas Fitzgarrat a generall capitaine for this parties; considering the fernes of thErlle of Osserie, and the great affares that he hath in his contrey. What danger or perill shall insue, we can nat expres nowe. Intirely beseching your Grace to help som remedie may be provided fro Englonde; for undoubted ther is no man here now being, that can or may defend this londe, as well for lacke of power, as substance. The Kinges revenues be brought to suche exilitie,

[1] From Lambeth Library, vol. 602. leaf 81. This is not the only instance, in which the Englishry (as they were at that time styled) evince the confidence they acquired in Surrey (who became Duke of Norfolk in 1524) during his short administration of the Irish Government, by applying to him to intercede with the King, in respect to Irish affairs.

that they suffice nat to ordinarie charges, being no subsidye; which can nat be graunt, but by Parliament, as your Grace knowith. Almightie God grante that our Sovereigne Lorde may provide breve remedye; or elles this poor Englishrie is lyke to have suche ruyne, that will nat be repaired in any mans daies lyving: for the Hirishemen (being never so strong as nowe) have spied their tyme, and our debilitie never more then at this houre. The Holy Trinitie defend us, for here is none othir hope of socoure; as this berer shall at large informe your Grace, which we send purposely to the same, with certayn instructions, to be shewed first unto your Grace, and after (by you) to the Kinges Grace, and the Lord Cardinals, as your said Grace shall thinke them expedient.

We have ascertained your Grace of the danger that the Kinges subjectes here be nowe at, which we know in deed. The remedye therof, your Grace can better devyse then we all here; whiche moost humilly we besech your Grace to remember, as our especiall esperance is in you. And this the Blessed Trinitie have Your Grace in continuall tuition. From Dubline, the 15th daie of Maij.

Your Graces bounden Bedismen,

(*Signed*) H. DUBLINĒSS.

(*Signed*) P. BERMYNGHEM, Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
Too the right Noble, ande our singuler good Lorde, the Duce of Northfolke, Thesaurer of Englonde.

XLVII. LORD BUTLER *to* INGE.[1]

MOOST Reverent Fathere in God and my singulere good Lord, I recomaund me unto you. Pleas it the sam to be advertyssed, that within 2 dayes after the sending of my last leters unto your Lordship, consernyng the myssaventure that fortunyd unto my Lord Deputie, in whos company, at that tym, I was, by the safcounducte I had before of OKonour, I past throw his contre, and the furst nyght lay in his awn houss, wher my said Lord Deputie is so clossly kept, that, with moche defulcultie and sut, I was suffryd, in company of OKonour and his 2 bretherne, to com to the speyche of my said Lord; yet was nott I sufferid to spek with hym secreatly, but opynly in Irysh, that they myght understand what eythere of us did say to the other. I treatid ther with OKonour, how

[1] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 34.

the

the Kinges subgeyctes sholbe in securytie of his peas and trouth, seyng he had a suffycient gaveg fore any righfull thing that he coud demaund: whos awnswere was, yf he myght have his wadgis, with my Lord Deputies ramsone, and all the Kinges subgeyctes, in this his land, bound never to be revengid therfore, nether to help no nothere for the revynging theroff, that then he wold be at peas; otherwysse he wold nott. His awnsswer was unto me so strang, and also he being so stiff in yt, that I dorst nott replye to any think, that he said, seyng I was in his daunger, to do with me what hym lyst. I brak my mynd to Master Whytt, who was ther with me, and no nother that I dorst trust; wher he and I concludyd to intreat his secound brother, Cayere OKonour, who is next to be OKonour, and also strongest in the contre, to com in my company, to send me sauff oute of the contre; wher he was contented so to do. And then we perswadyn hym so with reyson, that he was contentid to com to my Lord, my fathere; wher my said Lord and I have broght hym to that poynt, that I trust the Kinges Grace shalbe well servyd by him, yf his brothere will nott be conformable to raysson. And also he wold have youre Lordship, and my Lord, my fathere, bound to be meane unto the Kinges Grace, to be good and gracious lord unto hym; and not to suffere thErll of Kildare, nore non of his, to be revyngyd on him fore takyng part in the Kinges quarell. Surly, my Lord, many great wyss men, that I have spokyn withall, sethens this mysfortun hapynnyd, thynkis presyssly that yt comes throght the abetement of thErll of Kildare his counsaillours, and band; and that they lok fore moch more myscheff, yff that ye se nott this substayncially orderyd. Therfore, my Lord, at the reverence of God, lok substayncialy upon this matier, and be ware whom ye trust, that ye have trusstid of that band. I have many thinges to say unto youre Lordship, that I dare not wrytt. Wherfor I dyssire, and hertly pray you, that no man se this letter, except the Kinges Privy Consaill, without ye send it into England. Now I trust yt shalbe sen, who shall do his Prynce most trustyest and faythfullis servyce. And this most humbly I recomaund me unto Your good Lordship, prayng the same, that I may have youre advysse and counsaill hastyly in this matiere. At Caphydyn, the 20^{ti} day of May.

My Lord, my fathere, hase ben at Rosse a seyvnyght, weyting uppon youre Lordshipis awnswere aboutes my Lord of Northfulkes landes, whiche he hathe to ferm; and now the tym is so fer past, by rayssone that he can not be in possesyon therof, can gett no tenauntes till this tym twelmounth; and he hasse instantly dyssirid Your Lordship to send hym your mynd herin, hastely.

At Your Lordshipis comaundement,

(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my singulere good Lord, my Lord Chaunceller is good Lordship.

XLVIII. Earl of Ossory *to* Inge.[1]

Moost Reverend Father in God, and right intierly welbelovyd, I recomaund me unto you. I have raceyvid youre lat letters of the 13th day of May, and am as sory, as any subgeycte the King hathe, of his myssaventur that is fortunyd to my Lord Deputy. And asson as I herd theroff, I send fore OKeroll, OMore, McGylpatrik, and OMeaghere; and were with me at the wryting heroff, and have treatid with them, aswell fore delyveraunce of the Lord Depute to be had, as to have ther aydes and assystaunces withdrawyn from OKonour, in casse he wold refusse so to doo. OKeroll and OMore have had suche right larg offers mad unto them, aswell by the said OKonour, as by thErll of Kyldares trusty and secreat counsaill and servauntes, to tak the contrary part, whiche I have suffyciently to be proved, that with great dyffycultye I coud put them at any stay, from takyng opyn part with OKonour forsaid. This poynt I am at with theym, that they shall send, that I may have a parlament with OKonour, this day sevnyght; and yf he woll nott be content then to be at any resonable ordre, they woll tak my partt and mayntenaunce fore defence of the Kynges subgeyctes, agynst the said OKonour, and his part takers: and fore there so doyng, I am bound to geyv to OKeroll, fore reward, the wallow of 40 £, besid what the King, ore his Deputie, shall geyv hym; whiche I can full ewell now spare, considering my chargis in England, and the slow receypt that I have of thErll of Kildares officers. And to OMore, fore his ayd, I am bound to reward hym, and to defend hym agynst thErll of Kildare, in his right; and yf he can have no right in his land, that he suppossis thErll of Kildare kepyth without good title, I to indewour my silf to put the said Erll to geyv hym right; and yff he will nott, but do him wrong, or be revengyd on hym, fore taking part in the Kinges querell, I to take the said OMores part. And also to have McGylpatrikes ayd and help, in that behalf, I have ben contentid to remytt and fore geyv hym dyvers great injuryes and wrongis, that he hathe comytid unto me, the wallow of 4 houndrid markis. Otherwisse can I have non of thes. Lett you, my Lord, and others of the Kinges Counsaill, put your helpyng handes unto this matiere, as effectuall, as I shall put myn; and I trust we shall do that thyng therin, that shalbe to the Kinges honour, and surtie of his subgeyctes, God willing. And asse to any agrement that the Baron of Donboyn hathe certified you to be takyn betuixt hym and me, I do knowe no suche thing,

[1] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 48.

nor

nor hard of non as yet, nore do nott intend, by no mean, to writt in his favours into England, without youre advysse. I becheche youre Lordship to send me your advyssis, how I shall ordere my silf to thees men, and to all othere, that wolbe lykwyse bound unto me. Wrytin the 21ti day of May. I pray you, my Lord, to send up the commyssion, that my sone James spak of to Youre Lordship, aboutes the clypid mony.

Yours assurid,

PIERS ERLL of OSSORY.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Chauncellere is good Lordship,
this be delyveryd.

XLIX. OSSORY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[2]

PLEAS it Your Highnes to be advertisid, that after the taking of the Baron of Delvyn, your Vice Deputie of this your land, tretourusly, by the Erle of Kildares son in lawe, Oconour[3], all thIrishry determyned to have joyned in ayd with the said Oconour, for the distruction of your English pale, through the practise of the said Erle; trustyng that Your Grace therby wolbe moved to relesse him of his duress, and to send him to rule here agayne. And uppon secret knolege had of ther combination, I rood toward ther countres, where I practised ther severaunce, by such policy and promes of reward, that I had no litell buseynes to stay theim from hurt doyng; wherof incontynent I certifyed your Prive Counsaile of this your said land; trustyng that, becaus of spedy pasage in that parties, Your Highnes myght the soner be advertised of this thing by theim, at leynth. And for asmoche as war contynueth betuixt me and thErle of Desmond, and that the Brenis be more stronger in his ayde and assistence, then ever they have been, I thought it unmete, and no lesse dangerous, to have werr on that other syde with Oconour, without knolege of your highe pleasure and comaundment in this behalf. It may therfore lyke Your moost noble Grace, in consideration of thurgent and unstable myndes of the said Irishry, in avoyding ther malicius purposes, to comaund me, by your moost dradfull letters, brefly, howe I shall order me herin; which thing taccomplishe, acourding my moost boundan dutie, I shall not let for danger of lyf and land,

[1] This letter is superscribed and sealed as an original, but the signature appears to be that of the secretary, by whom it was written.

[2] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 47. This is probably the letter alluded to in vol. 1. p. 301. as having been received by the King from Lord Ossory.

[3] OConor married Lady Mary Fitzgerald, Kildare's daughter by his first wife.

but

but do reken my self so far obliged, for thonour Your Highnes shewed me, besides the dutie of myn alegeaunce, that my pore service can be no spark of recompence. And thus, with my moost humble and lowly recommendation, I beseche Our Lorde God to have Your Highnes preserved helthfully, with long yers and encrease of honour. At your Citie of Waterford, within your said land, on Corpus Cristi evin.

Your moost bounden subject,

(*Signed*) P. of Ossori.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Mooste Noble Grace.

L. The Duke of Norfolk *to* Wolsey.[1]

Plesith it Your Grace to be advertised, that yesterday, being at Esterforde, towardes London, I had word, how your Grace had broken up the Terme, because of the gret infeccion now being in London. Wheropon I retourned hither, and so entende to go unto Kenynghale, besechyng your Grace to advertise me, how long ye thynk I may remayne in those parties, or I be sent for by the Kynges Highnes, or your Grace. For I entende not to come up, unto the tyme His Highnes, or your Grace, sende for me, being at this owre, thanked be God, well amended of my syknes, and have not be syk sith Thorsday was sevennyght. Most humble besechyng your Grace that, by this berer, I may know your plesure, at what tyme of lyklyhode ye woll have me come up, to thentent I may make my provision accordyngle.

Furthermore, with this your Grace shall receyve dyvers letters sent me out of Irlond, wich came to me this mornyng. I am sory to here of the gret danger that poure londe is now in, wiche onles your Grace, by your gret wisdome, shortly put remedy unto, I feare shall not be recovered with a right gret charge to the Kynges Highnes. And iff the londe by Irishe men be over ron, brenned, and spoyled of their corne, catall, and goodes, when His Highnes wolde sende powre to ponyshe the rebelles, there shall not be vitell, wherwith to maynteyne them; and fynally His Grace shalbe inforced to begyn a new conquest, as King Henry the IIth dyd. The malyce betwene the Erlis of Kyldare and Ossery is, in myn opinion, the only cause of the ruyne of that poure londe. And thus Our Lord have Your Grace in his blyssed tuicion. Scrybled at Stoke, the 20 of Juny.

Yours most bownden,

T. Norfolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Legates good Grace.

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[1] From the bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 52. Wholly written by the Duke.

LI. NORFOLK *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLESITH it Your Grace to be advertised, that this berer, called Thomas Bath, a marchant of the towne of Drodagh in Irlond, in his retournyng from Walsyngham, hath be here with me; and by hym I perceyve what myserable state, and gret danger, that poure londe is now in. He is a jantleman of gode blode, a trew man, and one that doth more love the welth of that londe, than any of the parties of the Garentyns, or Butlers, and hath done more to cause Onele conteyne fro war, then any man of that londe, to his right gret charges. Iff it myght please your Grace to call him unto you, and to commande hym to shew you the trouth, ye shall know many thynges by hym. One thyng I note moche, wiche he hath shewde me; the most part of the marchers opon Irishe men, perceyvyng not how to be deffended, have so patysed with the Irishe men next adjoynyng to them, that the seid Irishe men do come thorow them, and do hurt to others within them, and they take no hurt. Iff this be not remedied, the londe wolbe clene over ron and spoyled, and 20000£ shall not repaire the hurtes, that shalbe done or myd September. Your Grace, by your gret wisdome, hath done so moche, that I trust pease shall ensew amonges Criston Princes, to the gret lawde off our Master, your Grace, and this realme. Most humble besechyng your Grace, aswell for the honour of His Highnes, your Grace, and of this realme, now in this tyme of gret nede, so to loke upon the poure londe of Irlonde, that it take not more hurt this yere, then it hath done in any yere, sith the furst conquest: wiche was never so lyklie to ensew as now, consyderyng the gret weknes aswell of gode capytaynes off the Inglishere, as lak of men of war, and also the gret discension betwene the grettest bloddes of the londe, and the Irishemen never so strong as now. The premyssis consyderid, on my trouth I se no remedy, the Kyng not sendyng thErle of Kyldare thider, but only to contynew his brother[3] in auctorite, for this somer, and to help hym eyther with 3 or 400 Inglishe men, out of the parties next adjoynyng theronto, and gode capytaynes with them, or els to sende hym som gode sum of mony to wage men with there, and with the same mony to get, on his part, suche Irishe men, as he may, next adjoynyng to the Inglishre, and the mony to be distry-

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[1] From Wolsey's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Vol. 8. part 2. leaf 71. This letter also is wholly written by the Duke.

[2] Sir Thomas Fitzgerald. See p. 128.

buted

buted by the advyse of the Chaunsoler and Chieff Justice there; and that, also, som mony myght be sent to thErle of Ossery, aswell to yeve unto Irishemen, to take part with the Kynges Deputie, and hym, as at the lest to syt styll without doing hurt, nor to suffer none others to come thorow them, to do hurt to the Kynges obeysaunte subjectes. Other remedy, then is premysed, by the trouth I bere unto the Kynges Highnes, I do not se, to preserve that londe with out mervelous gret los. Wherffor eftsonys most humble I beseche your Grace, with your favorable ey of pyte, to loke upon that londe with diligence. And iff any labour be made unto your Grace to make thErle of Ossery, or his son, Deputie, in no wise to condessende theronto; for iff they had the rewle, being so fer off as they be, and also at war with thErle of Desmonde and Obryne, it shalbe unpossible for them to deffende the 4 sherys, nor skante their owne contre; and when they shall come in to the 4 shires, they must come strong, and shall spende so moche in the countre, that they shall do more hurt far, then gode. Because I know the experience of the premyssis, I am so bold playnle to advertise your Grace of myn opinion, wher with I humble beseche your Grace to be content. And the Holy Trynete have Your Grace in His most blessed tuicion. Scribled at Kenynghale, the 3th day of July.

Yours most bownden,

T. Norfolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legates goode Grace.

LII. Certaine considerations to bee shewed, by wey of memoriall, unto the Kingis Highnes, by Maister Peter Vannys and Uvedale, moving the Lorde Cardinall to make the expedition of Irland, after the fourme and maner, as was lately sente unto the Kingis Highnes.[1]

Furste, where as the said Lorde Cardinall was enfourmed, by letters sente unto hym by the Kingis commaundemente, declaring that his pleasure was, forsomoche as the harveste was approching, and soo nere at hande, that somme ordre shulde bee takenne, with all spede, for the defence of his said lande, and that the Erle of Osserys servaunte shulde bee dispatched with diligence, for that purpoos; signifying furthermore, that His Gracis myend was, that either

[1] From Lambeth Library, vol. 607. leaf 2.

the

the Erle of Ossery, or his sonne, shulde bee assigned and appoyntid to defende the said lande; remitting, neverthelesse, unto the said Cardinalles discretion, whiche of theim twoo shulde bee mooste mete for that purpoos: the said Cardinall, perceiving this to bee the Kingis pleasure, entending mooste humbly taccomplishe the same furthwith, albeit at that tyme he was right unable and unmete to entende to any suche besynes, proceded to the devising of the said expedition; and remembring that nowe is no tyme convenyente, ne propice, to discharge the Erle of Kildare of his rome of Deputie, for certaine reasonnes folowing; considering alsoo, that in the oonly defence of the said lande and doing of any exploytis againste the Kinges rebelles, James Butler, though his father had the charge of the same, (his age, unweldynes, and other passions considred) shulde bee the executour of all exploytis; for this consideration it was thought, that syns the said James is the Kingis servaunte, valiaunte and actiff, if he were instructed and restrayned no thing to doo withoute thadvise of the Kingis Counsaill there, he shulde bee more mete for that purpoos, thenne his father (notwithstanding his yong yeres), if the same were soo thought convenyente to the Kingis Highnes, to whos pleasure all thinges was referred. And according to this effecte, commyssion, instructions, and letters were devised, aswell to the said James his father, the Lordes of the Kinges Counsaill, ODonell, and suche other as shulde bee thought convenyente to the said Counsaill, to bee delyvered. And forasmoche as the defence of the said lande, and offence of the same, requirethe charge and coste, and to have wherewith the same mought bee mayneteyned and borne, withoute resorting to the Kingis coffers; therefore, till by a substanciall debatemente and consultation a bettre ordre mought bee takene, whiche cannot soo hastily bee donne, as the defence of the said cuntrey requirethe, therefore it was thought convenyente, that auctoritye shuld bee gyven, with thadvise oonly of the Kingis Counsaill, and not otherwise, for the said defencion and offencion, to take coyne and lyveree, and ympose suche other subsidies as shulde bee thought to theim nedefull for the tyme, and that alsoo suche prouffites, as the Erle of Kildare had for the tyme of his presence there, shulde nowe bee converted and ymployed to the said purpoos.

Item, it was alsoo thought convenyente to the said Cardinall, that considring the olde quarelles and rancour bitwene the Erles of Kildare and Ossery, their frendes, kynnysfolkes, adherentes, and partetakers, there shulde nothing bee, by the vertue of the said auctoritie geven to James Butler, renued or revenged, but in all thinges that shuld ensurge bitwene theim, the Kingis Counsaill shulde take ordre and direction, from tyme to tyme, therein, as shuld stande with equitie, and the Kingis lawes.

Item, ther bee alsoo pleasaunte letters devised to ODonell, not oonly to contynue hym in good devocion to the King, but alsoo the rather thereby to cause hym to bee assistente to the said James Butler, or suche other as shalbe deputed by the King to defende the said lande; and the said letters bee the more dulce, because his letters of aunswere to the King bee verie humble and pleasaunte, and of right good contynue and purpoorte, as maye appere to His Highnes, whenne it shall bee his pleasure to here the same red.

There bee alsoo sharpe letters writtenne to OKoner, for the delyveree of the Erle of Kildares deputie, takene by fraud, and undir coloure of frendly commynycation.

Thies bee the groundes and causes, why the said expedition was soo devised.

Thies folowing bee the causes, whiche movethe the said Lorde Cardinall to thinke, in his pore judgemente, that the Erle of Kildare shuld not bee put from his rome, at this tyme, but the same to bee deferred, untill a more mature consultation were takene and had therein; soo that, upon his discharge, substanciall direction ymmediatly moght bee takene for the defence of the said lande, in thavoiding of suche perill and daunger, as mought folowe.

The furste cause is, that syns the harveste and collecte is nowe at hande, by reason whereof no provysion canne bee sente from hens, in tyme for the withstanding thereof, but that it shuld bee in the powre of the Irishe rebelles, combyned to gidder, to distroye and devaste the hoole Englishery, if by good wisdome, dexteritie, and pollicie they bee not conteyned by dulce and faire meanes, and somme hope of the Erle of Kildares retourne: for it is greatly to bee fered, that the said Erle of Kildares kynnysfolkes, servauntes, and suche other wild Irishe lordis (with whome the said Erle hathe, and hathe had, intelligence), if they shall perceive that he is clerely excludid from his office, and in the Kingis displeasure, they shall peradventure, for revenging thereof, seing they maye nowe commodiously, in maner without resistence, doo the same, over ronne the hoole Englishe boundes and pale, and doo suche high displeasure, as woll not, withoute an army royall, and mervailous great expensis, bee redubbid or repayred hereafter; where as they, being in somme hope, and not in utter disperation of the said Erles retourne, there is somme apparence that they woll forbere from doing the said extreme hurtis, and soo, by suche meanes, the said daungers maye bee wisely put over, till other better provysion shall bee made and devised for withstanding of their malicious attemptates.

The seconde cause, why there shuld bee non other Deputie made at this tyme there, is, that as long as the said Erle of Kildare is not dischargid of his rome, he shalbe aferd that any thing shuld bee done or attemptid, to the great hurte

hurte of the Englishery, by those that he hathe intelligence with, or any others, supposing that the same mought be layed and arrected unto his charge; forasmoche as he standethe onerate, as yet, as the Kingis Deputie of that lande: where as he, being thereof discharged, shall litle or nothing care, what maye comme of the said lande, or what hurte or dammage bee inferrid thereunto.

Howe beit, if the Kingis Highnes shall thinke by his profounde wisdome (whereunto the said Lorde Cardinall referrethe all thinges), that notwithstanding the said considerations he shuld bee discharged, and a nother Deputie now furthewith newly made there; thenne surely the said Cardinall thinkethe that the Erle of Ossery, for his age, nobilitie, and personage, is more mete to bee Deputie, thenne his sonne James. And if no suche Deputie shalbe newly made at this tyme (as, all thinges well pondred, it shall percace bee founde soo mooste convenyente), thenne yong Butler is thought mooste apte to have the charge of the said defence; forseing that all his entreprises bee donne and executed by thadvise of the Kinges mooste experte and wise Counsailloures there.

Item, they shall shewe that, as touching the letters devised to bee sente to the King of Scottis, and the Erle of Angwishe, if any thing in theim bee to bee altred, withdrawenne, or addid unto; the Kinges Highnes maye doo therein, as shall stande with his pleasure.

Item, they shall alsoo shewe, that Patrik Sinclere is aryved here, with letters and instructions from the King of Scottis [1]; the copie whereof they shall shewe unto the Kinges Highnes, and to knowe His Graces pleasure, whiddir, whenne, and where, the said Sincler shall comme to his presence. Theffecte of the said instruction restethe in twoo poyntis; the oon is a declaration, that all, that hath benne donne againste the Erle of Angwishe, procedethe upon a good grounde, according to his ill desertis; with desire that the Kingis Highnes shall soo take that matier, withoute gevyng any suppoorte to the said Erle, in that behalf. The seconde, is a good and reasonable desire, that Commyssioners, auctorised for that purpoos on bothe sides, mought mete on the Borders, for prorogation of trues, for other thre yeres; seing the trues, lately concluded, shall ende and expire at Seynte Andrewes tyme next commyng. After the whiche 3 yeres shalbe expired, the King of Scottis rekenethe hymself to bee of more mature age and discretion, and purposethe thenne to treate upon perpetuell peas bitwene bothe realmes. This desire (seing the same procedethe of the said King and his Counsaill) is to the Kingis Grace honourable, and not to

[1] They are in the British Museum, Caligula, B. II. leaf 224. dated 13th July [1528].

bee refused, but takene in right thankefull parte. And for this purpoos (if the King shall thinke soo convenyente) the Erle of Northumbrelande, and Maister Magnus, or Maister Magnus alone, maye repayre to the Borders, and there, with Commyssioners, or Commyssioner, of like qualitie, to bee deputid on the King of Scottis behalf, may take and conclude the said truce. At whiche tyme alsoo somme good and honourable weye maye bee set furthe for the reconsiling of the Erle of Angwishe to the King of Scottis favour, and pacifiyng of all matiers; if the same, by the Kingis letters to bee sente, bee not brought to passe before.

In all whiche premysses, being advertised of the Kinges myende and pleasure, the said Cardinall shall cause the same to bee set furthe, with diligence, accordingly. And thus, remytting the further ordring of all the forsaid matiers to the Kinges mooste high pleasure and profound judgement[1], they shall make the said Cardinalles mooste humble and effectuous recommendations.

(*Signed*) T. Car^lis^ Ebor.

LIII. Robert Cowley *to* Wolsey.[2]

Pleas it Your Grace to bee advertised, that where my Lord of Ossory, and his son, accordyng theire bounden duetis, attende your gracious pleasure and deliberacion concernyng the affayres of Irland, others ryne in at the wyndow the next wey, making immediat pursuytis to the Kinges Highnes, where they

[1] A letter to Wolsey, written partly by Sir John Russell, and partly by Hennege, apparently in answer to the communication in the text, and dated 28th July [1528], (Titus, B. XI. leaf 399.), contains the following passages: "Ser, the Kyng Gras in no wes lykes the instroxons of Eyerland, "nor Chotland; wherfor he wold your Gras chold send with deleygens Mr Twke, or Mr. Fox, to "the intent ya may be newly mayd acordyng to hys plesser; and I byches your Gras gyff credens "to thes berar." "And also that your Grase welle ynstroutthe hyme, that your Grase welle sende "ofe evere thyng; for Hys Grase thynkat that Boutteler ys to yong to take so grett a charge; "that alle the nobelle mene schalle desdayne to se so yong a mane there Govener. The Kyng "thyngkys that his father were more mette for hys age. Nett withstondyng, your Grase knowes "hys wytte, and hys dysabyllete, yn evere thyng." "And furthermore, His Grace desireth you, "that in noo wise thErl of Kildare shuld have any of his wardes or fermes within Irlande to ferme, "but that his Deputie, now being appointed by His Grace and you, shuld have all suche wardes, "fermes, and royalties as have been accustumed, in like and as ample maner, as he had, to thentent "he may be the more hable to serve His Grace there. For His Highnes thinketh, that the said "Erl of Kildare goeth fraudelently about to colour, that the King shuld thinke, that His Grace "couthe not be served there, but oonly by hym."

[2] From Lambeth Library, vol. 602. leaf 56. Holograph.

obteyne

obteyne all theire desiris without any stopp or stay, by means of Anthony Knevet, and others; whereof wol ensue the destruccion of Irland, without your gracious spedy redres.

The Archebisshop of Casshell[1], by subtill synestre means, without knowlage of your Grace, and in maner in contempt of your Gracis mynde and assent, makith at Court immediat and importunat suyt for sundry unresonable grauntis, libertis, and privilegis, extending to the mayntenyng, fortyfying, and ereccion of the Erll of Dessmond, and other his confederates, and to the confucion and utter destruccion of my Lord of Ossory, and his son, and all other the Kinges true subgietis, as I shall evidently prove. And, as I here, the said Archbisshop hath a bill signed by the King, uppon all the premissis, directid to the Chaunceller of Irland; thynking surrepticiously to have his said suytis, without knowlage or assent of your Grace.

Also the said Archebisshop, and his chapleyne, have fraudelently opteyned the Kinges letters unto the Counsaill of Irland, against my Lord of Ossory, and his son, in the favoure of Sir James Butler, which is the grettist freende, alye, and succour that thErll of Dessmond hath, and hath transgressid the Kinges sundry commaundementes, takyng opyn mayntenaunce with thErll of Dessmond.

This Archebisshop and Sir James, by the seducious practise of the man that your Grace knowith, have bounde to giddres, purposely putting suche desencyon, trouble, and enormytis in my Lord of Ossorys cuntrey, the oon with his spirituell power, and the other with his strenght, that my said Lord, or his son, shuld not bee hable to doo the King service against thErll of Desmond, or yit defende him self.

The rowme of Secundary Justice of the Comon Place in Irland, is gevyn to oon Gerald Aylmer[2], meneal servaunt to my Lord of Kildare, and hath a bill signed to the Chauncellor of Irland.

Other divers mean offices bee also gyven away.

Anthony Knevet hath opteyned the Bisshoprik of Kildare to a symple Irish preste[3], a vagabounde, without lernyng, maners, or good qualitye, not worthy to bee a hally water clerc[4]. And as I here, the Kinges Highnes wol pay for his bulles out of his awne cofers; whereof others in Irland wold greatly marvaill, suche as have doon the Kinges Grace good service.

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1 Edmund Butler, natural son of Lord Ossory.

2 His patent was dated in December 1528.

3 Thomas Dillon. See before, p. 99.

4 Aquæbajulus; whose office was, by a constitution of Archbishop Boniface, to be conferred upon poor clerks.

It

It might pleas your Grace with spede to send a comyssyon to my Lord of London, Maister More, Maister Deane, and Maister Secretarye, to call before theyme the said Archebisshop, with his chapleyne, Gerald Aylmer, and the Irish preste, and to enserche, see, and examyn all suche warrantis, billes, and letters as they have opteyned of the Kinges Grace, and the same to kepe, till they shall have advertised your Grace thereof, and know your pleasure in the same; and also to here me in proposing suche articles and matiers, as I shall object to their chargis, trust to prove, that they have past the lymytis of their alligeaunces.

Also, that it might pleas your Grace to send to Sir John Russell, Doctour Bell, and suche others as promote billes or letters to the Kinges signe, that they passe no matiers of Irland, till your Grace bee made prevy to the same.

Of your Gracis great goodnes, that I may bee dyspatched, and know your Gracis pleasure in my Lord of Ossorys causis, and his son's, and your pleasure concernyng him, whom your Grace shall dispose to the rowme of Depute of Irland. I trust your Grace wol remembre your olde servaunt James, the rather that the Kyng is wele myndyd; who undoubtidly woll jeoperde his lyfe, landes, and goodes to doo your Grace service, above all lieving men, next the King.

It may pleas your Grace to pardon this my rude enterprise, soo rudely to write to your Grace; proceding of no presumption, but of good entent. As knowith the Blissid Trynyte, who have your Grace in his blissid preservacion from all yll adventurs.

One Bath, of Irland, hath made a boke to present to your Grace, feynyng it to bee for the reformacion of Irland. But the effect is, but to dryve the Kynge to the extremytie to sende home my Lord of Kildare with auctoritie, to accomplish his inordynat affeccion to my Lord of Kildare. He hath noo more experience of the land, then I have in Ytally; and yf he were a litil touchid for his presumpcion, in repugnyng at the Kinges pleasure, and provoking to bee doon that which shuld sounde to his dishonour, it wolde make others feare to attempt suche matiers.

Your moost bounden Oratoure,

(*Signed*) ROBERT COWLEY.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lord Legatis good Grace, with spede.

LIV. OSSORY *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS it Your Grace to bee advertised, that at the arryving in this land of the Lorde of Kylmaynam[2], with the Kingis comyssion, instruccions, and letters unto me, I was in thErll of Dessmondes cuntrey, making hostile invasion upon him. And upon monycion geven to me of the Kinges pleasure, by the Lord of Kilmaynam, I leyd aparte all other my affaires, addressing me to resort to thEnglish pale, deviding my retynue, oon parte to garde and defend my landes from the said Erll of Dessmondes invasions, and taking the residue with me to serve the Kinges Highnes, in thEnglishe pale, for the defence of His Gracis subjectes of the same. And before my comyng into thEnglishe pale, Oconour, son in lawe to thErll of Kildare, with the combynacion and assistence of thErll of Kildares brethern, kynesman, servauntes, and adherentes, made sundry hostile invasions and roodes upon the Kinges subgietes in the Englishe pale, whereof His Graces Counsaile have more amply advertised His Highnes, and assembled to have stopped me of my comyng to defende the Kinges subgietes. Undoubtidly all these confedresis and seducious practises have been subtyly prepensid and devised, by the advise of thErll of Kildare, thinking by suche troubelous attemptates, of very necessitie he shulde come home; taking president by his father, whiche, for highe prodetorious offencis, was deteyned in England, and his brethern and kynesmen in Irland made warre upon the Kinges subgietes, and fynally the said Erles father was sent home with great auctoritie: and, as his brethern and kynesmen said, the same came by the meanes of their war and trouble made; whiche pollecy they nowe practise, as a commen rule to bring home their maister, thErll of Kildare; and soo they doo make their avaunte. The Kinges subgietes of thEnglishe pale, remembring the right high offences commyttid by thErll of Kildare, and his father, against their alligeances, and ever more pardonyd, and set in auctoritie, hath soo seductid and corruptid the Kinges said subgietes, that, for the more partie, they bere the naturell duetie of their alligeance to the said Erle of Kildare; trusting that he shall eftesones come agayne, and rule, as he did according the olde usuell custume in tymes paste. Whiche thinges, as they nowe chaunge, I shewed at my being in England; whiche then might have been preventid, yf my devises had been ensued. As knowith God, who have Your Grace in his tendre tuycion. Writtin at Drogheda, the 14th day of October.

Your moost humble servaunt,

(*Signed*) P. Oss̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lorde Legates good Grace.

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[1] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 31.

[2] Sir John Rawson, Prior of Kilmainham.

LV. LORD BUTLER *to* WOLSEY.[1]

PLEAS yt Your noble Grace to be advertyssid, that I have raceyvid youre moost loving and comfortable letters, expressing the Kinges hight pleasure and yours, aswell towardes my Lord, my father, as also the confydence and good hope His Hyghnes and youe hathe in my pore sarvys, towchyng thaffares of this his land and domynyon of Irland; for which I rendere unto His Highnes, and to youre good Grace, moost lowly, and my right hertie, thankis.

And hathe, with other of the Kinges Counsaill here, certified the parvers, untrue, and heynous demeanour of my Lord of Kildare is brethern, kynysfoulk, adherentes, and servauntes, far passing the lymytis of ther alliegaunce, to the sore decay and inporysshyng of all the Kingis true subgeyctes here, and pernyssyous insample to lyke mallefactours, yf that spedy and condyng punysment do nott succede.

And fore asmoche as yt hathe pleassid the Kingis Highnes, and youre Grace, to comytt unto me matier of so hygh charge, as to be executour of all exploytis and jornayes uppon the Kingis rebellis, wherunto I rekon my sylf fare unable, consideryng aswell the small or lytell revenys I have therto, as also my youth, lak of exsperyence, and beyng sure of hygh malyce borne me, bothe for your sake, and myn nawn; and now as yt apperythe extremly excecutid un every side, so that of lyghtlyott I can escap the daungere of myn enemyes, onles that God, and your Grace, fortify me, by the good quarell I have in hand, with tru hart to serve the King, my master. Wherin I desire mych more the good renoum, than to live with surtie of most abhorrid lif, in which the said Erle is brethern ar fastnyd in, I trust, to ther confusion. Therfore, in as humble maner, as hart can think, I becheche youre Grace, at your goodnes be so shewid at this tym, that the hope I have in the Kinges hygh favours and spedy assystenaunce, and the good expectacyon His Grace hathe of my pore servyce, may be concorant to his laud and glory, next God, to your honour, and fynally for the comen welth of his pore subgeyctes here. And lest I semyd more tedyous in my rude wryting, then wysse, I have therfore instructid my Lordes servaunt, Robert Cowley, at lenthe, to whom yt may pleas youre good Grace to geyv credence, and in especiall to my good frend, the Prioure of Kylmaynan, the berer herof. And thus, with moost lowly and humble recomendacion, the Holy Gost have youe preservyd with long lyf, good helthe, and prosperus fortun. At Dublyn, in hast, the 14th of October.

Youre moost boundyn servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)
To my Lord Legatis good Grace.

(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.

[1] From the Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 30.

LVI. INSTRUCCIONS to be schoued un to THE KYNGES HIGHNES, MY LORD CARDYNALL IS GRACE, and the KYNGES COUNSAYLL IN INGLAND, on the behalff of the DEPUTE AND COUNSEYLL OF IRLAND, consernyng the state of the same land.[1]

FURST to scheue that thErle of Kyldare is brethren, and kynysmen, haiving a gret retenue of men of war, and enhabytyng with in the hert of the Englische contre, in the countye of Kyldare, by whom the Kinges subgietes have ben most defendid, may more hurt to the Kynges subgietes, than thre tymys so many of any othyr parties of this land, by reyson of ther strong garisones, habundaunce of ordynaunce, and knoulege of the contre.

Item, the Kynges Grace wold wryt un to Sir Walter Delahid, styuard to thErle of Kyldare, to delyver un to the Depute all suche ordynaunce and artelery, as the said Erle of Kyldare had at the tym of his departing out of the land, whyche ordynaunce was delyvered hym, and his fadyr, being Deputies, for the defence of Your Grace is subgietes.

Item, thErle of Kyldares brethren, kynismen, and servauntes, wold be at no peas with the Kynges Depute and subgietes, onles they may have the Kynges pardon for theym, and all ther adherentes, and servauntes, for the treyson and offences, which they have comyttid; and that they schall not be callid to any counsayll or ostyng, in ther propyr personis, by any meane.

Item, the said brethren have compellid the Kinges subgietes, captaynis of the marches, as Tyrrelles, Daltones, Dyllones, Petites, Tuytes, and the Ferollis, whych be the Kynges tenauntes, to combynd with theym, and to tak ther part against all men.

Item, the said Erle of Kyldares brethern, kynysmen, and servauntes, with OConor, and all ther power, assembled to gider in ther harneis, in forme of warr, and ware in awayt to set upon the Depute and his son, at ther comyng in to thEnglische pale, for the defence of the Kinges subgietes, if they moght, or had theym at any avantage.

Item, it is greatly merveiled her, that thErle of Kyldares bretherne wold so opynly rebell, oneles they have had sum pryvy procurement of sum personis. Wherfor it were expedient, if the Kinges pleasure be, that the Erle of Kyldare schold remayne in England, that gode and sure watche and gardyng be upon hym, so he make no escape, tyl the land, by the Kynges provysion, may be reduced to more tranquylite and suretye.

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[1] From a contemporary copy, in Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, No. 73.

Item, the combynation of thErll of Kyldares bretherne and kynysmen with OConour, and ther hostile invasions and roodes, made up on the Kynges subgietes, was commytted and don at suche tym as the Erle of Ossery was in the remote parties of this land, for the punyschement of thErll of Dessmound, and befor his comyng in to the Englische pale, to accept the Kynges commyssion, and othyr commaundementes.

Item, OConour, at the receyte of the Kynges letter to hym, delyvered by oon Gerot Delahide, the said Gerot said to OConour, that the Kynges Grace dyd gret hym well. OConour, in dyrysion, askid hym, "what Kyng?" The messinger said, "the Kyng of England;" and OConour said with pompe, that he trustid, if he moght lyve on yer, to se Irland in that case, that the Kyng schold have no juridiction or intromyttyng ther with, and that ther schold be no more name of the Kyng of Ingland in Irland, then of the Kyng of Spayne.

Item, it myght pleas the Kynges Grace to wryt un to ODonyll, with gode comfortable persuasionis, that he endever hym to make war upon ONele, in case ONele attempt any hurte to the Kynges subgietes.

Item, consyderynge the mysdemendure, as well of Englische rebelles, as of gret strong Irischmen, whych ever be promp and redy to dryve the Kynges subgietes to extreme distruccion; it is, in maner, impossible to the Kynges Englische subgietes to resist and entertaign men of warr for ther defence, upon ther oun charges, the space of oon quarter of a yere, oneles the Kynges Grace wold send an armye, well harnysshed with ordynaunce and all necessaries, for the rescues and socours of this Englisch pale, and his subgietes of the same, tyl His Grace may bettyr provide for the reformation therof.

Item, the army to be sent hethyr, Northumberland speres, light fote men, apte to take payn and labours, as the marchers of Scotland, and the men of warr of this contre, doo; which is wery necessari to be provided, and sent hither in all hast.

Item, thErle of Kyldare is doghtyr, Ellis[1], which was with hir fadyr, the

[1] No. 53, in the same bag, is an examination of Sir Gerald Mackshayne, Knight, sworn 19th March 1529, "upon the Holie Masebooke, and the great relike of Erlonde, callid Baculum Christi, in "presence of the Kynges Deputie, Chauncelour, Treseror, and Justice;" which contains the following passage:

"Item he saith, that Melour Faa showid unto this deponent, that thErle of Kyldare had a prevy "token betwene him and the said Melour, as towching his expedition in England; which was, that "yf his doughter, Elys, shulde come ayen in to Erlonde before him, that then he might perceyve "well the said Erle weer not at his pleasour to come home; and that this said token was callid to "remembraunce by the said Melour, after tharryveng of this said Lady Ellys from Englonde into "thes partyes. In so muche this forsaid Melour said unto this jurate, that this was an evyll sygne "for thErle of Kyldare, that his doughter was commen home before hir fader."

said

said Erle, in England, cam directly from the said Erle, and arryved thre vykis befor the 28 day of August, and furthwith, upon hir arryvall, sche rod streth home to OConour is house, and had longe secrete comynycation with OConour; wher upone, sone aftyr, the said OConour made the said invasions, roodes, and hostilities. And the said Erle is brethern consequently made the said comby-nations with OConour, and synestre seducious practisis with ONele.

LVII. INSTRUCTIONS, geven by the KYNGES HIGHNES to his trusty Counsaillour, SIR WILLIAM SKEFFYNGTON, Knyght[1], Master of the Ordenaunce, whome His Grace hath constituted and ordeyned to be Deputie unto his right trusty and right entierly welbelovid Cousin, the Duke of Rychemont and of Somersett, Lieutenaunt of his Land of Ireland[2], as folowyth.

FIRST, the sayd Sir William Skeffyngton, takyng with hym the Kynges letters credencialls directed to the Chaunceler, and other the Kynges Counsaillours, of hys sayd land of Ireland, shall, at his repayre thider, assemble them to gether, delyveryng unto them the Kynges sayd letters, and shewinge unto them the cause of his commyng and repeyre thider at this tyme; which is, to serve the Kynges Highnes in thoffice and rome aforsayd, accordyng to the effect of the letters patentes made unto hym upon the same, which the sayd Deputie shall there exhibite and shewe; takyng thereupon his admission to the same rome, in suche maner as in that cace is accustomed. Which done, the sayd Deputy shall consoult, common, and devise with the sayd Counsayle, at good lenght and deliberation, upon all suche poyntes and mattyers, as by them shalbe thought good nowe to procede unto, for the suerty, weale, and defence of that land; soo as, by thair descrete and polityque orders and endevours, the same may be preserved in as good tranquilitye, obeysaunce, order of justice, and quiet, as may be, the Kynges lande there well defended, and the Kynges rebellyous subjectes of the wyld Iryshry resysted in that attemptattes and invasions, the best they can. For the better accomplishment wherof, the Kynges Highnes sendeth now with the sayd Deputy, for his more strength and assistence, not only the

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[1] Skeffyngton was first appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland in August 1529.

[2] The Duke of Richmond, the King's natural son, was appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland on the 22d of June 1529, and held that office till his death.

nomber of 200 horsmen, there to reside and demore upon the tuicion and defence of the Kynges sayd land, and good subjectes of the same, but also money for contentacion and payment of there wages; whome, the Kynges trust is, the sayd Deputie woll imploy to suche good purpose, as may suerly serve to the defence aforsayd; whereunto nothyng shall more conferre, then to conserve and kepe the Kynges sayd good subjectes in good unite, love, and concorde, repressing and reformyng all partyculer grudges and displeasurs, whiche be, or may growe, amonges any of them, and, chefely and principally, betwene the Kynges right welbelovid Cousins, thErles of Kildare, Desmond, and Ossery, whoo be the persons most hable there, with thaire powres and assistences affectually (from tyme to tyme) geven to the sayd Deputy, to resist the malice of thenemyse, and to preserve the Kynges sayd land from invasion and annoyaunce. And therefore the sayd Deputy, with the rest of the sayd Counsayle, must have speciall regarde therunto, so that all rancors and displeasures betwene the sayd Erlles, and any of thayme, may be clerely removed; and they, as they intend the weale of them selves, and of that land, and to advoyde the Kynges utter dyspleasure and indignacion, to put a parte all occasions that myght ingendre any hatred or contrariete amonges them selfes, and to conforme them to the appeysing therof by thorder, avice, and derection of the sayd Deputy and rest of the Counsayle; whome the Kynges Highnes specially wylleth and chargeth to see due justice administred, in the matters of variaunce dependyng betwene thErles of Kyldare, Desmond, and Ossery; wherby they may, those thinges onis extinct, joyne them selfes in suche conformytie, as they may, accordyng to the Kynges trust and expectacion, serve Hys Grace in the defence of hys sayd land, truely, dylygently, and suerly, as Hys Grace veryly trusteth they woll doo accordyngly.

And albeyt that the Kynges Highnes, myndynge and entending graciously to assist the noble men, and other his good subjectes, of the sayd land, for thare weale, suerty, and defence, doth, as is aforsayd, nowe send the sayd nomber of personis to resyde and demore, as is before mencioned; yett, nevertheles, it is not the mynde nor intencion of His Highnes, that the sayd Deputie, or any other, shall employ them, nor any other of the Kynges subjectes in the sayd land, upon makyng of any hostyng, or mayne invasion, upon the wyld Iryshry, at suche charges of the countrey, as in suche mayne hostynges is used, with owte thexpresse consent, knowlaige, and agreament of the hole Counsayle, or the more parte of them; but that they intende to the suer preservacion and defence of the sayd land, resistyng the enemyse with al suche policies and advauntages, as be to be taken agaynst them, as ferre as shalbe thought convenient to the sayd Deputy; not takyng any suche hostyng, chargyng the countrey otherwyse than

than for vitayle as they passe, lyke as in suche other jorneyse hath bene accustomed. Nevertheles whan so ever, and as often as, yt shalbe fully agreed and determyned, with the avice and consent of the hole Counsayle of the sayd land, or the more parte of them, for any greate cause or benefyte, to make an hostyng and mayne invasion, chargyng the contrey for exployttes to be done agaynst thenemyse, the sayd Sir William Skeffyngton shall mow, in that cace, elles not, use and employe hys sayd nomber to that purpose, as by the sayd Counsayle shalbe agreed and thought expedyent, and otherwise in no maner, ether with them, or with owte, make any suche host, at the charge of the countrey, but by the avice of the Counsayle, or the most parte of them, otherwise then is aforsayd.

The sayd Deputy shall also take with hym the letters patentes, under the Kynges seale of Irland, devised upon all suche artycles and poynttes, as there were thought good to be enacted and passed by auctoryte of the Parliament of his sayd land; whiche Parliament the sayd Deputy shall caule and convoke with as good diligence as he shall see to be necessary and requisite: endevoring hym, with the assistence of the residewe of the sayd Counsayle, to the establyshment, enacting, and passing of suche actes, by the auctorite aforsayde, as by the Kynges Highnes shalbe devised, and to the due certificate to be made unto the Kynges Highnes thereof, as is accustumed, and semblably to the execusion and performaunce of the same, after suche sorte and maner, as may be to the weale of the Kynges sayd people and land, and after suche forme as the sayd artycles do purporte. The discrete orderyng wherof, for attaynyng them to passe, the Kynges Highnes committeth to the wisdome and endevour of the sayd Deputye, with the assistence of the residewe of the Counsayle, as is aforsayd.

Amonges other thinges to be treated and comuned of, at the assemble of the sayd Counsaile, upon the fyrst arrivall in Ireland of the sayd Deputy, it is specially to be remembred, that he, with the same Counsaile, devise and consoult to gider for the immediat conducing and attaynyng of a Subsydie within the sayd land, towardes the supportation and alleviacion of the Kynges charges; endevouringe them, to the best of there powres, to have the same Subsidie payable for one yere to be ended at Michaelmas next, and that failling, for half an yere endyng the same day, yf they can so conduce yt; and also to enduce for asmany yere as they can attayne the same. Whiche thinge is not to be tracted, or retracted, till the Parliament, forasmoche as percace the same shall nott be assembled tyll Michaelmas next; but is, with all convenient diligence, to be practesed and brought to passe before the sayd Parliament, yf yt may be; as both the sayd Deputy, and also the Counsayle aforsayd, can and doo well con-

considre. And the sommes rysing of the same Subsidye, and of all other the Kynges revenues and proffyttes in that land, the sayd Deputie shall cause and suffer to be answered and payde to thandes of the Priour of Kylmaynam, Undretresaurer there, with oute intromedling or takyng any parte therof to hym selfe, but to se the Kyng duly answered therof, as to reason doth apertayne.

And where as thErle of Kyldare hath made faithfull promise unto the Kynges Highnes to employe and endevour hym selfe, to the uttermost of his power, for the annoyance of the Kynges sayd rebellious subjectes of the wyld Iryshry, aswell by makyng excourses upon them, as otherwise; forsamoche as the men of warre, nowe sent oute of this Realme with the sayd Deputie, shall moue, in suche cace, doo right good stede to the sayd Erle, in suche exploytes, as he shall make, whene the sayd Deputy shall not fortune to procede therunto hym self, shall, at the requisicion of the sayd Erle, send unto hym the sayd men of warre, or as many of them as he shall requier for makyng of suche exploytes, reserving a convenient nomber of them to remayne and attend upon hym self; and the proffyttes of suche imposicions, that is to say, of bestes, or other thyng, that at an entre or exployte shalbe imponed or had, by way of patysment or agrement, upon thenemyse, to be alwayese the moyte answered to the Kynges Highnes, to thandes of the sayd Undertresawrer, and the other moyte to renne to thErle of Kyldare, yf he shall make thexploite, and putt the imposicion, and to his company not havyng the Kynges wages, to be ordred and devided by his discrecion, as hath bene accustomed.

Fynally, the sayd Deputy shall, from tyme to tyme, as well by his letters aparte, as also jointly with the residewe of the Kynges sayd Counsaile, advertyse the Kynges Highnes of the state and successes of thaffaires in the sayd land of Ireland; endevoring hym selfe alwayse, with diligence, to those thynges, whiche, by common avice of the sayd Counsayle, shalbe thought good, both for administracion of justice, punyshment of transgressours and malefactours, good order, quiett, and rule to be observid in the sayd land, with the dymyssyon and lettyng of the fermes, wardes, mariages, and other the Kynges proffyttes there, by common avice, aswell of the Kynges sayd Deputye, as of the Counsayle aforsayd, and also for the resistence of the malice and temerite of the Kynges sayd rebellius subjecttes; using all politique provisions, aswell by appoyntementes to be taken with them, when the cace shall requier, as by force and other good and discrete wayse, as shalbe thought convenient; and, generally, shall do, observe, and accomplish all suche thynges, as to the offyce, auctority, and trust, which the Kynges Highnes, of speciall confydence, hath and doth put hym in, shall apertayne; wherby he shall more and more deserve the Kynges speciall favour and thankes, to be hereafter remembred to hys weale accordyngly.

LVIII. Submission *of* ODonell.[1]

Hoc scriptum indentatum, factum apud Drougheda, sexto die mensis Maij, anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo 31°, et regni metuendissimi et prepotentissimi Principis et Domini nostri, Henrici Octavi, Dei Gratia, Anglie et Francie Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hibernie, 23^tio^, Testatur, quod ubi nobilis et prepotens vir, Dominus Odo Odonell, Miles, sue nacionis Principalis, suos dilectos et fideles, Dominum Connatium Ofraghill, Abbatem Dirrensem, et Riskardum Ocragan, Generosum, illustri et strennuo viro Domino Willielmo Skeffington, Militi, Deputato seu Vicegerenti prefati dicti Domini Regis, et ejus Locumtenentis in dominio et terra sua Hibernie, misit et destinavit in oratores, ambassatores, et nationes speciales, ac eos per ejus litteras sufficienter auctorisavit ad recognoscendum ejus allegienciam debitam et obedientiam Regie Majestati, suoque Locumtenenti et Deputato, nec non ad tractandum, communicandum, et concludendum, super tractatum pacis et concordie, et alijs quibuscunque articulis, que viderentur vergere in honorem Regis, et suorum subditorum tranquillitatem; qui quidem Abbas, pro se, et prefato suo assessore, nomine dicti ODonell, coram prefato Domino Deputato, et nonnullis de Consilio Regio ei tunc assistentibus, publice proposuit et fatebatur dominum suum fuisse et esse fidelem et ligeum subditum Domini Regis, ac suam fidelitatem ei observasse, ex quo esset in Anglia apud Suam Majestatem, paratumque semper existere suam fidelitatem et allegianciam observare, ac Regis et ejus Locumtenentis et Deputati mandatis et preceptis, ac beneplacitis, imperpetuo obedire et obtemperare: Et quod dominus suus ad premissa declaranda, personalem presentiam Domini Deputati in presenti adjici vellet, ni tali et tanta corporis egritudine detentus esset, ut non sit ei equitandum, absque sui corporis incommodo et periculo; et quoties inierit gwerram cum Domino ONeile, aut aliquo alio inimico aut rebelle Domini Regis, protestatus est, publice, id eum fecisse Regis, et suorum subditorum, causa et occasione, et quod nullam cum eis unquam concluserit pacem et concordiam, sed ea condicione, ut post modum non nocerent Regijs subditis; qua non adimpleta, eorum tractatus concordie pro nullo haberetur. Qua vero propositione finita, prefatus Dominus Deputatus obedienciam et allegianciam Domini ODonell gratuiter acceptavit, ex parte Domini Regis; atque post diversum colloquium et tractatum cum prefatis nuncijs, per intervallum trium aut quatuor dierum, ipse in sequentes articulos consencientes,

[1] From a contemporary Register in Lambeth Library, vol. 603. leaf 35.

et

et omnes et singulos ex parte Domini ODonell, heredum et successorum suorum, tenendos et fideliter perimplendos, promiserunt.

In primis, quod prefatus Dominus ODonell erit, ut predictus est, regius subditus, ac ligeus homo, ac ejus Majestati Regie, suisque Locumtenentibus et Deputatis, pro tempore existentibus, semper obediet et obtemperabit, ac eis ejus servicium et presidium et auxilium adhibebit fideliter contra omnes homines mundi. Item quod Dominus OReyly, Dominus McGwyre, et Dominus McCuyllen, ac omnes alij capitanei Hibernici, adherentes Domino ODonill, vel alij quicunque in futurum illi adherebunt, tam ipse, quam illi, de cetero erunt super pace et guerra Domini Regis contra omnes homines mundi. Item quod si post hac Dominus ODonell, vel aliquis de ejus hujusmodi adherentibus, deliquerint contra subditos Regis, aut aliquis alius, qui erunt de pace et guerra Domini Regis, ipse et ipsi emendum et satisfactionem facient dampnificatis, secundum judicium Domini Deputati et Consilij Regij; et si aliquis adherencium suorum premissa facere recusaverit, Dominus ODonell recusantem relinquet puniendum Domino Deputato; ac ei contra eum suum servicium, presidium, et auxilium adhibebit. Item, simili modo, si aliquis perpetraverit dampnum adversus Dominum ODonell aut ejus adherentes, et ipse querelatus sit super id Domino Deputato, ijdem Deputatus talem et tantam satisfactionem et reformationem dampnorum fieri procuret Domino ODonell, et ejus adherentibus, ac si nocumentum esset perpetratum alicui de regijs Anglicis subditis. Item, ubi objectum fuit eisdem nuncijs ex parte Domini ONeyle, quod eorum Dominus multo magis deberet obligari et teneri Regie Magistati quam ONeyle, pro eo quod ODonell inhabitavit et tenuit regias terras et dominia, nichil inde reddendo; hoc modo responderunt, Dominum ODonell id scire et recognoscere, ideo tam ipse, quam sua omnia, semper essent ad mandatum et beneplacitum Domini Regis; et ulterius promiserunt ex parte ODonell, heredum et successorum suorum, quod casu, quo Dominus Rex velit reformare Hiberniam, ipse et ipsi impendet Sue Majestati, ad suum posse, de terris suis tantum quantum aliquis alius Hibernicus in tota Hibernia, et hoc facient cum gratuita voluntate absque contradictione.

Item, quia Felomeus Baccagh fuit, et est (ut dicti nuncij asseruerunt), unus de amicis et adherentibus Domini ODonell, ijdem nuncij supplicaverunt Domino Deputato, ut eum acceptaret super pace et guerra Domini Regis. Sed Dominus Deputatus hoc facere recusaverat, pro eo quod Felomeus fuerit malefactor maximus adversus regios subditos. Tamen, intuitu submissionis Domini ODonell, idem Dominus Deputatus duxit concedendum inducias eidem Felomeo, usque ad Octabas Penthecoste proximas. Et si ipse interim presentaverit se Domino Deputato, aut destinaverit sufficientes obsides in manus Domini

Domini Deputati pro resarciendis et reformandis injurijs ab eo, ut prefertur, illatis, Dominus Deputatus non recusabit acceptare eum, modo quo supra. Et si premissa non perimpleverit, Dominus ODonell suum auxilium et presidium adhibebit Domino Deputato contra eundem Felomeum.

Ceteraque omnia et singula, que vergere poterint in summum honorem Regis, suorum subditorum tranquillitatem, et ipsius Domini ODonell utilitatem, in proximo ejus adventu ad Dominum Deputatum, ijdem nuncij promiserunt Dominum suum facturum, et ea adimplere, cum effectu. In quorum omnium fidem et testimonium, Dominus Deputatus uni parti hujus scripti, remanenti penes Dominum ODonell, sigillum suum apposuit, et alteri parti, remanenti penes eundem Dominum Deputatum, prefatus Abbas et Riscardus sigilla sua posuerunt, et proprijs manibus subscripserunt.

LIX. Ossory *to* Crumwell.[1]

In as herty maner as I can, I recomaunde me unto you, with like thankis of your great peynys susteynyd in solyciting of my writinges to the King and his Counsail. And where I perceyve, by your letters, that with convenable spede ye wol opteyne the Kinges moost gracious answer unto me, uppon my letters by you presentid to His Grace, I hertely pray you soo to doo, with spede, as my very trust is in you. I have a hobby for you, which ye shulde have had at this tyme, yf I might have had any shipping, and with the next passage I wol not faile to send hym to you. And whate soever pleasure or comodytie of this cuntrey, lying in my power to provyde, it may pleas you to signyfie unto me your desire, which to accomplish I shall unfeynydly endevoure my silf.

Soo it is, that thErle of Kildare, for my true and feithfull service to the King, in resisting his seducious practisis attemptid against the King and his subgietis, as hath been manyfestly approved moore then oons, berith me rancour and malice, ymagyning, by all his studye and power, to subplante and utterly confounde me. And seing that of him silff he is not hable to perfect his purpose, without supportacion of others, therfor of pollecy he perswadith my Lorde of Wilshire, by feynyd love, to bere him, procureing my said Lord to lett to ferme to him suche garrysons and fortelacis, as I have, oonly therby to subdue me. And where Thomas, late Erle of Ormond, by his dede under his seall and signe, gave unto me, and to myn heires male, the manours of Tullagh and Arcloo, with theire appurtenaunces, yeilding to him and his heires the 4th parte

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 46.

of the proffitis therof, above all the chargis; which manours were in the possession of Irishmen the space of thies 200 yeris, unto suche tyme, after the opteynyng of the said dede of gyfte, I, with force, daungier of my lyfe, and great charge, recoveryd the possession of the said manours oute of the Irishmens handes, and made theruppon great byldinges and reparacions, to make them stronge and defensible, to my sumptious coste; which dede I exhibutid before my Lord of Wilshire, and his lernyd counsaill in England: nowe thErll of Kildare saith, that he hath opteyned of my said Lord of Wylshire a lees, for terme of certain yeris, uppon the said manours, which bee the veray keyes of the cuntrey; wherby the said Erle of Kildare, having possession thereof, might, with strenght of his Irishe alyes, destrue me, and wynne all the cuntrey from the King to him silf; which is his verey mynde: I have writtin further of this matier to my Lorde of Wilshire; the coppy of which letter I sende you herein closid[1], to the entent ye may bee rype in the contentis of the same, wherby ye may reason with his Lordship, when ye may have oportunytie. Which to doo, I hertily pray you, aswele for the Kinges advauntage, as my said Lord of Wilshires, moore then myne: for yf thErll of Kildare may come to the possession of the garysons of thErldom of Ormond, he wol at lenght make thereof his owne enherytaunce; lyke as he dooth of divers other possessions of thErldome of Ormond, which were furst leesyd out in ferme to his auncestres, and now makith his awne enherytaunce thereof, by tytle of the sworde, and contynuaunce, in defaulte of other tytle. And wisedom wold require, that the Kinges Grace shuld bee wareful, how to suffre him to have all the strenght of the land, considering the seducious practises of the said Erles auncestres, against their alligeaunces, and the perseveracion of this Erle in the same, evidently approved, and yet contynuyng. For myn awne parte, I feare nothing thErle of Kildare, for all his pompe and rumoure of his power; assuring you, that the Kinges Grace beeing gracious and indyfferent unto me, yf thErle of Kildare wol execute his malice against me, I wol bee alwayes reddy to answer

[1] The copy of Lord Ossory's letter to Lord Wiltshire is preserved in the same volume, leaf 48. After stating his case as to Arklow and Tullagh, in the same manner as in the text, he expresses his marvel what could have moved him to be so unkind, considering that he had sought all ways to please him, and, to his knowledge, had given him no cause of displeasure. He challenges him, if he can assign any default, to signify to the Lord Deputy and Council the articles in which he has offended, and offers to submit to their order. He ascribes Kildare's malignity against him to the Duke of Norfolk's having procured him, against his mind, to serve the King as Deputy; and dilates on the discouragement to loyal subjects, if he, after his good services, shall be subdued and confounded, and Kildare, and his son-in-law OConor, shall be promoted and enriched. He promises due payment of the rent, and excuses his default at the last Michaelmas Term, because it chanced that he was in Dublin, at the Parliament, where he continued seven weeks, spending much more than his ordinary revenues and rents would maintain; nevertheless, at his return home, he prepared his payment, which he now sends.

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a certain nombre to like nombre, or powere to power, in the felde, or els by featis of warre, after the custume of this cuntrey, at his awne chewsing. And he is not hable to make soo great strenght, to maligne against the King and destrue his subgietes, as he hath doon; but I, with Goddis grace, shalbe hable, in all suche thinges, to resist his malice, and repell his enterprise, as I have divers tymes doon in the Kinges service, aswele by my Lord of Northfolkes tyme beeing in this land, as sundry tymes sethens. And yit, by his subtile pollecy, he fyndith the meanes for his transgressions to obteyne favours, proffit, and preemynence to him silf, and asmany as followith his seducious counsail, and to subdue me, and suche as truely servyd the King, in tymes of his transgressions; which is a right pernycious and parelous example in this lande, to suche as bee soo farre distant from the King, seeing the distribucyons of meritis and demeritis soo contrariously mynystrid, as favours to transgressours, and punyshement to true and feithful servauntes. I am suere the King is ignorant of thees perverse procedynges, and that yf His Grace might bee perfectly instructid of the very playnes and trouthe of the premissis, His Highnes wold, of his noblenes and justice, geve condigne retrybucyon to every person, according their desertis.

I send you, also, herein closyd, certain instruccions, which I hertily pray you to moeve unto the Kinges Grace, and his Counsaill, which concerne moore, in a maner, the King, and his auctoritie in this land, then me. And for somoche as ye wrote to me, that the Kinges pleasure was, that I shuld, from tyme to tyme, advertise His Highnes of the affaires of this lande; considering the same shuld bee tedyous to His Grace, to bee comprysid in my letter to His Highnes, therfor I have writtin the said instruccions to you, to thende ye may declare the effect of the same to His Grace, in moore compendious maner then I can write at oon tyme, or severel seasons, as ye shall fynde tyme of oportunytie, after your discrete provydence. I am very homely to put you to suche peynes, without any humanyties or pleasures yit shewid to you. This acqueyntaunce is but newe bitwixt us, but I trust soo to use me unto you, as the contynuaunce shalbe olde and long; hertyly praying you to signyfy your mynde to me, at all tymes, of whatesoever pleasure I may provide for you, and ye shall fynde me as reddy to accomplish your desiris, as ye bee in taking paynes in my causis, which hidderto I have noo thing recompensid; but the future tyme shall not bee prolongid, with the grace of God, who preserve you to His pleasure, and your gentil hertis desire. Writtin at Kilkeny, the secunde day of January.

Your awne assuryd lover,

(*Signed*) P. Oss.

(*Superscribed*)

To my right trusty and hertily welbilovyd frend, Maister Cromewell, of the Kinges moost honourable Counsaill.

Instruccions to my good frende, Maister Thomas Cromewell, to bee showed to the Kinges Highnes and his moost honourable Counsail, on the behalf of thErl of Ossory.

Furst, where thErll of Kildaris great frende and adherent, ONele, malignyd nowe lately agaynst the King, and his Deputie, commytting divers great wronges and hurtis to the Kinges subgietes; wherfor the Deputie, by advyse of the Prevy Counsaill, proclaymyd a general hoosting to bee made uppon the said ONele; to the which hoosting the Deputie instantly desirid me to accompany hym: whereunto I condecendid, notwithstanding the longe distansyng of 140 myles, from my habitacion to the said ONeles cuntrey; and to serve the King, brought with me a better company then thErll of Kildare brought, with all his Irishe alyes and adherentes; and was at myn awne cost and charge, all the tyme of the vyage. And beeing in the enemys cuntrey, I, with the substaunce of all my retynue, went abrode, foraging, and dooing suche hurtis as I might, leveing but a fewe to kepe my lodgis, uppon whome thErl of Kildares servauntes made an assault, and wounded oon of my servauntes. And over that, thErll of Kildare dysplayed his standard, and gatherid all his power to insulte the lytill company that remaynyd keping my lodgis, of whome he slewe the capteyne of my fotemen, and spoyled my companys lodgis of theire harnes, victailis, mony, and pylfre; wherof as yit noo restitucion is made. And at my retornyng to the campe, my company were fyers to have been revengid; and, at the Deputis request, in avoyding the daungier of his person, and his company, by the enemys reddy to sett on him, yf thErl of Kildare and I had encountred, I, with mouche payne, restraynyd and stayed my company from revenging; and soo endure the reproche, losse, and damages, without any redres, as yet. Beseching the Kinges Highnes of redres, orels to congue, and licence my silf to seke my remedy, yf I can.

Item, where I have a lybertie within the countie of Tipperrare, wherin dwellith my cousin, Sir Edmunde Butler, Knight, whoos froward and myschevous dysposicion my Lord of Northfolkis Grace knowith very wele; which Sir Edmunde, for his manyfold heynous transgressions, felonyous and otherwise, was reteynyd in gayele the space of 5 yeres, unto the comyng of the Deputie now beeing; whoo, uppon great penalities, comaunded me to send the said Sir Edmunde to him, to Dublin. And the Deputie, trusting to his false othes and promysis, suffred him to goo at large. And nowe he is stollyn awaye, by the conduct of oon of thErll of Kildris servauntes, whoo toke him first to the said Erles son in lawe, OConour, whoo did all the last insurrection, and from thens thorow thErl of Kildaris Irish frendes, till he brought him home. Which shuld seme to be thErll of Kildaris practise; for his servaunt yit remaynyth with

with the said Sir Edmunde, whoo now rebellith, and wol not obey the Deputie, ne confourme him to any good order, but disposith him silf all to warre and myschief.

Item, where the Deputie, by assistence of me, and other the Kinges subgietis, constreynyd Irishmen to putt in their pledgis, to make recompence to the Kinges subgietes of theire hurtis; which pledgis were delyvered to the custody of thErll of Kildare. And nowe the Deputie hath sundry tymes requyrid thErl of Kildare to sende the said pledgis to the castel of Dublyn, to remayne in the Kinges possession; which thErle of Kildare as yit hath not doon, and, as I thynke, is not willing to doo, but rather to kepe the said pledgis or hostagis with him, to converte all the recompence of theire redemyng, which the King and his subgietes shuld have, to his awne particuler gaynes and advauntage; and also to compell the said Irishmen to combynde and confedre with him, having noo regard to the Kinges Deputie, and to make all the land beleve, the Deputie is sent, but oonly to bee an instrument to him.

Item, where the Baron of Brant Churche[1], Knight for the shire of Kilkenny, beeing going towardes the Kinges Parlement to Dublyn, was takyn by thErl of Kildares servaunt and norishe, callyd McEnecrosse, within the countie of Kildare, at the gates of the said Erles awne manour of Casteldermot; and pursuyd an other companion of the said Barons into the said Erles manour, where the malefactour had famylier comynycacion with the said Erles constable, which constable might have taken the malefactour easily, for the same malefactour was soole within the manour a long space. And imediatly the malefactour roode to thErll of Kildare, to consulte with him, and at his retornyng from the said Erle, the Baron was conveyed further into the herte of the countie of Kildare, to a castell callyd Beerdys Castell, and yrons brought out of the said Erles awne manour of Kylkaa, to make faste the Baron; where he was kepte a longe season, notwithstanding sundry requestis and injunccions of the Deputie to the said Erle and malefactour, unto suche tyme as I prosecutid the cause uppon the malefactour and his complicis, to theire peynes and damagis irrecuperable; having with me suche a company, as, if thErll of Kildare wolde have interuptid me with his power, which, as I was enfourmyd, his purpose was to doo, yit he shuld have founde me reddy to abyde him, without reculyng, onles the Deputie had prohibited and forbyddyn me. And fynally the Baron lost his horse, his mony, and apparail, without restitucyon; which is a good encouraging to malefactour to comyt spoyles, having the advauntage thereof without punyshement or restitucyon.

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[1] Burnchurch, in the county of Kilkenny. A branch of the Fitzgeralds, of Gurteens in that county, were styled Barons of Burnchurch.

Item,

Item, semblably, the burgessis of the towne of Kilkeny, retournyng homewardes from the Parlement, were takin by thErle of Kildaris trusty servaunt, callyd Moriart McWony, Baron, at the gates of the said Erles towne of Athye in the countie of Kildare; and the malefactour wisshed that he had the King in the ende of a hand lokk, and the Deputie in the other ende, as fast and suere as he had the said burgessis; like as OConour said before. And imediatly the malefactour roode to the Erle of Kildare, uppon oon of the said burgessis horsis, and had leyserly comynycacion with the said Erle. Whereof ensued, that the burgessis were straictly kept in dures within the countie of Kildare, unto suche tyme as they were fayne to make fyne and rainsome, which they have payed in reddy mony, besydes the retaynyng of theire horses, jewelles, mony, and apparaill. And the malefactour beeing at the said Erlis comaundement, complayntis daily made to him for redres, aswele by the said burgessis, as also by the hole body of the towne of Kilkenny, yit there is noo redres takin, but all thinges attollerated.

Item, thErll of Kildare hath takyn his awne brother James, to whom is decended the enheritaunce of Sir Thomas Fitz Gerald, Knight, late deceasid; and the said Erle kepith in his awne preson the said James, in yrons straictly, and wolde not delyver him to the Deputie as yit, uppon sundry requestis made by the Deputie and the Prevy Counsail. Men thinke here, that all the perchement and wex in England wol not bring thErl of Kildare thidder agayne.

(*Signed*) P. Oss.

LX. Archbishop Allen *to* Crumwell.[1]

Jhesus.

From Dublin, the 19th of Marche, 1531.

I recomend me right hertilie unto you. So thankyng your goodenes for suche labours and paynes, as yow (with my brother) right lovynglie hath taken to bryng my (secund) great premunire to a conclusion; by the finall end wherof, I do not a litle perceve your tendre favours both in counsailyng and perile, also diligence, whiche sheuith aswele your goode mynde toward my saide brother, as that ye have not forgotten olde acquayntauns. For the whiche your gentle

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle D.

maners

maners, I gyve you entire thankes accordyngly, no lesse now in hert, mouth, and writyng, then I trust heretocum (if ever it fortune me to be able) in dedis and actis effectuallie. In accomplishment wherof, (and to thentent I may the soner perfourme this my saide unfayned promise) I must instantlie require you, (necessitas facit licitum, quod alias est illicitum) to move my Soverayne Lorde the Kynges good Grace, to gyve unto me a prebende of oone hundred pound a yere (in commendame) to mayntene thestate that His Highnes hath callid me unto, (beyng Primate of his Churche in Irland, and Chauncelour of the same,[2]) withought my merites, and by obediens, (a gaynst my will truly.)

His Graces Counsaile here, uppon instructions sent from thens, grounded uppon sinester informations, verelie hath so sore gratid uppon my litle substaunce that I had (uppon a brute and perpensed fame,) that I can not lyve (and pay my dettes) with wirship, nore yet with honestie, in keping a competent house, and convenient servauntes, nether tyme of pece, nore yet of warre; and muche the rather, that my credettes ther with you be denayed unjustlie. And heire with us, I can not have the fortie marke fee of the Chauncelourship (now two yere and half past), nore yet suche monay, as I laide ought uppon the Kynges letters, aswell for shippes and mariner wages, as for reparations done on the Kynges Chauncerie, also Castell. Sir, (afor God) I desyre none translation, nore any maner of benefice of cure, or yet of dignitie, but oonelie (if it myght please the Kynges Highnes to have sum compassione uppon me) a prebend, whiche shold cause no murmur of absentie from thens; wherby I myght kepe a dosyne yemen archors in wages and lyveray, when I lye in the marches uppon the churche landes, to kepe me, in the Kynges service, from his Irishe inimies and Inglishe rebelles; and ever amonge to do sum litle reparations, wher and when oone shillinge may save here after a pounde. So knowethe God, who may sende you (when I am ought of half my dett), this next yere, oone hobby, oone hauke, and oone Lymeryke mantle; whiche thre thinges bene all the commodities for a gentleman is pleasur in thes parties; as ye shall moue understand by this berer (Nicholas Cloes), myne olde and assured servaunt, unto whom ye may gyve credence more largelie. And thus lessourlees, fare ye right hertily well. Amen.

Your right lovyng frende assuerdly,

(*Signed*) JOHN DUBLIÑ.

(*Superscribed*)

[*To my sp*]etiall good frende Mr.

[*Thomas Crum*]well, in haste.

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[2] John Allen, while Archbishop Elect of Dublin, was appointed Lord Chancellor of Ireland 19 Sept. 1528, and was displaced from the Chancery in July 1532.

LXI. The Earl of Desmond *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Mooste highte and mighty Prince, and my mooste reduptithe Soveraigne lyghe Lorde, I, in my mooste humble wise recommaunde my unto Your mooste noble and haboundaunce Grace. And where as it hade pleas Your Hightnes for to graunte my lyvere of myne Erldome, with all theneritaunces and proffithis graunten by your progenitours to my nawnstris, as your gracious letter therof makis mention more plenere. Wherupon, accordinge to the contentes of the same, I have prepared my self for thaccomplishinge of Youre Grace is myne toward Syr William Skeffyngton, nowe your Deputie of this your londe, and others of your Consaill; submittinge my self unto ther discretion, for to endevour my to rulle and governe not only my none lordshipe undere Your Grace, butt allso for to by en quiet with my mortall enymies, accordinge to the tenour of sertaine endentours devisede by your said Deputie and Consaill; wherof Your Grace has thone halfe, which shalby a sufficient proffe of my forsaid fidelitie towardis Your Grace. For I have submite my self to Your Grace, as I dude unto your noble direst fadere, of fames memory, whose soule Jhesu pardon; trusting for to shaue my self the same man, accordinge to my bounden duetie of aligeaunce, during my lyf, with fullfilling all my promessis to my power, savinge one, of the which I dessyre Your Grace my to pardone, while that it is receusyde and necessary, and more ease for Your Grace, and for my, so to dowe, thene otherwise; as be all exsperiaunce it may be well knowen; as hier after doth exsprime, that is to say: wher as I have promist for to send myne herre[2] unto Your Grace, I, being well striken in age, having none othere but only he, my lordshipe under Your Grace beinge ferr asondere, having sondry mortall ennymies, considringe myn anciente, and his tendere of aige, Your Grace may considere, that we bothe has moche adowe for to kipe our oune; and if he were absent, bothe in daunger of the see, and other myschaunces, I shaulde hade moche adowe, then I may well away with. Also that I wile fere that Your Grace wile take more pain in the defennce of hym in his absent, thene to soffore hyme, as he is, for a while, at Your Grace is commaundement at all tymis. And in case that my Lord of Osserry, or enny other,

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[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 39.

[2] Thomas, 12th Earl of Desmond, succeeded to the Earldom in 1529. His only son, Maurice, died in 1530, leaving an only son, James (afterwards 13th Earl of Desmond), who was Earl Thomas's heir at the date of this letter. The validity of Maurice's marriage with Joan, daughter of John Fitzgerald, the White Knight, was disputed, and the succession of James consequently endangered.

will

will shue be petticion, or othervise, conserninge myne eneritaunces, graunten by your progenitours, and by Your Grace, as aforesaid, or will informe Your Grace enny mysdemenors, othervise thane trouth, or my dessorte, in that behalfe, to the purpose for to putte Your Grace in a belyve that I have commysed enny thing that will obstrake my frome my bounden dutie of aligeaunce, or in the frenginge of enny thinge of my forsaid endentors; heir I have send Your Grace sertaine mysengers, bringers herof, hawing your gracious fawour, for to a quite me evidently, be the vieue of Your Grace, of all thinges that shalby objectith unto my charge; so as I truste to prove my self as your subjett and servaunt, my lyff duringe; dessiring Your Grace so to accepte my, as I trust ye shall, by God is grace, whom I pray instantly to send Your Grace the viktory of all your ennemiees. Amen. Writtin at Youghall, the 5 day of May, the 24th yere of your noble rainge.

(*Superscribed*) To the Kynges Grace. (*Signed*) Thomas Erll of Dessmond.

LXII. Walter Cowley *to* Crumwell.[1]

My humble duety not omittid to your right wurshipfull Maistership. And forasmoche as sume newis is comenly reportid here, by dyvers that nowe lately arr cume hither from Irland, whiche lately have happenid there, I do nowe ascertain your Maistership therof, according as is oppenly reportid, whiche is, that my Lord of Kildare, for the mayntenauns of his son in lawe, Fergenanym OKarroll[2], besedged a castell, whiche appertaynid to thadversaries of his said son in lawe, with whom they were in striff for the name and lordship of OKarroll; and that there then my said Lord of Kildare was shott with a hand gon thorow the syde, under the ribbes, and so lyeth in great daunger, as they boldly affirmeth; whiche shold bee a seivnight before there departure. I am suer by this, that your Maistership hath been ascertaynid herof, with the further circumstans, els in my mynd many arr moche to blame. Further more, my Lord Butler is maried to the late Erll of Dessmondes doghter and heyr generall.[3] And for the great lachenes my Lord of Ossory hath imputed in me,

1 From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle C.

2 The Earl of Kildare, in 1532, gave one of his daughters in marriage to OConor of Offaly, and another to Fergananym OCarrol.

3 James Lord Butler married Joan, the only daughter and heiress of James, the 11th Earl of Desmond, who died without issue male in 1529.

in thexpedicion of my suyt there, he hath made so quyke spede, that Dermott McGilpatrik, who was the chief that was comitting the murthering of his son [1], is takin, and remayneth with hym in paynfull dures, and I doubt not woll pley a good shirriffes part in putting in execucion the Kinges pleasure for that matter. And thus the Blessed Trinitie preserve your Maistership in wurship. Writtin in hast, at Bristoll, this Saint Thomas day in Cristemas.

Yntierly at your Maisterships commaundement,

WALTIER COWLEY.

(*Superscribed*)

To my singuler good Maister, Maister Cromwell,
Oon of the Kinges moost honourable Counsaill,
deliver this with spede.

LXIII. INSTRUCTIONS, mynistred by the KINGIS COUNSAILE IN IRELANDE to JOHN ALEN [2], Maister of the Rolles there, to be declared to the Kingis Highnes, for the weale and reformation of the said lande to some good order, in doubt, les withought remedie grete daunger and destruccion shuld insue to the Kingis poore subjectis.[3]

FYRST, ye shall instructe the Kingis Highnes of the grete decaie of this lande, which is so farre fallen into myserie, and brought into soche ruyne, that noither the Inglishe order, tonge, ne habite been used, neither the Kingis lawes obeied, above 20 miles in compasse; so as in defaulte of thexecution of the Kingis lawes, and lacke of good governaunce, the Kingis jurisdiction and obedience is brought to soche a mischief, as, excepte it shall plese the Kingis Highnes to redres the same, the litle place (being now obediente) shalbe shortelie brought to the same caas at the residewe is.

Item, the beginneng and thendeng of the decaie of this lande growethe by the immoderate takeng of coyne and lyverey, withought order, after mennes awne sensuall appetites, cuddees, gartie, takeng of caanes for felonies, murdours,

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[1] Lord Ossory's second son, Sir Thomas, was murdered by Dermot Mc Shane Mc Gilpatrick.

[2] John Alen, Clerk of the Council in Ireland, was made Master of the Rolls there, 9th July 1533.

[3] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 603. p. 66. This paper is quoted by Cox.

and

and all other offences, alterages, biengis, saultes, and slauntiaghes, and other like abusions and oppressions; the circumstances and causes wherof ye can declare.

Item, oon other decaie of this lande is in defaulte of Inglish inhabitauntes, which, in tymes past, were archers, and had feates of warre, and good servauntes in ther houses, for defence of the countrie in tyme of necessitie. Synes that tyme, the inheritours of the lande of the Inglishrie have admitted to be ther tenauntes thois of thIrishrie, which can live hardelie, withought bredde, or other good victuales; and some, for lucre, to have of them more rente, and some, for other impositions, than Inglish husbandes be able to gyve, (togeder with thoppression of coyne and lyverey) have expelled them; and so is all the countrie, in effecte, made Irish, and withought trust and securitie of defence, good order, or hospitalitie.

Item, by the relation of aunciente men, in tymes past, within remembrance, all thInglish Lordes and gentils within the pale, hertofor kepte retynewes of Inglish yomen in ther houses, after thInglish fachon, accordeng the extente of ther landes, to the great strenght and socour of ther neybours, the Kingis subjectis. And now, for the more parte, they keape horsemen and knaves, which lyve upon the Kingis subjectis, and not in ther houses, and keape, in maner, no hospitalitie, but lyve all upon the poor peple.

Item, liberties of the temporall Lordes of this lande hath been, and be, moche prejudiciall to the Kinge, and the weale of the lande; for that by the meanes of thabuse of them, the Kinge hath loste the due obedience and strenght of thinhabitauntes of the same, and his regalities and revenues there.

Item, the black rentes and tributes, which Irishmen, by violence, hathe obteyned of the Kingis subjectis, is a grete myschef; wherbie they been inryched and strenghthed, and thothers gretelie infeblisshed. And yit, whan the Deputies goo upon Irishmen, by thaide of the Kingis subjectis, for redresse of ther nightlie and dailie robberies, they keape all they gett to ther awne use, and restore nothing to the poor peple.

Item, annother hurte is, the committing of the governaunce of this lande to the lordes, native of the same; and the often chaunge of Deputies.

Item, the negligente keping of the Kingis recordes; by meane wherof, and that the Kinge, and commonlie his Deputies, graunte clerkes offices of the Fower Courtes to persons onlerned, or not experte in the same, which cannot exercise soche romes, the Kingis Courtes and revennues be gretelie decaied, and his recordes imbecilde, and his inheritaunce and right therbie onknowen.

Item, oon of the gretest hurtes is, that the Kinge hath lost and gyven away his manours, lordshipes, fee farmes, custumes, and other his revenues, so as he hath not now wherof to maynteyne a Deputie, for defence of his subjectis.

G. ARMACHAÑ.
JOHN DUBLIÑ.
EDWARD MIDEÑ.[1]
J. RAWSON, Pr of KILM̃.
WALTERUS DAREÑ.[2]
JENECO Vicount of GORM̃.[3]
JAMES Abbot of S. T. CÕTE.[4]
W. Abbot of S. M. ABBAY[5] by DUBLYN.
R. P̃ of LOWTH.
Sr J. BARNWALL Lord of TRYMLETTISTON.
P. FYNGLAS, Baron.
CRISTOFER DELAHIDE, Justice.
P. WHITE, Baron.

ARTICLES FOR REFORMATION.

Item, that there be capitaynes in every merche, as hathe been of oolde tyme, and that the kindismen and inhabitauntes, under the rule of every of them, be at their leadeng, and riseng ought, under the Kingis Deputie, and non other; and that all the landes and dwellers ther be attendaunte and contributeng with ther capitayne, and non others, under the Deputie, as is expressed in other bookes of instructions heretofore.

Item, that no Inglish lorde, ne capitayne, make any bande or covenaunte with any Irishman to have right ought of him, or bering of men of warre, or termons, to his awne use; for that were a grete infeblisheng of the Kingis strenght, and dymynytyon of his profightes, onles the same shuld be converted to the Kingis use, as it dothe apperteyne. And any lorde that hathe any soche at this tyme, lett him expresse the certentie therof, and renounce the same to the Kinge, at His Gracis plesur.

And that the Kinge shall take ordre with his Deputie, that he do utterlie his beste for thexonerating of his subjectis of soche blacke rentes, as Irishmen take of them now.

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[1] Edward Staples, Bishop of Meath.
[2] Walter Wellesley, Bishop of Kildare.
[3] Jenico, Viscount Gormanstown.
[4] James Cotterel, Abbot of St. Thomas Court, Dublin.
[5] William Laundy, Abbot of St. Mary's Abbey, Dublin.

Item,

Item, that no person take caanes, any where amongis the Kingis subjectis, for felony or murdour. And that the Kinge take an order abought the liberties aforsaide; which shall gretelie increse the Kingis strenght and profightes.

Item, by meanes of the dissention of thois of this lande, the defaulte of thexecution of the lawes, other myschefis befor expressed (and especially coyne and lyverey, which is now so immoderatlie, universally used, in maner, by all men), that all shallbe brought to be Irishe, withoughte redresse be had; which is not like to be remedied by any our Inglish lordes of this lande, for diverse and many causes to long here to be expressed.

And besides that, ther is growen soche a roted dissention betwixt thErles of Kyldare and Osserie, that, in our opynyons, it is not likelie, as the Kinge heretofor hathe been advertised, and thexperience of many tymes proved manifesteth the same, to bringe them to good conformitie; especiallie if either of them be Deputie, or aspire to that rome.

And if any other of this lande shuld be admitted therunto, we feare, by likeliode of ther oolde fachon, they will not assiste him, and obey him, as shuld apperteyne; so as for the releve and helpe of this pour lande, or any good order to be had here, the next meane is to sende hither an Inglishe Deputie, who we trust, within thre yeres, shall bringe thInglyshe shires of Leynster and Mounster to good purpoos, so as the Kingis subsidie may rynne ther.

Also, ther must be a resumption of the Kingis revenues of this land, from a certen tyme hitherto; for by thimportunate labours of thois of this lande, the Kinge, and diverse his noble progenitours, have graunted diverse of them his revenues, so as now the remanente is litle in effecte. By mean of which resumption, the subsidie, and other thingis, which, within thre yere, the said Deputie will gett of Irishmen, and otherwise, it is likelie (and, God willing, we doubt not) ther shalbe revenues sufficiente to maynteyne him, withought furder charge to the Kinge.

But who shalbe most apte to thexecution of that rome, it becommethe us not to name, ne assigne, otherwise than shalbe the Kingis plesur. Albeit soche oon, as hathe thexperience of the lande, and the knowlege of the peple, shall do the Kinge moche better service, and with les charge, than any other; as ye can declare.

And percaas the Kingis Highnes (as God forbede) shuld have warre with any owtwarde Prince, we thinke than most expediente, that His Grace take good order for this lande, for many considerations.

Furder, all the Kingis castels in this lande be fallen to utter ruyne and decaie.

Also,

Also, ther must be some meane founde for the represseng of the Scottes, for they increscе daylie more and more, and inhabite in Ulster, &c; and an order had for the keapeng and conserveng of the Kingis recordes, and that the Kingis revenues may appere in the Chauncerie and Exchequier, as it was of oolde tyme, and lett to ferme under the Kingis seale, and not pryvatelie by the Deputie; and that he graunte no clerkes offices, but by thadvise of the Judgis of the same Courte, wher soche offices been.

Semblably that the Kingis boke of instructions sente hither by my Lord Chauncelour, that now is[1], may be observed from hensforthe by the Deputie, as nigh as possible is; for hitherto it was not so: and that all the lordes and gentilmen within the fower shires, that is to saie, Dublin, Kyldare, Mythe, and Uriell, been compelled to obey the Kingis lawes, and all others, as nigh as may be.

G. ARMACHAÑ.
J. DUBLIÑ.
EDWARD MIDEÑ.
J. RAWSON, Pr of KILMAYNAN.
W. DAREÑ.
JENYCO Vicount of GORM̃.
JAMES Abbot of S. T. COTE.
W. Abbot of S. M. ABBAY.
R. Prio of LOWTHE.
J. BARNEWAL, Lord of TRYMLETTISTON.
P. FYNGLAS, Baron.
CRISTOFER DELAHIDE, Justice.
P. WHITE, Baron.

LXIV. To the Right Wurshipfull, and my singuler good Master, Maister THOMAS CROMEWELL, of the Kingis moste honorable Counsaile, to be presentid to the Kingis Moste Excellent Highnes.

MOSTE Excellent and redoubtid Souveraigne Lorde, whose excellencie, fame, and vertuous gouvernaunce is overspred universaly through the worlde; and albeit that the same, with semblable moste comendable qualities, fixt in your moste Roiall Person, ought to discourage me, of moste simplicitie, to presume to

[1] Archbishop Cromer, who succeeded Allen 5th July 1532.

attempte

attempte any matier or warke, that might come to your moste noble presence or audience, soo far excelling in cunnyng all other terrestriall princis, aswele by daily speculacion, as by veray experience; yet peysing, on thother partie, the ardant deasire, that Your Grace hath alway had, to have a reformacion in your lande of Irlande, whiche was never further from the same, than nowe, onles the spedy assistence of your moste habundant goodnes; remembering, also, in so moche matier that sume goodnes may be pikyd out, or other addicions may the rather be put to the same, by thadvyse of Your Gracis moste sad, prudent, and honorable counsaile debating therupon; like as an over great or weightie lode or burden, being disminisshid, may, with lesse difficultie and more ease, be conveyd, caried, and borne. And forasmoche, also, as I was borne there within that your said lande, lernyd the sume lytle experience there, it provokith me to that enterprise, coveyting the weale of my natyve cuntrey. And besidis that, I accompt me more bounden to the same, then many others; my father being an Englishman, borne within this Your Gracis Realme of Englande, and hitherto, for the more parte, have had his preferrement by Your Gracis moste Excellent Highnes. Not doubting, but that the high prudence, and moste gracious disposicion annexid to your moste Royall Person, woll accept the good will of me, Your Gracis moste humble subject, that enterpriseth the same, and not the over great symplicitie and sklendernes of the warke, whiche is but veray lytle, and conveyd after the moste rudest maner. As my maternall cuntrey requyrith, and as further knowledge and experience, with the help of my pore and moste simple wyt, shall lede me unto, herafter I shall adde therto accordingly. Beseching Almightie God to have Your Grace in His moste blessid tuycion, with encrease of honor and prosperitie.

Here ensueth certain causes of the mysordre and debate in Irlande.

The furste and principall is, for lak of their Prince and Souveraigne personaly emongis theym, whoo might and wolde reforme the same inconveniences, and for that, that suche as are Deputies, for the more parte of theym, doo lene more to their particuler gayne and proficte, then to the Kingis honor and proficte, or the common weale of his subjectis.

Oone other cause is, that when the Kingis Highnes deputith others of noble men there, suche as are of highe courage, to supplie his rowme, executing His Gracis auctoritie there, then he, unto whome the same is commyttid, dothe shape it as a cloke or habyte to cover his cruell persecutions, mynding utterly to extynguyshe the fame and honor of any other noble man within that lande, and as whoo say that whate he dothe is soo absolute shadowed with that auctoritie, soo that, whatesoever it be, it shuld not be repungenyd at.

A thirde

A thirde cause is, that when suche as doo contynue in His Graces service, moste ernestly and faithfully, be many tymes amoved from their rowmes and offices, and their veray adversaries collocatid in the same; and doo then accompte their good service had clerely out of rememberaunce, whiche stirreth theym, and others, for drede and their awne securities, to advere in maner in way of allegiaunce to thErle of Kyldare, omytting wele nigh their hole duetie to the Kingis Highnes; accompting that rowme as inherytaunce to thErles of Kyldare, and that the abode of any other, in that auctoritie, shulde be but a short tyme, and that alway fynaly they tryumphe and attayn their purpose; and their offences, howesoever heynouse they be, remyttid, and no partie grevyd restorid to any maner amendis.

Then followith, consequently, that other noble men, there sequele, and famylie, murmurith therat, seing their dayly destruccions ensuyng by that meane; and oftyntymes are dryven, in their awne defencis, to make resistence violently against the Kinges Deputies, and soo by lytle and lytill are dryven, mawgre their heddis, to encroche in disobedyencie, omytting wele nighe their duties to that auctoritie: soo that, oonles veray hastie redresse doo ensue, the auctoritie and renowme of the Kingis deputacion there wolbe extingtidhe, and clerely out of memorye, and never like, without difficultie, brought to reconsiliation of due obediencie.

Suche as moste aydid my Lorde of Northfolke, and Sir William Skefington, during their being in the Kinges auctoritie there, are nowe worste entreatid and moste persecutid; and their enemyes, who then did moste annoyaunce, and warrid upon the Kinges subjectes, are favourid, strenghtid, and maynteyned.

The Chaunceller, that nowe is, is of great unskylfullnes, and nothing soo worthy to exercyse that rowme as his predecessor; but dredith soomoche the noble men there, that he shewith him self more lyker their chapelayn, or parishe preste, then the Kinges Chaunceller; and for his opyn parcialitie, in all thErle of Kildares procedinges, many folkes doo put their right in suspence, taking that eleccion, rather than to jeopardie theym to the tryall of him.

There hath within this same yere happenyd more warre, trouble, robbing, and mysadventurs, to the Kingis subjectes, comytted by the Irishrye, unprosecutid, more then ever chaunsid in that lande that any man can remembre; as the pitiouse murdering of Mr Thomas Butler, son to thErle of Ossorie, whiche was not all oonly doon by the Irishrie, whoo, for his tyme and age, flouring in vertue, noblenes, and chivalrie, fer passid any other within that lande. Not longe after, thErle of Kildare was shot through with a gonne, and hardly escapid the deth. His three bretherne also, James, Richarde, and Waltier, being in the marches

marches, in one house, parte of the Tooles, in the night, burnyd it; and James did escape by swyftnes of his horse, his men slayne, and bothe his other bretherne escapid in the clothing of women. Soone after, John, brother to thErle of Kildare, made a roode upon the McMahons, where he was met, and him silf woundid, and chasid 6 myles, and 30^ti of his men slayne. Thomas, son and heire to thErle of Kildare, made another roode upon OReyly, where he was encountrid also withall, and fayne to recule with moche reaproche, where was takyn prysoner Sir Waltier Delahides son and heire, and others; Edwarde Nugent, with other great and valiant gentilmen, slayne. Edmunde Ooge OBrynne hath kept warre to thInglishrie, nighe thys yere, comytting infynyte burnynges, prayes, spoyles, and manslaughter, and within these 5 wikes, entrid with force, in the night tyme, in the Kingis Castell of Dublin, whiche is the strongest holde in Irlande, and led with him prisoners, at his pleasur, and cattaile; which enterprise hath more discouragid the Kingis subjectes there, then the lostes of 2000£ of their goodes, insomoche as, nightly sethens, great watche is in the Citie of Dublin, fearing that the same shulde be pylferid, prostrate, and distroyde, wherof they never dredid somoche. And besidis this, Onele, this last somer, entrid into Uriell amonges thEnglishrie, and there comyttid destruccion at his pleasur; contynuyng there at 3 or 4 wikes, and never resistid by the Deputie, or any other.

These mysadventures, soo notable, in soo short tyme happenyd, hath lyftid upp the hartis of the Irishrie, that before suffrid myserie, and were alway in great drede of the Kinges Deputies; soo that oonles they be with spede dryven into their dennes, in their prestynate state, moche inconvenyencies and destruccions woll not faile to ensue.

The remedye for the pacifying of the debate and mysordre premysid.

For lak of the Kingis personall presence, that sume sage indifferent person of this [1] Realme, be sent thidther as Deputie; whoo, by entendement, shall rather torne and convert to the Kingis great proficte, then thauctorysing of others in that lande, that convertith the more parte of the Kingis revenues and custumes there to their awne inherytaunce. And nowe the Kingis revenues there is nighe trebill somoche as it was, whan Sir William Skeffington was there, by reason of a subsydie yerely, for 3 yeris, lately graunted. And also the Banne, the Lordship of Rathwyre, Carlingforde, Rathtouth, and other lordships, that Sir Thomas FitzGerot had, for the terme of his life, by the Kinges graunt, whiche be revertid to His Grace [2]; soo that this same, with other revenues and

[1] England.

[2] He died in 1530.

 proficte

profictes readoptid to the Kinges possession, shalbe, in veray short tyme, the Deputie being oones well settlid there, ynogh to bere the Deputies chargis, with a suffycient power resident there, and yit, besidis that, shalbe a further proficte to His Highnes.

Then shall ensue, that the noble men there woll stryve, whoo shall best serve the Kinges Grace, and whoo shall deserve best reaporte of that Deputie, whoo may then ordre and kepe theym in peace; but yf suche a Deputie have noo terme, ne certayntie of yeris therupon, it shall lytle prevaile; for yf the people there doo knowe that he hath animam revertendi, they woll be affraid to advere moche to him, and woll conjector and feare alwey a newe chaunge, as hath be soo sene oftyn tymes hitherto: but to bring aboute the Kinges devyses to take effecte, bothe for his honor and proficte, it wolde be veray harde but by suche a Deputie as hathe alredy good experience there, for yf one, to be lernyd therin, shulde goe thidther, the tyme shall treat the longer, and the King put to moche the more chargis.

Surely my Lorde of Northfolke, with convenyent tyme, wolde, rathest of any man, bring aboute a good reformacion; for with the lyberalitie, activitie, and gentill enterteynyng, that he alway shewid emonges theym there, caused theym to owe more their hartes and services towardis him, then to any of their owne cuntrey, or other that ever bare rule emonges theym. And aldernext his Grace, Sir William Skeffington did best for the quyetnes of the Kingis subjectis there, and repressing of the Irishrie, and is dredid there.

ThErle of Ossorie, in whome is notid moste trouthe and humylitie towardis the Kingis Grace, of any man within that lande, now repairing to His Highnes, accepting condignely his good acquyttall, it shalbe the veray meane to encourage others there to like flexibilitie, and a perpetuall discourage to others, that doo use overthwartnes and contrariositie.

The thing mooste necessarie to be devysed, is to encrease thEnglish ordre, habyte, and maner, and to expell and put awaye the Irishe rule, habite, and maner; whiche must be, principaly, with good and gentill enterteynyng, by the Kingis Highnes, of suche as may be brought to that purpose. And that furste, thErle of Ossorie, nowe here, be bothe bounde and sworne to endevor him to cause the gentilmen, freholders, and inhabitauntes within his domynion, to confourme theym therunto; and that suche of theym, as are of habilitie, doo put their heires of younge age to borowe townes, as, to Waterforde, Kylkeny, or Clomell, to lerne Englishe, and to scole. Then the capitaynes, gentilmen, and inheritours, being soo inclyned therto, woll provoke their sequele, tenauntes, and servauntis to the same, and also woll theym silves coveyte to followe the habyte, speche, and maner of their hedis, maisters, and superiores. But before the Kinges

Kinges Grace shulde enterprise any generall reformacion there, it must be furst devysid that His Graces Englishe subjectes, whiche are bounden to due obedyence to His Grace, wherin nowe they are savage, be brought to reconsiliacion; otherwise to goo aboute to enfeble and exile suche perverse folkes, that woll use suche contrariositie. And surely suche of thEnglishrie, as are in Monyster, are furthest from good ordre or obedyencie, soo that noo difference is betwixt theym and the mere Irishmen, but all oonly the veray surname. Therfore it shulde doo wele, that the Lorde Barryes son and heire, the Lorde Roches son and heire, the son and heire of James, son to Sir John of Desmonde, Knight, the Lorde Fitz Morices son and heire, Theobalde Burke, besidis Lymeryke, is son and heire; and asfor Geralde Fitz John of Desmondis son and heire, he is alredy at Waterforde, for that purpose; those, togidthers with thErle of Desmondis heire, being with suche a Deputie, and brought up in his house, shulde be meane to kepe and contynue their fathers and parentes in good peace, and be a good and honorable breking for theym. And I thinke noon other, but that the lordis and capytaynes forsaid, wolde be verray glad to humble theym silves therto, and that doon, to goo aboute to allure semblably suche of the Irishrie, as adverith moste to thEnglishrie, and are moste welthiest, and of moste power. And furst, Cormoke Ooge, who hath optayned his libertie, and his denyzyn; his sonne, is of two great age to be brought to that purpose; but his sonnes son, whoo is but yonge, may be had therto, for that lordship gooth alway by lyniall dissent of inheritaunce, otherwise then any other lordship emonges the Irishrie. Then to pacyfie the hate and grudge betwixt the Geraldynes of Monyster and Cormoke Ooge, and soo to bring theym to a good peace. ThErle of Ossorie hath maryed oon of his doughters to McGyllipatrik [1], and is denyzyn, whome I knowe, thErle of Ossory willing, wolbe conformable to the same. Obrenes elder son, whoo is the moste man of power emongis the Irishrie, hath maried another doughter of thErle of Ossories [1], who may be like allurid, and is also denysyn. Asfor the Karrolles, they are in great division for the name of OKarroyll, and possessions; and yf suche a Deputie, of an Englishman, woll take up the matier betwixt theym, there is noo doubte, but that they wolbe orderid accordingly, but they woll never abide to any tryall of thErle of Kildare, or thErle of Ossorie; and soo their power may be convertid to the Kinges Deputie. Then, consequently, being at suche a sure peace, and assurid also of Omore and McMorgho, the Deputie may set substancialy upon Onele, keping in amytie with him ODonyll, OReyly, Nelmore, Nelconylagh,

[1] McGilpatrick married Margaret, the eldest, and Donough OBrien married Ellen, the youngest, daughter of Lord Ossory.

and McMahon, whiche wolbe sure ynogh had against ONele. And in that enterprise the Deputie may handle him soo extremely, with thaydes forsaid, that he may exhonorate the Kingis subjectes of a 100 markes of yerely trybute that they doo pay him. Then perusing the Burkes in Conaght, and setting them to a better ordre, and to kepe peace, the lande shalbe in suche quyetenes, otherwise then it hathe bene in these 200 wynters; and that brought to passe, moche the rather, with lesse difficultie, a generall reformacion may ensue.

There is a bridge[1], that the Brenes have lately made over the Water of Shenyn, wherby they have alredy in maner subduyd all thEnglishrie therto joynyng, and specially the cuntrey of Lymericque; soo that, onles that that bridge be in haste prostrate, they are like to attayne, in lytill tyme, moche of the further possessions of thEnglishrie.

The Scottes also inhabitith now buyssely a great parte of Ulster, whiche is the Kinges inheritaunce; and it is greatly to be fearid, oonles that in short tyme they be dryven from the same, that they, bringing yn more nombre daily, woll, by lytle and lytle, soo far encroche in acquyring and wynnyng the possessions there, with thaidis of the Kingis disobeysaunt Irishe rebelles, whoo doo nowe aide theym therin, after suche maner, that at leynght they will put and expell the King from his hole seigneory there.

And althoughe I have alredy before moevid, in an other article, that it shulde be moste expedyent that suche oon shulde be sent thidther, whoo hath alredy good experience; yit, yf the Kingis Grace, and his moste honorable Counsaile, woll conclude to sende any noble man of high degree, as the Duc of Richmondes Grace, it shulde doo veray wele, and moche the better that suche oon were sent with hym, as generall capytayn, and as a counsailor to him, onles his tendre age shulde be yit thought a cause to forbere his sending thidther.

Dublin, whiche is Your Gracis chief citie in that your lande, where your lawes are executid, standith soo farr from sume parties there, whiche wolde be obedyent ynogh to Your Gracis lawes, soo that they coulde reasorte thidther without daungier; as the inhabitauntes of the Counties of Kilkeny, Tipperarie, Waterford, Corke, and Lymeryk; and daily, when they reasort thidther, are robbyd, takyn prysoners, and others slayne by the Irishrie. For redresse therof, it were expedyent to sume gentilmen lernyd, assocyatid with others, to bee resident and demorrant emonges theym, auctorized as justices and commissioners, to whome they may daily, without suche daungier, reasort for redres of their grevis.

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[1] OBrien's Bridge over the Shannon.

Because

Because that Dublin, where the Kinges Counsaile doo sytt, is soo far from the said counties, and upper parties of the lande, wherof they have veray lytle experience, and the lordis and dyvers honorable and wise men, that have thexperyence there, doo never reasorte to Dublin, it were necessarie that dyvers in that parties were appoyntid as the Kinges Counsaile, and oon of theym to be President; as thErle of Ossorie, or the Lorde Thesaurer, his son, and the Archebisshop of Casshell[1]; with theym the Busshop of Waterford[2], the Bisshopp of Lymeryk[3], the Bisshop of Ossory[4], the Maior of Waterforde[5], with the two comyssioners or justices that shalbe resident in that parties; and to mete alway as the President shall appoynt, to debate then for the common weale, and the defence of the Kinges subjectes, and to redres complayntes and mysorders; whiche shalbe veray merytoryous and a veray meane to encrease good rule and ordre there.

When this lytyll devyse shall take suche effecte, as is premised, then may be devysid, further, howe to put awaye suche dampnable imposicions and exaccions, as coyne and lyveray, for the more parte universaly usid there, with other extorcions; and then, next to that, to enterprise a generall reformacion, wherof this my lytle boke treatith not, but is as a preparatyfe for that purpose.

An Addition to my former Boke.

Wheare as, heretofore I have harde say, that many tymes persuation hathe been made, aswell to the Kingis Highnes that now is, as to other his nooble progenitours, that the lande of Irelande is not to be had in regarde or estimation, bothe for the incivilitie and brutenes of the people, and that coost doon ther wer but wasted, and vaynely consumed, consydering no profight ded insue by the same, as thexperience of the Duc of Norfolkis being ther, Sir Edwarde Poynengis, Sir William Skeffyngton, and others (who expended the Kinge notable summs of money abought the reformation of the said lande, and yit ther insued therby smale successe in effecte) manifestely doothe declare.

First, as to thestimation of the lande, (as I elliswheare have said) the soile therof universally is comparable with the grounde of Inglande, and the Kinge hathe been possessed ther of a grete inheritaunce; so as it shuld not seme, but, if the Kinge wold substancially divise for a convenient reformation there, and with effecte determyne to folow the same, ondoubtedly it shuld succede with good effecte. And as to the surmise of the brutenes of the peple, and the incivilitie of them, no doubte, if ther were justice used amongest them, they wold be founde as civile, wise, politike, and as active, as any other nation.

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[1] Edmund Butler. [2] Nicolas Comin. [3] John Coyn, or Quin. [4] Miles Baron. [5] William Wise.

Truth

Truth it is, that soche coste, as the Kinge hathe doon ther, any tyme theis fifty yearis, as in respecte of profight to insue therby, was vaynely consumed; and yit the Kinge was inforced therto, onles he shuld have been expelled from his jurisdiction and domynion ther, by soche rebellious attemptates as were executed by the Geraldynes. Nevertheles, alwais after the malice of the same was resisted, and the land staid, the Kinge withdrewe his aide from thens, putting the malefactours in his auctoritie; wheareas, if he had contynewed the same ther, and suppressed thothers, ondoubtidly a mervelous profight and commoditie shuld have insued therby.

In this place I wold aske a question, which many tymes, in Irelande, hathe been demaunded of me, if I knewe it shuld be interpreate to no wors intente than I meane. What subjectis, under any prince in the worlde, wold love, obey, or defende the right of that prince, which (notwithstanding ther true hartis and service towarde him) wold afterwarde putt them under the governaunce of soche, as shuld daylie practise to prosecute and destroy them for the same? As in example, if thErle of Flaunders were under thobedience of the French Kinge, and rebelled against him, and after the Kinge, by thelpe of his subjectis of Flaunders, had subdued him, wold than put him in his hooll auctoritie there; were it not to be thought that some of them, that had aided the King befor, wold repente them selfis, and be in grete doubte of thErlis displeasur, and with them selfis determyne, if they mought recover his favours, they wold be advised how they shuld take parte any more against him? But what, if thErle offended his prince highly, many tymes afterwarde agayne, and the same notwithstondeng, he shuld, from tyme to tyme, have the Kinges favours and auctoritie, and be sufferde, by colorable faction, to subdue and persecute all thois which toke the Kingis parte against him, and advance the contrary doers. Who than wold judge, but the peple of Flaunders wol thinke it better to obey and folow thErle, in good and evill, and soo to live in reste; than the Kinge, and be subdued? A tale, as it were, depending upon a like caas, I have harde in Irelande. The tyme thErle of Kildaris brederne, and other of the Geraldynes, Oneyle, and Ochonour, with all ther frindis, were appointed to invade and subdue the Kingis domynion, of the circumstancis wherof, as I suppose, few men of my degre in Inglande be more privay than I am, thois of thErle of Kyldaris privay counsaile, which were assigned to be the contrivers of this secrete purpoos, (of which Sir Gerald Shaneson, Knight, was in maner principall and chief; for, as I suppose, he is preserved as the chief organ pipe of soche misteries; he is a man of 200 markis lande, and above; and if thErle of Kyldare be in Inglande, dureng his absentie he wilbe as strange as any Irishman in Irelande; and if he be ther, he wilbe as familiare in Dublin, and elliswher, as others, and yit shall he not

not obey the lawe,) could not persuade Sir Thomas Fitz Gerald, thErles second broder, and heire to the Lady Saint Johns[1], to condescende to ther purpoos for a greate season. Sir Gerald Shaneson harde him so moche stike upon the Kinge. "What, thow foole," saide he, "thou shalt be the more "estemed in Irelande, to take parte against the Kinge; for what haddest thou "have been, if thy fader had not doon so? What was he sett by, untill he "crowned a Kinge[2] here; toke Garthe, the Kingis capitayne, prysoner; hanged "his son; resisted Ponengis and all Deputies; kyllid them of Dublin, upon "Oxmantowne Greene; wold suffer no man to rule here for the Kinge, but "himself? Than the Kinge regarded him, made him Deputie, and maried thy "moder to him; orellis thou shouldest never have had foote of land, where "now thow maiest despende 400 markis by yere or above."

Many moo urgent causes coulde I expresse, which shuld conferre to the openeng of the mischefes, that depende upon the misterie of this article; which, if I be demaunded in tyme and place, I shall expresse by worde.

Albeit, amonge other thingis, I thinke the committeng of the governaunce of that lande to soche as be native of the same, hathe been oon of the most decais of the Kingis revenues, dismynicion of his jurisdiction and strengthe, and the impoverishemente of his subjectis, and the contynuaunce of the same, by all conjectures, in conclusion shal put the Kinge from any rule or domynion ther; for affirmation wherof, because I will not be seen to wright nothing, but that which shalbe so nigh to knowlege, that the contrary argumente shall have no place, late the Kingis recordis, in Henry the 6th and Edward the 4th daies, (synes which tyme hitherto the grete and longe contynuaunce of the Kingis auctorytie hath bene in thErle of Kildare, and his fader) be serched, and seen what revenues the Kinge had than in Ireland; also what landis, castels, and townes he had in possession; what suirtie of strength; what Inglishe inhabitacion and ordere, with obedience of the law: than consider how it ys now; and if so it be, bothe thInglishe inhabitauntes tonge and order, with thobedience of the lawe, in maner be exiled, the Kingis revennues and landis almost all lost, and the King destitute of suirtie of any strength, and the same done by Deputies of that countrie (for I dare excuse Inglishe Deputies), it ys an evidente proof of my principill.

Supposing it to be somewhat late to ponder this matier, but yet better now to late, than tary longer, and have it wors. For endoubtidly, as farre as

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[1] Sir Thomas Fitzgerald was half brother of Gerald, ninth Earl of Kildare, being son of Gerald the eighth Earl, by his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Oliver St. John. The eighth Earl is, in a note to p. 106, erroneously named Maurice. [2] Lambert Simnel.

ever

ever I coulde here of others, or in myn awne tyme perceive or knowe, thErle of Kyldare, and his fader, have principally divised to have the lande in soche troble, that the Kinge shuld have small affection or regarde to it: and the Kinge sending any Inglishe man thider, in his auctoritie, for reformation or good order to be taken ther, the same, by the Geraldines meanes, is letted and withstoude; to thintente that litle or no effecte shuld folow therby, purposely that the Kinge and his Counsaile of Inglande shuld thinke it frustrate coste bestowed ther, and the lande, as it were, irrecuperable. In affirmation wherof, men of grete experience and wisdom in Irelande hathe reported unto me, that the Erle of Kyldare wold raither give a 1000 markis by yere to Irishmen, to make dissention and debate in the lande, than quiete shuld induer, wherby the Kinge mought take any affection or pleasur in the same. Soche of that lande as be Deputies, they studie nothinge that should be profightable, or honorable, to the Kinge, but all to the contrary; and to make them selves strong by bandyng with Irishmen, to thintente that, afterwarde, they wilbe so stronge that no other Deputie shall rule, but at ther pleasurs. Likewise as thErle of Kyldare, by the continuaunce of the Kingis auctoritie in him and his fader, hath banded himself on suche wise, that if the Kinge make any other Deputie but him, all the lande shalbe disordred; so as the Kinge must depende upon his pleasur, and not he upon the Kingis.

Me semethe oon thinge conferrethe moche to this matier to consider, after what wise the Kinge lost thInglishry of Mounster, which was doble asmoche as thInglishe pale is now, and of more strenght and profight. The Kingis of Inglande made thErles of Desmonde, successively, so longe ther Deputies, that they, by color of the Kingis auctoritie, acquired all the strenght of thois quarters, and brought all thInglishe lordis ther under ther awne rule, as others have doon elliswheare, as I said befor; by the cumforte, truste, and pride wherof, in the conclusion, they rebelled, and so the Kinge lost all that parties in effecte. And if he shuld suffer the 4 shires remayneng to be brought to like caas, than he had lost all; wherunto I doubt it will come, withought breve remedie.

My mynde is not, les I mought be evill noted, to touche the particulare offencis and abuses of soche, as be in the Kingis auctority, no furder than concernethe thonour of the Kinge, and the reformation of that poor lande, with increase of some revenues and profightis to the Kinge, within the same. Wherin yf he intende to have any successe, ondoubtidly, for the principall grounde of the same, he must determyne, that no man of that lande shall from hensfurth be his Deputie ther, but alway an Inglishman; and he must take an order, that some others may be refrayned and absented from thens; for suerly, otherwise, no good divise for the Kingis purpoos shall take effecte.

Never-

Nevertheles, peraventur, for the repelling of this divise, an oold accustumed reason or persuation, hertofor used for a grete policie, wilbe in this caas objectid, that the Kinge, for the fynding of an Inglishe Deputie ther, must be at an exceding charge, and yit in vayne, having nothing from thens towarde the mayntenaunce of the same; especially whiles the Kinge may have oon of the same lande, who, withought charge to be issued ought of the Kingis coffers, will take upon him the same roulme, and defende the Kingis ryghtis ther.

As me semethe, this reason is even consonante to the nature of him, that raither than he will departe with 4^{d}, he wille jeoperde to lose 20^{s}, whiche 4^{d}, disbursed in tyme, mought have saved thother; and so hathe the Kinge doon.

The same, also, aggreithe moche with the persuation, that I have harde say hath been made by thErle of Kyldare, and his frindis, to the Kinge and his Counsaile, that soche castels and countries, as Odonell of late offred to give to the Kinge, werre not to be regarded and accepted, but as a vayne thinge; pretending that the Kinge could not kepe the same. I thinke if the Frenche or Scottish Kinges had the same thinge offerde them, either of them wold esteme it better than a gifte of 40000 markis, albeit that they have none other interest, ne dominion, within the lande alredy. And our Sovereyne Lorde havyng both the right to the lande, withought clayme of any other, and soche possessions and socor, as he hathe ther alredy, yf he can be persuaded to set so litle by the same, as who saith, he cannot kepe that thinge that shalbe frely given him, than may he determyne lesse possibilitie to wynne any more than he hathe alredy, nor yit to kepe that longe. But here a man mought saye, that thErle of Kyldare is a politike man, and no mervell to be had that he shuld persuade the Kinge, and his Counsaile, not to regarde Odonells gifte, being not the 20th part of the lande, whan he wold they shuld have thooll in as litle estimation, and so converte the commodity therof to himself.

Albeit, notwithstondeng soche impossibilitie, as he supposethe to the Kynge, either to wynne more ther, or kepe the thing that may be frely gyven, both his fader and he obteyned of the Kinge letters patentes, to have to them, and their heires, all soche townes, castels, and landes, as they could gett ought of Irishmens possessions, and by vertue of the same have largely gotten. And except the Kynge loke tymely, peraventur there is insueng no litle detrymente by this caas, and will recovere no litle commoditie from the Kynge therby, if he may have contynuance in his office. A man mought say, it were a good policie to thErle of Kyldare, to suffer Irishmen to conquerre boothe the Kingis landis and others; for so mought he in conclusion have altogeders. I am suer, whan

the mischieve of this matier shalbe debatid, somewhat will apper. And for conclusion, I thinke clerely this forsaid reason, so ofte divised and practised as for an high policie, to depute oon of Ireland to the governaunce of the same, in dischargeng the Kinge of cooste ought of his coffers, ys not to be had in regarde, but detested; for the Kinge therby hath lost, in maner, all that he had in Irlande, and by furder contynuaunce of the same, shall loose all his right, title, and domynion ther. Also, it tendethe to the nutrimente and dayly increse of custumable and most detestable synnes, aswell to the greate and high daunger of Cristen soules innumerable, as to the perill, I feare, of the Kinge, havyng thorder and governaunce over them, befor God.

Yit, peraventur, whan the best grounde of the said pretended practise be nighlier examyned, the intente therof, according my mynde, shall appere corrupte. For if it shalbe the Kinge our moost drad Soverayn Lordes pleasur to assigne an Inglishman to have the rule and governaunce of the said lande, partely insueng my poor and rude advise in this behalf, His Grace shall not only perceive soche tyranny, as now reynethe ther, to be exiled, and good indifferente justice, with rest and quiete, to folowe, but also soche augmentation of revennues to His Grace, that, in comparison to the profight and commoditie, His Highnes shalbe at litle charge. For I have no doubte, God willing, to divise soche meanes, the Kingis most noble pleasur standing with the same, that, within 4 yeres, ther shall growe to His Grace, and his heires, 3 or 4000 markis yerely, more than he hathe at this day, with suirty of the strength of 20000 men, and above, for the defence of his right within that lande, if soche neade shuld chaunce. And if His Grace than have perceiverance, the same my simple divise to take effecte, of likeliode furder esperance is to be had of moche gretter commoditie in this behalf.

For knowlege of the meanes that this purpoos shall take effecte, if it shall please the Kinge, I shall expresse my mynde in writing, or otherwise; and the same seen or harde paciently and indifferently, as doth apperteyne: for thought of ignorancy I mought erre, yit for my good will and dutie to my Sovereyne, in this caas, I were not to be reproved; late it be pondered and folowed non otherwise, than the reason therof, congruence, or necessitie shall way and require.

Beseching most humbly the reder to accepte my good wille and intente, in this behalf, proceding oonlie for the truthe, dutie, and love, that I beare to my Sovereyne, and the weale of the said lande; and not to impute any parte therof to my presumption, that I, being a poor, meane, rude person, of small witte and lerneng, and les experience, shuld take upon me the parte of the Kingis Counsaile of Irlande; who havyng experience, gret circumspection, and lerneng, and the Kinge putting his trust in them, for the governaunce of the lande,

lande, know, of likeliode, farre better than any others, what be the lettes and disturbance of the weale of the same, and the meanes of reformation or redres therof.

Nevertheles, for my excuse in that behalf, if the said Counsaile were presente here, I wold not faile to say befor them, in tyme and place, if the caas so required, that they be partely corruptid with affection towarde thErle of Kildare, and partely in soche dreade of him, that either they will not, or dare not, do any thing, that shuld be displesante to him. And peraventur a greate sorte of them hath been so flushed for the contrary doing, that they smally studie for the reformation of the lande, but only how to kepe them ought of his daungier. I wright not this withought knowlege; for peraventure I know som of ther secretes in this behalf, and can shew, if nede shuld require, of ther wrightingis, for the affirmation of the same.[1]

LXV. Sir James Fitzgerald *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

My most draid Soverayne Lord, my most humble dutie, obedience, and subjection to Your Highnes remembred. May it plese Your excellent Grace to be advertised, that I have received by the Maister of your Rolles of this your land lately assigned, your most gracious letters of favours to me, and my broder Rycharde, directid; and ar most bounden to your mercifull goodnes for the same, and ther is nothing more cumfortable to us, than to see your gracious respecte towardes us. And what so ever the said Master of the Rolles shall advise us to do, towcheng our fidelitie and service to Your Grace, we will not faile to folowe the same. And if it shalbe Your Graces plesure to have me to repaire unto Your Highnes, at the retourne of the Master of the Rolles, your plesure knowen unto him, I will come with him with all my harte, and shalbe ever redie to do Your Grace all soche service, as a true subjecte aught to do to his Prince and Sovereyne. Nevertheles, my Lord, my broder[3], your Deputie, bereth me most extreme displesure, for soche service, as I ded to Sir William Skeffington, than your Deputie; dayly oppressing my landis on soche wise with onreasonable impositions (otherwise than was ever seen), as they been

[1] The latter part of this Report, from the middle of p. 172, appears to be in the handwriting of Alen, the Master of the Rolls; and it might be conjectured that he was the author of it, when on his mission to England in 1533; but this cannot be, since the author was a native of Ireland, (see p. 166.) and Alen was not so.

[2] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 42.

[3] The Earl of Kildare.

 wasted

wasted and destitute of inhabitation: and so am I put from my rentis and liveng. And except Your Grace loke to the redresse and releve of your poore subjectis of the counties of Kyldare and Carlagh, they shalbe utterly destroid, and the land lefte wast; for they been oppressed so extremely, and otherwise than ever was seen, that they must departe and leve the grounde wast; and so is a grete parte of it alredy. As for the countie of Cartlagh, which is my Lord of Norfolkis, it is for the more parte made wast and voide, for the tenauntis, by soche oppression, been inforced to forsake there inhabitations. That knoweth God, to whom I shall dayly pray for the preservation of your most Roiall astate longe to endure. From your Citie of Dublin, the last day of Auguste.

Your Highnes most obedient subjecte and servaunt,

(*Signed*) JAMYS FYTZ GERALD, K.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Sovereyn Lord the Kinges good Grace.

LXVI. DEYTHYKE *to* * * *.[1]

RIGHT honorable and my singuler good Maister, in my most humble maner I have me recommended unto your Maistership, and to my speciall good lady, your bedfellowe, trustyng to Jhesu that ye both be in good helth, with all your famyly. The preservacion of the same is, and shalbe, my daylly prayer &c. Yt may please your Maistership to be advertesid of the newis, that be in thys country, be these. No doubte here be very well desposed people, and full of abstenaunce. Your Maistership knoweth, theyre accoustomyd seremony ys to refrayne fleshe on the Wenisday; but nowe theie be myche more full of devocion, for theie doo nott only absteyne yt on the Wenisday, but alsoo Sonday, Monday, Tewisday, and Thursday. This is a very sore abstenaunce. I trust to Jhesu, ye shall here, that there shalbe many sayntes amonges them; but they pley the foxis parte, sy of henys, when he cowd not reche them. For I assure your Maistership, all the bochers in Dublyn hath not so moche befe to sele, as would make one mes of browes; soo as they use whyte mete very well in Dublyn, except yt be in my Lord of Dublyns hows, or souche as have of there awne provicion. And cause therof is, they be nyghtly robbyd; there hath bene 5 or 6 prayes takon owte of Saynt Thomas, within this 10 dayse, so that one bocher for his parte hath lost 220 kye. And a nother cause ys, the

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[1] From the British Museum. Titus B. xi. leaf 396.

country

country is so quiett, that they dare nott ryde one myle owte of the towne, to by any maner of vytteyles; and they make there complaynt to the Deputie, and the wynde hath blowen hym soo in the erys, that he can nott here them. But yt is a comon sayinge, "whoo is so defe as he that lyst not to here?" So as the powre bochars be remedyles, and have closed up there shopis, and takon them to makyng of prekes, thynkyng that there is a newe Lent. Sir, sins the sight of the Kynges letters, the Deputie hath conveyed all the Kynges ordynaunce owte of the Castell in to his owne countre, and fortefyeth his castelles and fastnes with theyme. Whate this shold meyne, I knowe nott as yett, but I thynke no good; for yt is a shrewde lyklyod. As knoweth Jhesu, whoo preserve your Maistership, and my good lady your bedfellowe, with as mouche increyse of honour, as your awne hartes would desire. Wryttyn at Dublyn, the 3rd day of September,

By your Bedman and Chapleyne,

(*Signed*) John Deythyke, Prest.

LXVII. Skeffyngton *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honorable, my humble dutie remembred, as yt apperteynith. Yt may please you to be advertesid, that I resevid your honorable letters by this berer, my frende John Fagan, and the intent of the same I shall dilligently followe and perfourme in every thynge; for I have leyde such wayte for thErle of Kildare, that he shall not pas thorowe this country, that I doubt not, but I will be at London, as sone as he, or afore hym. And I have noo feare trewly to justyfy all I have sayde and wretton of hym, whate so ever I doo more. And myne oppynion is, that the Kynges Grace, and his honorable Counsail, hath and may see daylly his misdemeynor; which, as I take yt, is mych more then a trewe subject ought to use a geynst his Sovereyne Lorde. As knowith Jhesu, who preserve you with thincreyse of honor. From Skeffyngton, the 25 day of October. By your awne at commaundement,

(*Signed*) Wyllm. Skeffyngton.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my verey singuler and especiall good Maister, Maister Cromwell, One of the Kinges most honorable [*Privy Coun*]sell.

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

LXVIII. Skeffyngton *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honorable, my humble dutie remembred, as apperteynith. Yt may please you to be advertesid, that I have sent up, by a servaunt of myne, from thArchbishop of Dublyn to the Kinges Highnes, a lesche of gentill hawkes, and a cast to your Maistership; and would have bene there, to a geven myne atendaunce uppon you my selfe, were yt not by thadvice of your honourable letters to me, to geve substaunciall awayte for the commynge of thErle of Kildare; whiche I have so done, sendynge one of my sones, for that and other my besynes, to Chester, and in to Walis, so that he is retorned to me with perfyte knowledge, that the Lady of Kildaris servauntes were at Bewe Maris on Seynt Symond and Judis day, with the Kinges letters, makyng no maner of exspedicion nor hast with the same; and sethen that day, the wynde hath not servid to them. That notwithstondynge, although yt be to my greate cost and chardge, I shall geve myne attendaunce uppon you shortly, to knowe your honorable pleasure in all thynges. As knowith Jhesu, who preserve you with long lyfe and increyse of honor. From Skeffyngton, the 4th day of November. By your awne at commaundement duryng lyfe,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃. Skeffyngton.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and my esspecial and singuler good Maister, Maister Cromwell, One of the Kynges most honorable Prevey Counsayle.

LXIX. Here afftyr ensuith Artecleis and Instructions to Our Soweraine Lord the King, for his land of Irland.

Item, for as much as the Lordes of Irland, for the more part, and of long tyme, have bein Deputies, Justices, and Gowernors, undyr Our Soweraine Lord the King, and his noble progenitors, Kinges of England, within his forsaid land, and that the King, and his subjectes, is possessions and rewenus, ewer in ther tyme haiv bein by them, for their owin particular profit, subduyd, extorcionyd, and vastyd in sondry and dyvers wais, wherby they haiv wone many and gret countres to them silffis, as heir afftyr playnlyer shall apeyr; wherfor hit is expedient that none of the forsaid land be Deputie, but ewer contynually a born man of this noble Realm of England, expertyd in warris, and knowin for a wise

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

man,

man, that wilbe orderyd by good counsaill, and that his deputacion shalbe for terme of liffe, other for terme of yers, and the said Deputie to be bound by endenture to Your Grace, secretly to perform and kepe such pointes, as Your Grace, and your most honorable Counsaill, shall think most best; and that he repaire thethir in as short and convenient tyme as may be devysed, affter that your Deputie aryv in this your Realme of England; for as much that his son[1], is Governor in his absentie, is takin to be yong and wilfull, and moste to this tyme orderyd by light counsaill.

Item, wheras Your Grace is subjectes in every shire, wher any of the Erls of Kyldare, Desmond, or Ossery have dominion, beth now attendant and dywydyd betuix them, so that if Your Grace, or your Deputie, dyd entend to envade any of your Irish rebels, you must make peticion to ewery of the said Erldes for your own subjectes; and, if it please them, Your Grace shall haiv men and streinth to go and envade, wher it shall please Your Grace, or your Deputie; and when they will have no envacion made, then Your Grace must abyde ther forther plesur: wherfor it is expedient, that Your Grace haiv all your lordes, gentilmen, and othir subjectes within your English pale, or in any other place, wher any of thes Erldes haiv dominion, at your pleasur and comaundment, so that they, at no tyme heir afftyr, shall retain ruyll, ne lede your subjectes, but when Your Grace, or your Deputie, shall will them to the same.

Item, it is convenient Our Soveraine Lord shold haiv all his castelles and garysons, which is now in thErld of Kildar, Desmond, and Ossery is handes, part by Actes of Parlement, and part by Your Grace is progenitors, by woy of

[1] The Earl of Kildare, when he was called to England in the spring of 1534, left his son Thomas Fitzgerald, Lord Offaley, as his substitute. This young man, being commonly designated by the name of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, will be so called in this work.

The precise date of Kildare's leaving Ireland is no where stated. The nearest approach to it is made in the examination of Robert Relye, who was in his service, and afterwards in that of his son, and who having, in the summer of 1536, surrendered himself a prisoner to the English Government, on the 5th of August underwent an examination, which is in the Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 138. Relye conveyed to Kildare the King's letter, with one from the Countess, who was in London; the Earl received the letters with reverence, made Relye no answer, but prepared himself for his journey with speed, and sent for Lord Thomas, and for all the Earl's brothers, with whom he had several communications, before he began his journey. To these Relye was not privy, but he heard say in the Earl's house, that Thomas should be ruled by the advice of his uncle James, Thomas Eustace, James De la Hyde, Sir Walter De la Hyde, and Janet Eustace, Sir Walter's wife. When the Earl was prepared, he required the Council to meet him at Tredath [Drogheda], whither he went with his son, and caused the latter to be made Deputy, and delivered to him the sword. Relye accompanied the Earl from thence to England, and continued with him till the following May, which was a quarter of a year after his coming into England. According to this account, Kildare must have left Ireland in February.

graunt,

graunt, and othir part they haiv by usurpacion. ThErld of Kildare and his brethern haiv your maner and castell of Portlestyr, your maner and castell of Moylaghe, your castell and maner of Power ys Court, the castell of Fasagh Roow, the castell and maner of Leyxlepe, the castell and maner of Ratherville, the castell and maner of Clonogane, the castell of Bynecore, the castell and wallyd town of Tristildermot, the castell and maner of Clonmoyre, with many other maners, which I do not know. ThErld of Ossery haive the castell and maner of Kilkenny, the maner of Callan, and other maners, which I do not know. ThErld of Desmond, and his kinsmen and servauntes, within your 4 shiris of Lymryk, Cork, Kere, and Watyrford, haiv all your maners and castelles. And as far as ewer aney of the said Erldes haiv poure or dominion, Your Grace have not one grot of yerly profit or revenus. ThErld of Desmond, and his kinysmen, hath takin for ther part the countie of Kere, the countie of Cork, the countie of Lymryke, and the countie of Watyrford, and subduyd all your lordes of Parlement, spirytuall and temporall, gentylmen and comens; and all they shall bere them coyn and lyverey, and othir exactions, at ther plesure; and there is none of your lawys usyd ne kept within the forsaid 4 shyrs; which shirs haive bein as obedyent un to your lawis, as the shire of Myddilsex is nowe. The said Erld, ne none of your lordes of Parlement within the said 4 shiris, cum not to Parlement, nether to Counsaill, ne ayd none of your Deputies ther, except when thErld of Kildare is Deputie; then the ayed is yewin hym, by reison thErld of Desmond and he is third and secund off kyn[1]. And also thErld of Ossery haiv undyr his dominion your counteis of Kilkenny and Typpyrare, and doth oppres your subjectes ther with coyn and lyverey, and other exactions; and as far as the said Erld haiv dominion, your lawis be not kept, nether ye haiv no part of your revenuse. ThErld of Shrowisbery, within your countie of Wexford, hath dominion, and a libartie to hold ple in all causys, except 4 pointes; wher now ther is noo justice kept, ne mynistryd to your subjectes; by reison wherof, ther is murdyr, ravesing of women, burnyng, and stelling, without ponisment; and out of that countie Your Grace have not one peny of revenuse, except the poundage of the town of Wexford.

And also thErld of Kyldare, his brether, and kinsmen, haiv the countes of Kildare, and Carlaghe, tyll it cwm unto the Bryge of Leighlyng, undyr them, your subjectes ther bering them coyn and lyverey, and other exactions, as heir afftyr folouth:

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[1] Thomas, 7th Earl of Kildare, the grandfather of Gerald, the ninth Earl, married Joan of Desmond, aunt of Thomas, the 12th Earl of Desmond; so that the two Earls, in 1534, were first cousins once removed.

Item,

Item, the said Erld haiv met and drinke within the said 2 shyrs, yerly, for as many speyr men, as he haiv wayting un hym, and for ther horsis and kepers, and also for as many horsis as my Lady his wiff, his sonys, his doghtirs, and all ther servauntes haiv, and a keper to every hors found upon your subjectes without any peny paing therfor, and 8 score fotmen, callyd kern, 10 scor spearys, callid gallagloghis; which 10 score sparris amountith to 20 score men, and none of thes to be at your comaundment, but when it shall please the said Erld, notwithstanding thei haiv noo fynding but of your subjectes.

And also, the forsaid Erld of Kildar takith of ewery of your subjectes, being a husbanman, that hav a ploow of horssis within the said countie, a cart and a man, being at the said husbanman is charges; which cart shall draw tymbyr and stonys to his maners thre tymys in the yere, that is to say, a wyk in March, a wik in May, and anothir in July; which charge of carting amountyth by the yere, at the lest, by estymacion, to 8 hondred £ Irish, wherby the said Erld hath byldyd and repayryd dyvers of his maners and holdes, and the Kinges maner do stand wast and un byldyt and unrepayryd within the said countie; which carting is a gret enpowerishing of your subjectes within the said countie.

Item, the said Erles of Desmond, Kildar, and Ossery, ther wiffis, childyrne and servauntes, do use, afftyr the custumbe and usage off wyld Iryshmen, to cum with a gret multitude of peple to monasteries, and gentylmen ys howsis, and ther to contynu 2 dais and 2 nightes, taking met and drink at ther plesurs, and ther horssis and kepers to be sheifftyd or dyvydyt un the pore fermors, next to that place adjoynyng, paing nothing therfor, so as they be found, in thys maner, in other men is howsis moo then halff the yere, by this wild Irish custume off extorcion, and spare ther own howsis.

Item, your lawis, which weyr wont to be holdin and kept at Dublin, and other places, befor your Juges, wherby your subjectes of the countie of Kildar weyr ordryt, ar now this 8 and twenty yers kept befor thErle of Kildar ys senshall in the said Erle is name; that is to say, plees of your Coron, and your comen law; and all maner officers, as sheriff, coroners, and exchetor, made by hym, and haiv ther auctoritie undyr his gret seale; and also he yewith pardon of all maner feloneis, under his seale and teste, by reison of a libartie grauntyd to one Vesse[1], which was lord off Kildar, befor ther was aney Erle of Kildar; which libartie was seisid in the Kinges handes, in tyme of your noble progenitor King Edward the Second, and so dyd contynw in your progenitors, to the 20^{ti} yere of your noble father ys reign, and then this Erle of Kildar is father

[1] William Vescy, Lord of Kildare, 1254—1291. Stanihurst narrates the quarrel between him and Lord Offaley (afterwards Earl of Kildare), and the consequent grant of the Lordship of Kildare to the latter.

dyd usurpe apon your prerogatiff, without a new graunt of any libartie or confyrmacion, and so doth contynu to this tyme; which is no small lostes to Your Grace, and hurt to your subjectes.

Item, wher, befor the using of the said libartie, all the lordes and gentilmen within the said countie weir wont, every of them by them selffis, at Your Grace is comaundment, when your generall writ came to your shireff of the said countie, comaunding hym to warn them, and every of them, in ther fensible aray to apeir to do Your Grace service, [*to be in*][1] redynes to execut your hygh comaundment; wheras, now, none of them ansswer Your Grace, but all onely thErle of Kildar, whom they obey and ansswar, as obedient as any subject in England do Your Grace, which service ought to be yeldyt to Your Grace, and to none of your subjectes, but at your will and plesur. And as for yor counteis of Kildar, and Carlagh, as far as the said Erld hav dominion, Your Grace has not one grot of yerly revenuse.

Item, for the moyr part thErles of Kildar haive bein your Deputies this 60 wyntyr past, by reison wherof they have gottin gret possessions, wherupon they hav byldit dyvers castelles and garesons, which doth contynw in ther possession at this day, well enhabytyd; and they nether, none of them, never won, ne gat Your Grace one town, ne edifyed upon your landes one castell ne garysone, and such castelles of yours, which they had in custody, 2000 markes will not repair them as they ought to be.

Item, wher the comen rumor ys, and hath ben, that wild Irish lordes and captainys hath dystroyd your land of Irland, it is not they all only, but the traison, rebellion, extorcion, and wilfull ware of your forsaid Erles, and other English lordes, breking Your Grace is beneficiall lawis and statutes; the one varing, burning, and distroing the other, having gret retynwe of Irish rebelles found upon your subjectes for ther defence; wherby your gentilmen, freholders, and English husbanmen hath bein exilid, and they, regarding ther particular welth, haiv had Actes of Parlement, by force wherof they haiv had the same landes, so wastyd, grauntyd to theym and ther heyrs, enhabiting the same with Irish rebels, wherby the English tong and English habite is decayd.

Item, your said Erldes, and other English lordes, contrary to your beneficiall statutes, hath maryed ther doghtirs to Irish captains, and haiv ther childir with the said captains norysyd, which doth yev to the said Erles and lordes gret sumys of goodes, in rewardes, to haiv them, by reason wherof ther is gret bandes and alyaunce had betux them; so that if any of thes Erls be at ware with the othyr, such Irish capteins, as is bandyt with ethyr of them, tak ther

[1] A few passages are mutilated by the paper being torn.

part,

part, and if aney of thes Erles be Kinges Deputie, and that is awn streinth do not extend to mayntein his Irish friend, then will he proclayme an hosting or jorney within your English pall, which will, at the lest, cost your subjectes 2000 markes; which frendes and alyaunce is one gret cawse of the contynuaunce of [*enmity betwixt the*] sayd Erls.

Item, for the moyre part all the captayns of the whild Irish is in subjection, and doth bere grete trubut to your said Erles, or els, by reison of the mariage and norising of ther childirn, be at ther comaundmentes; wherby it is to be entendyd that when thes Erldes be reformyd, all thes Irish captains, which is undyr ther trubut, and at ther comaundment, must at all tymys yeld Your Grace trubut and service; for this trubut and subjection is by reison off the streinth that they have by retaynyng men, and finding them on your subjectes.

Item, it is expedient that Your Grace haiv all your feefermys and customys of all your cities and borow townys within your land of Irland; and if any part therof be grauntyd, by any of your progenitors, to any corporacion, or any other person, that graunt to be resumyd to you again; and that none of thes Erls hav non of Your Grace is castelles, maners, landes, ne custumys, to ferme, les that they take the same as ther own, lyk as thErle of Kildar hath takin your custume of the Naas, within your countie of Kildar; wherof it is expedient that he accompt for the profittes of the same.

Item, for as much as Your Grace is revenus is gretly dysmynisid by grauntes of your progenitors to the said Erles, and others, it is expedient that a resumcion of all grauntes made by your progenitors, sens the fyrst yere of the reign of your most noble progenitor Edward the Secund, be hadd and broght to your most gracios handes again, so that your Deputie may haiv sufficient revenus to liew un, and to reforme your English subjectes.

Item, that none of your juges, Kinges serjaunt of your lawis, nethir the Kinges atturney, be not ratanyd in service, nethir of counsaill, with none of thes Erles, for I think that such juges and officers be not meit to syt in your Counsaill, for many causes.

Also it is expedient that 2 or 3 of your juges, twis by the yere, do sit within your countie of Kilkeny, by commyscon, and mynistere your lawis to your subjectes ther, and in the countes of Watyrford and Typpirare; and that officers may be made ther, as shiriff, coroners, exchetor, and baliff erraunt; and in lyk maner is expedient to be done within your countes, where thErle of Desmond haiv power. TheErle of Ossery must be bound that your subjectes within the counties of Kilkenny and Typpyrare shalbe obedient to your lawis and officers ther, for he hath dominion owr them, and may constrain them to obey the same.

Item, for as much the countie of Kildar was one of the 4 shiris that was lat obedyent to your lawis, and now holy undyr the gowernaunce of thErle of Kildar, wherout Your Grace haiv noo revenuse, nethir service, but at the plesur of the said Erle, as is afor specifid; it is expedient that no man of ware, that is to say spermen, kern, ne galaglaghe, be found upon your English subjectes ther, but when it shall be thoght expedient by your Deputie and Counsaill for your warris, and they to be your men, and sessid in your name, and to do Your Grace service, undir such captains as your Depute shall apoint them; and then shall Your Grace hav streinth, revenus, and men, and your said countie at your comaundment, wherby ye may the better reforme the rest of your English lordes.

Item, that Your Grace haiv in your own possession such castelles and garresons, as standith un straites, and fast places, betux your English pale and your Irish rebels; for what so ever he be, that hath the custody of them, may at all tymys, at his plesur, suffir your Irish rebels to entyr in your English pale, and envade your subjectes, at ther plesur, if they be so disposid. And for that cause, and many othir, it is expedient Your Grace haiv them, and no nother.

Item, when thErle of Kildar, and thErle of Ossery, be both heyr befor Your Grace, they to be examynyd, what trubut they haiv of your Irish rebels, wherby it shall apeyr unto Your Grace, as well the gret sumys of goodes that they haiv of them, as the bandes and alyaunce which every of them hath with Irish men; and also befor they depart out off England, that every of them shall fynd sufficient swyrte to se that your lawis shalbe obeyd, as far as they haiv dominion, and to restoyr you to the streinth of your subjectes, maners, roiall services, and othir your revenuses, and that they shall not oppress your subjectes with coyn, lyvery, and carting, but as it shall be thoght expedient by your Deputie and Counsaill ther.

Item, that the Erle off Kildar his sonys, ne brethern, hav no power ne medling with your English captayns within your countie of Mith, in your English pale, as Tyrrellis, Daltons, Twtys, Dillons, Pettytys, and Dallamars; for ewery of thes captayns, befor they was wastyd and extorcyonid by thErle of Kildar ys fathir, hym silf, and his brethern, othyr by ther sufferaunce with Okonor, and othir of your Irish rebels, was, at all tymys, in a redynes, every of them with a gyttone of spere men, othir a certein nombyr of fotmen, to do Your Grace, and your Deputie, service diligently, at all tymys when they weyr callyd upon, and at this day wold do, yf they weyr dischargit of ther extorcion.

Item, afftyr that Your Grace haiv reformyd thErls of Kildar and Ossery, and that ye hav obedyent unto you all your subjectes, as far as they haiv dominion,

dominion, your lawis ther to be executyd, your hole revenuse and profittes ther yeldyt unto Your Grace, and ther contynuall extorcion extinctyd and put away, except such as your Deputie and Counsaill shall think convenient for the tyme; and that your countie of Wexford, and such subjectes as have dominion under thErle of Shrowisbery, be reformyd in lyk maner, so as your subjectes, wher thes Erls haiv dominion, may be attendaunt unto Your Grace, and at your Deputie is comaundment: then Your Grace may, at your plesur, reforme thErle of Desmond his kinsmen, your lordes and subjectes within your counties of Lymryk, Cork, Kere, and Watyrford. For the Erles of Kildar and Ossery, with the streinth of your countie of Wexford, and your English pale, may constrayn hym to be obedient, or clerly to exile hym from his land, power, and streinth in thos parties.

Item, when thErle of Kildar cwm hethir in to England, it is convenient that he be resonyd withall by Your Grace is most honorable Counsaill, what is the cause that thErles of Desmond haiv bein suffiryd for to rebele so long as they hath done; seing that it is well knowin that thErle of Kildar, that now ys, and his father, being Deputies, with the ayed of thErle of Ossery, migh a constrainyd hym for to be the Kinges obedient subject, othir to haiv exillyt hym out of the land of Irland; and also let the Erle of Ossery, in the same cause, be resonyd withall: so as by ther examynacion it may apeir, in whom the defaut is of his long rebellion; for ther is nethir of them twayn that haiv any particular cause unto hym, but by ewery of them, and ther freindes, they will invade and tary wher he hath dominion, till thei hav executyd ther plesure.

Item, befor that Your Grace procede to aney reformacion of the said Erle off Desmond, that a peace be takin for ayer with all your Irish rebels, so as ther be no war un your Deputie in sondry places; and that none of your subjectes within your cites and towns, that is to say, Lymryk, Cork, Yoghill, Kynsall, and Watyrford, un peyn of deth, that they do not sill, ne yev, any ordynaunce, gonpowdyr, ne vittaill, nethir to ayed, ne ressev hym in any of your said cites and townys, or any off them, ne none of his part takers.

Item, when Your Grace haiv reformyd your Erles, English lordes, and othir your subjectes, as befor ys specyfyd, then to proced to the reformacion of your Irish rebels; and fyrst to begyn with Makmoro, OMoro, and the Byrneys, which hath dominion within your countes of Dublin, Carlagh, and [*Wicklow*], and is enwyronyd about with your English subjectes lawis; and that befor you graunt to them or possessions, ye tak out and reserv to Your Grace, and your heires, land, forest, and revenus, such as shalbe thogh most best plesaunt and profitable for you; and the forsaid Irish captains to yeld Your Grace, for the remenaunt of landes and possessions, that shalbe set to them, such

such services and revenues, as shalbe estemyd and thoght by your Deputy and Counsaill ther suffycient and convenient, afftyr the quayntete of ther tenor; and no waris to be made upon no nothir Irish rebell, tyll Your Grace hav reformyd them. Ther is none excuse, but they may be reformyd, if your Erles faithfully and dyligently do ther dutie; for if thErls of Kildar or Ossery haiv any cause or displesur to any of thos forsaid Irish captainys, every of them, with ther own streinth, will entyr within ther dominions, invade and bwrn ther willages and townys, tak ther cattell from them, and affter this maner contynualy use them, unto such tyme they hav delywyryd ther pleges to them, which plegges shall rest with them, tyll they haiv of them services or trubut at ther plesur. What doubt is it, when both the said Erles, with good mynd and will, do ther dutie and faithfull service to Your Grace, but your forsaid rebels shalbe reformyd? The leinth and qwantite of soille or land, that the forsaid Irish captains and ther kinsmen ocupy and haiv dominion of, is at the lest 40 mylys long, and 16 mylis brod, wherin ther is plesaunt land, forest, and rever, adyoynyng to the see, on the est syd; your countes of Vexford and Kilkenny, of the south syd of them; and wher the Erle of Kildar, within the countie of Kildar, haiv dominion un the west syd of them; and your English pale of the countie of Dublin on the north syd of them; so that ware may be made by your English subjectes on every quarter on them: and when Your Grace haiv reformyd them, then to begyn with Omore and Okonore, which be then next adjoyning to your English pale, and procede agains them in your reformacion, as is afor said; and, by the grace of Jesu, by this meane Your Grace shall reforme all your land within short tyme, to your gret honore, profit, and streinth.

Item, that no Irish rebeles, that hath dominions, gret or small, be takin to be Your Grace is subjectes, and undyr your protection, tyll it be first knowin and made swyr by endenter, the said endenter to be enrollyd within your Exchekquer, for a president to your heires [*who shall*] succede afftyr Your Grace, what service and revenues [*you may*] haiv of every of them, and that plegges be had of them [*to rem*]ayn in the custody of your Deputie, for the performans of ther [*covena*]untes and promyse.

Item, that wher any of your Erles, by endenter or otherwyse, haiv bound Irish men for to bere them and ther heires men of ware, this same endenturs to be delyveryd to Your Grace; and that none of the said Erles, at any tyme here afftyr, shall mak no covenaunt, by endenter ne othirwise, with any Irysh captain, to haiv any men of ware found to them, and to ther heires; but that all Irish captains, wher any such men shalbe bound, for to bere them to Your Grace, and to your Deputie, and to none othir.

Item, Your Grace hath no revenuse within your land of Irland, but what

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ye haiv within your counteis of Mith, Dublin, and Louith, wher your law is kept. Wherfor it is expedient that in every place that Your Grace will reforme, that your lawis be ther usid and kept, so that therby your subjectes may hav redres of any extorcion or wrong done to them, and that your revenuse therby may be encresid, and any, that will intrude upon any of your possessions, may be knowin by inquisicion befor your justices, and othir officers, and they therfor to be ponisyd acording your lawis.

Item, for as much as the more part of your counteis, wher your said Erles haiv dominion, is sore decayd, for ther English tong, ther English habite, and English ordyr is tornyd in to the Irish tong, Irish habite, and Irish ordre; so that it is expedient that every lord and gentylman, being within the said counties, be constranyd to put ther childir to cites and townys, wher they may lern ther English speich and English order; and also it is expedient that your juges, and other lernyd men, mught have a howse, wher unto in terme tyme they shold resort, and ther kepe comens, wherin many of your lordes and gentylmen ys sons mught be broght up in good maners and lernyng; wherby they may know Your Grace, your lawis, and how to order them silfs, so that now, by ignoraunce, many gentilmen, and ther childir, do comyt murders, felonies, and daly use extorcyon of coyn and lyvery, and dywers othir heygnos offences contrary to your lawis, which if they weyre in any such place broght up, wher as they shold haiv lernyng, and see good ordre, they wold exchewe the said offences, for the mischeff and daunger that theroff myght ensue.

Item, wher as now of late many of the Scottes beth entyrid in to the north parties of the land of Irland in a dominion called Lekayle, wher one of your English rebels, callid Savage, is lord, wher as they inhabite and dwell, which is not to be suffyryd, for many inconveniences that ther of may ensue. For in your noble progenitor Edward the Third is days, one Bruce, brothir to the Scotysh Kyng, did entyr with 10 thousaund men, and ther thoght to haiv wone that north contre, and dyd enhabite ther, un to such tyme that he, and all his men, by your Deputie and subjectes ther, were slayn in the feld. Therfor it is expedient your Deputie have comaundment to expell them from thens, les thy, in proces off tyme, know the fertylitie of the land, and then to draw to them more of ther name, to encres ther streinth.

Item, that your Deputie have none auctorite, within his patent, to make none of your juges, the Maister of the Rolles, the Serjaunt of your lawes, nethyr your Attorney; but always that they have the grauntes of ther offices immediatlie from Your Grace, so that then thei shall not fere for losyng of ther offices, but to yeve your Deputie counsaile, that shalbe at all tymys for your proffytt and comen wele.

Item,

Item, that none shalbe your counstables and othyr offycers in Irlande, and they, dwelling here in Englande, resserving the fees of ther offices, and ther attorneis their hawyng noo luvyng, but the perquesytes of the said offyces, excepe they polle and extorcion your subjectes.

Item, to this tyme, where manye men have bene takyn, and parte of them indytede of felonies and treison, yf they be pore wrachys, not havyng landes, ne goodes, ne frendes, then shall they have the extremetyss of justice; but yf he be a grete man, haivyng landes, othyr goodes, wherby your Deputie maye be pleased, then shall this malefactor have ys pardon, so as there ys noun ensample yeven of amendment by the execution of anye grete man, and yet ther ys an hunderyt strong theves and malefactors doyng hurt dailye yn the countre, and wele knowen. But yf thexchete of suche malefactors landes, aftyr they were atteyntyd, sholde cum to the Deputie for the [*time*] beyng, and his heyres, as wele as the goodes doth, then ye maye be sure grete men, offending your lawes, shold hav execucion, as well as pore wrachis. And till grete men suffyr for ther offences, your subjectes within your English pale shall nevyr liev in quietnes, ne stand sure of ther goodes and lywes, as it is daly seyn; and therfor let your Deputie haiv in comaundment for to do justice uppon grete theives and malefactors, and spare your pardons. Another thing your Deputies use to make ther handes, when they think they shalbe dischargid of ther offices of deputacion, then cum who will, for litill or nothing, shall hav ther pardons, not regarding the comen weale, ne what hurt Your Grace shall take by the same.

Item, when Sir Antony Fitzharbart, Justice, Sir Rath Egerton, Knight, and Doctor Denton, Deane of Lychfeld, was sent by Your Grace Commysheoners in to your land of Irland, then was thes Erldes of Kildare and Ossery bound to Your Grace befor the said Comysheoners in grete boundes, by endenture, that they, and every off them, in and for all maner causeis of varyaunce, depending betux them, or that afftyr, shold abyddyn the ordre and decre of certen of your Counsaill ther, as pleynlyer doth apeir by the said endenturs. Your said Erles, litill regarding the same, afftyr your said Comysheoners reparyd in to your Realme of England, was as far out off order, and as ill to othir, as ewyr they was befor; and to this tyme never abode the saing and order of your Counsaill ther, wheronto they was bound; whos contraversies and warris syns hath sore decayd your subjectes within your English pale, and as far as the said Erles hath dominion. Wherfor hit is good that the said endenturs be showyd befor your most honorable Counsaill, and the said Erles to anssware befor them, soo that it may apere in whom the defaut is; for if thei were halff so sore punished by Your Grace, as they do ponyshe and oppres your subjectes, ther thei wold sore fere to transgres, and offend your high comaundment, as they contynualy doth.

LXX. SKEFFYNGTON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

YT may please you to be advertesid, that I have knowlege, that there be serteyne fyauntes made, to be put up to the Kynges Highnes, for officis in Ireland, which, yf they shold pas, sholde be moche to the discommoditie of my romith. For, after souch fashion, I shall nether have proffite, strength, love, nor thanke. I was never aquaynted with no souch fashion, a fore this tyme; but I remitt all to your honorable discression. By your dett bound servaunt,

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃. SKEFFYNGTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my most esspeciall good Maister, Maister Secreatory.

LXXI. SKEFFYNGTON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RIGHT honorable and my most esspeciall good Maister, I humble commaunde me unto you. Besechyng you to stey the gyft of the officis in Ireland, unto my commyng to you; for other wise yt wilbe harde good service to be done. And I intende, yf yt be the Kynges pleasure that I should goo, that no man shall have an office, onles he will dwele uppon yt. And that yt may please you to remember myne awne matter, consernyng the landes lyinge in Skeffyngton. And the Lorde of Ossery and I intende to wayte uppon you at the Courte uppon Tewisday next, or other wise at your commaundement. And thus Jhesu preserve you with the increyse of honor. From Popler, this Wytsonday, in hast.

Your obediaunt servaunt,

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃. SKEFFYNGTON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my most speciall good Maister, Thomas Cromwell, Secretory to the Kynges Highnes.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

LXXII. King Henry VIII. *and* The Earl of Ossory.

This writting indented, made the last day of Maie, in the 26th yere of the most excellent and most mighty redoupted Prince, Henry thEight, by the grace of God, Kinge of England and of France, Defendour of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, is for the testymony and remembraunce of suche articles of duetie and promise, as the noble Lord, Sir Peter Butler, Knight, Erle of Osserie within the Kinges said land of Ireland, at his departure from His Grace, the daie of thies presentes, undouptedly promysed unto His Highnes, in the name of hymself, and in the name of and for the Lord Butler, his sonne and heire, their heires, posteritie, and succession.

First, the same Erle, for hymself, and his said sonne, and their heires, promyseth and bindethe hymself unto the Kinges Highnes, to continewe his trewe, faithfull, and liege subjectes, as eny other of his nobles and peeres within his Realme of England, in all and every thinge, as apperteyneth to their dueties of alegiaunce of an Inglishe subjecte.

Item, in consideration of the singler confydence and truste, which the Kinges Highnes hath conceyved in the said Erle and his sonne, and in respecte of contynuall truthe, whiche alwaies hath contynued in hym, and his bludde, to the Crowne of England, and the Kinge also having a speciall affiaunce in their polesye and activitie for the reformation of his said lande, suppressing his rebelles, and reducyng of them to his obedience and jurisdiction; for thaccompleshment wherof the said Erle, like a most naturall and loving subjecte, hath undouptedly promysed to His Grace, that he, and his said sonne, shall doo their uttermost, both in jopardie of their bodies to dethe, spending of the rentes of their landes, and all their goodes; His Highnes is contented that the said Erle, and his sonne, shall have the leading and governaunce, under His Grace and his heires, his Lieutenaunte and Deputie, of his subjectes and inhabitauntes of the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, and Waterford, and the countie of Osserie and Ormond, and elswhere, as shalbe seen requesite to his Deputie, nowe appoynted, or herafter to be appoynted, with thadvise of the Counsaill there for the tyme being.

Item, where the Kinges Highnes, like a most noble and vertuous Prince, mynding the quietie of his subjectes of that land, and thaugmentation of thonour of God, in reducyng the people to Cristen maners, upon manyfold enormyties alleged and proved ayenst thErle of Kildare, late his Deputie there, hath not onely discharged hym of that roume, but also appoynted his trusty Counsaillour, Sir William Skeffyngton Knight, Maister of his Ordynaunce, to repaire thether

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at this tyme, as his Deputie, for the governaunce of that his lande; and further, where the said Erle of Osserey hath alleged, that the presence of thErle of Kildare there, and suche bondes of Irishmen, and others, as he made against hym, and to his anoyaunce, hertofore, hath been to hym an hyndraunce, stop, and let, that he coulde not doo suche accomptable service to the Kinges Highnes, as he els wold, and for other divers considerations moving His Grace, he hath restrayned the said Erle of Kildare of repaire into that his lande; the said Erle of Ossorie hath promised and bindeth hymself to the Kinge, that he, and the said Lord Butler, his sonne, and either of them, and their heires and posteritie, faithfully, trewly, and diligently, with all their frendes, strengthes, and counsailes, shall assiste, aide, serve, and mayntaign his said Deputie, and rise oute with hym with their powers, from tyme to tyme, in all the Kinges causes, and at all seasons shall endevour themselfes, with all their power possible, as shalbe seen expedient and necessary, to invade, vanquisshe, and subdue the Kinges Irishe and English rebelles, and shall doo their uttermost to bringe them to obedience and tribute to the Kinge.

Item, from hensforth the said Erle, ne his sonne, without the Deputes assent, shall not make, ne mayntaigne the makyng of, eny Irishe lorde or capitaigne, as of Macmorgho, Omore, Ochonour, Okarraile, and suche other like, but shall assiste and maintaign the Kinges Deputie or Deputies, for the tyme being, for the makyng and admitting of such personnes to those roumes and lordeships; ne shall retaigne eny of them upon their peace or warr, but all those to be under the protection, warr, and peax of our Soveraign Lord the Kinge, his Lieutenaunt and Deputie, for the tyme being, onely.

Item, the said Erle, and the Lord Butler his sonne, and their heires, to the uttermost of their powers, shall assiste, aide, and mayntaigne every where above the Water of Barrowe, and elswhere, the Kinges judges, and all other his officers for thexecution of his lawes, justice, and commaundement, leving and receiving of His Graces regall service wardes, eschetes, forfaitures, and all other his reveneux and proffites, and shall compell all men under their rule, and the rule of every of them, to be obedient to the Kinges lawes and his officers; and shall provide sufficient gailes within the counties of Kilkenny, Waterford, and Typerary, for the sure keping of felons and other transgressours, so as they may be justefyed by the lawe, or otherwise ponisshed according to their demerites.

Item, the said Erle, and his sonne, shall doo their best, with all their possible power, to attayn to the Kinges possession his castell and honour of Dungarvan.

Item, where the Kinges Highness, after the deth of James late Erle of Desmond[1], notwithstanding his rebellion, and his offences committed ayenst

[1] James, the 11th Earl, died 1529.

the honour and magestie of His Grace, contrary to his naturall dutie of allegiaunce, wherby he ought to have lost and forfaite to His Highnes his lif, all his goodes, and landes; trustyng that Thomas, nowe Erle[1], according to his letters of submission and petition after the deth of the said James sent to His Grace, wold have demeaned hymself like a trewe subjecte, of his most noble goodnes, graunted livery of all the said landes to the said Thomas, now Erle, at what tyme in Waterford, before the said Sir William Skevington, then Commissioner, and other of His Graces Counsaill, he did not onely give a solempne othe, accustumed for an Erle, to the Kinges Highnes, but also did binde hymself by indenture to His Grace, for the observaunce of his obedience and duetie to His Grace, the reducyng of his subjectes in those parties to good ordre and subjection, and divers other thinges therin mencyoned, which he hath untrewly transgressed; the said Erle of Osserye, according to his promise to the Kinges Highnes, and the high truste which the King conceyveth in hym, for hym self and his said sonne, the Lord Butler, bindeth hymself to the Kinges Highnes, and they, and every of them, and their heires, shall, from tyme to tyme, endevour themselffes, to their possible power, as shalbe seen expedient to his Deputie and Counsaill there, for to reduce the said Erle, and other the Kinges English subjectes in theis parties, to his due obedience; their good doynges wherin shall highly contente His Grace, to their further weale and comfort.

And, considering that it is manyfest and notoryous, that the provisions and usurped jurisdiction of the Bisshop of Rome hath been, and contynually is, the most and principall cause of the desolation, devision, ruyn, and decaie of the said land of Ireland, by the abomynable abuse wherof the Cathedrall Churches, in monasteries, parishe churches, and all other, reguler and seculer, for the more parte, in effecte, thorough the land, been in utter ruyn and destroyed; for the said Bisshop of Rome commonly hath preferred, by his provisions, to thadmynistration and governaunce of them, not only vile and vicious persones, unlerned, being murtherers, theves, and of other detestable disposicion, as light men of warre, who, for their unjust mayntaynaunce therin, somme tyme to expell the rightfull incumbent, and other seasons, by force of seculer power, to put the trewe patrons from their patronage, and other their mysorders, have not onely spent, wasted, and alyenate such landes, as the Kinge, his noble progenitours, and his nobles, gave to the augmentation of Goddes devine service, in the churches of that land, the exhibition and mayntaynaunce of the mynisters of the same, and the utensilles and ornamentes there, but also, by occasion of the same, great warres hath been stired amongest the Kinges people, and countreis brent, Bisshops, and divers other persones, spirituall and temporall, murdred, and many

[1] He was succeeded by his uncle, Thomas, the 12th Earl, who died in 1534.

other

other detestable thinges have ensued therby, which wold abhorre eny good Cristen man to here, to the high displeasure of God, the violation of his lawes, the derogation of the Kinges jurisdiction and regalitie, and the great detryment of his nobles and people: and the Kinges Highnes, like a most vertuous and most cristen Prince, mynding and desyring, above all thinges, the repression and extincting of any abuse and enormytie, which in any wise may be contrary to the lawes of God, or be occasion to his people to fall from charitie or Cristen maners, hath willed his said Deputie to resyst with all his power the abuse and usurped jurisdiction of the said Bishop of Rome in the premisses: according to which His Graces pleasure, the said Erle of Osserie hath promysed to His Highnes, and by thies presentes bindeth hymself, that he, and his said sonne, and every of theim, and their heires, shall not onely by themselffes resyste, with all their possible powers, every where under their rules, the said provisions, and the Bisshop of Roomes usurped jurisdiction; mayntaigning also, and assistyng the Kinges Deputie, and all his officers, for repressing therof, according to the statutes therupon provided, but also shall practise with all others, and enduce them, asmoch as they possible may, to doo likewise.

Finally, the Kinges Highnes, as before is said, nothing doupting in the harty good will and trothe of the said Erle of Osserey, and his sonne, but having most especiall confydence in them, above all other of that his land, both for thexecution of the premisses, and all other thinges necessary for the weale of this lande, as from tyme to tyme shalbe requesite to His Grace, or his Deputie and Counsaill there, is contented that suche of the Irishe or Englishe, as shalbe brought to good conformytie by the meanes of the said Erle and his sonne, be favorably accepted, intertayned, assisted, and aided by his Deputie and Counsaill aforsaid. In witnes wherof Our said Soveraign Lord the Kinge hath, with his most gracious hand signed this parte of this indented writting, remayning with the said Erle of Osserie, and to the same hath put to his Signet, the daie and yere above written.

LXXIII. Robert Cowley *to* Crumwell.[1]

My humble duety premysid to your honourable wisedome. I doubte not but the same hath been amply advertised by the Counsaill here of the seducyous, proditorious, rebelling of thErll of Kyldaris son, and brethern, with theyre

[1] From Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House. Holograph.

adherentes

adherentes and sequlle; whoo, this instant weke, have comytted infenyte murders, burnynges, and robbinges in the English pale, aboutes the Citie of Dublyn, specialy the Kinges landes and possessions.[1] And as I am very credibly enfourmyd, the said Erles son, bretherne, kynesmen, and adherentes doo make theire avaunte and booste, that they bee of the Popes secte and bande, and hym wol they serve against the Kinge, and all his partetakers; saying further, that the King is accursid, and asmany as take his parte, and shalbe opynly accursid. It had been good that the said Erles heyre had been styll kepte in England. I am sure your wisedome gave no advise to sende hym home, and whoo soo ever counsailid the Kinges Grace thertoo, was farre over seen; by meanes whereof the Kinges landes, and many of his subgietes, bee destruyd, and, without hasty remedy, mouche moore irrecuperable myschiefe and destruccion is like to ensue, onles the Kinges Grace, of his great compassion, sende hither briefely his Deputie, with a good powere, orels the land wol bee loste without recovery. As knoweth Almighti God, who have your honourable wisedome in his moost tender tuycyon.

Your moost bounden Oratour,

(*Signed*) ROBERT COWLEY.

(*Superscribed*)

To Maister Cromewillis honourable wisedome, Secretary and Counseillour to our Souverain Lord the Kinges Grace.

LXXIV. WISE *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

THIS instant day report is made by the viker of Dongarvan, that thEmprour hath sent certain letters unto thErle of Desmound, by the same chapleyn or embassadour, that was sent unto James, the late Erle[3]; and the comon bruyt is

[1] According to Ware, Lord Thomas Fitzgerald surrendered the sword and robes of state on the 11th of June 1534, before he broke out into this rebellion.

[2] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 409. Holograph.

[3] James, the 11th Earl, died on the 18th of June 1529, and was succeeded by his uncle, Thomas, whose profession of allegiance is printed in p. 160, and to whom this letter relates. Earl James was twice engaged in a treaty with foreign powers against Henry VIII.; in 1523 with the King of France, and in 1528 with the Emperor. A paper in the Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 352. said to be collected by Sieur de Tillet out of the records in France, and written in his book, entitled "Le Recueil des Roys de France," states, that in June 1523, Francis I. made a treaty with James, Earl of Desmond (styled a Prince in Ireland), by which the Earl engaged to make war, in person, and at his own charge, against Henry VIII., as soon as the French army should land in Ireland, and to bring into the field 400 horse and 10000 foot, and, when need should require, to aid the there,

there, in that quarters, that his practise is to wyn the Geraltynes, and the Breenes, and that thEmperour entendith shortly to send an army to invade the citees and townes by the see coostes of this land. This thing was spoken by a Spaynard, more than a moneth agone, to one of thenhabitauntes of this cite; and bicause I thoght it then somwhat incredibill, I forbare, at that tyme, for lac of more knolege, to write unto your wisdome therof. This chaplain, as it is said, arryved more then 15^{en} dayes past, at the Dengill[1], in the domynyon of the said Erle; whiche Erle hathe, for the vitalling of his castel of Dongarvan, taken a ship charged with Spanysh wynes, that was bound to the town of Galwey; and albeit that his yeres requirith quietnes and rest, yet entendith he asmych trouble, as ever did any of his nation. God and the King, with thayde of his tru subgettes here, I trust shall not only let is malicious enterprise, but se hym condingly punysshed, to thensample of al other transgressours of there allegeauns. God graunt hym lif to se his amendment, and you encres of vertu and honour. And thus with moste humble recommendation from hym, of whose prayer and sarvice ye be assured of,

12° Julij. WILLIÃ WISE,
Maier of Waterford[2] in Irland.

(Superscribed)
To the Right Honorable Maister Cromwell,
Counsellour to the Kinges most noble Grace.

French with 15000 foot or more, and to furnish horses for the draft artillery: and the King engaged to pay the wages of the troops at certain stipulated rates. The objects of the war were, to conquer Desmond's country, and to place the Duke of Suffolk (Richard Pole) on the throne of England; and it was provided that Desmond should hold his country to his own use and benefit, except one of the three ports of Kinsale, Cork, or Youghal, which Francis was to reserve for ever, for the security of his ships. The French King further promised, that after the war begun, he would not make peace or truce with England without comprehending therein Desmond, Tirlough OBrien, and his nephews; and that if Henry VIII. should make war upon them, he would aid them with ships, armed men, and artillery; and further, that if during such truce or peace, the Earl's subjects or tenants should refuse to pay their accustomed rents and duties, he would send two ships, to be victualled by the Earl, and to be at his command, until his subjects or tenants should be reduced to their former obedience; and finally, that he would give the Earl a convenient pension during his life, and a similar pension of 500 livres to David McMorice, the Earl's seneschal. Francis was so engaged in the concerns of his own kingdom, that he never carried this treaty into execution. It is observable, that, at the same moment, Henry VIII. was pursuing the same policy with the Duke of Bourbon, a subject of Francis. The correspondence with the English ambassadors at the Court of Charles V. will shew the communication carried on between him and Desmond, in 1528 and 1529.

[1] Dingle Bay, in Kerry.

[2] The citizens of Waterford adhered so firmly to Henry VIII. during the Geraldine rebellion, that their loyalty was rewarded by two Royal letters of thanks, dated the 30th of August, and 9th of November. Wise, in 1536, went to England, was made Esquire of the King's Body, and returned to Waterford with a Cap of Maintenance presented by the King to the Corporation, to be borne before the Mayor, and a third complimentary letter of 30th April 1536. A copy of each of the letters is in the State Paper Office.

LXXV. Thomas Fynglas *to* Crumwell.[1]

Ryght honorable and my specyall good Master, with all my due reverense I cumaunde me un to your Mastershipe. Advertisyng the same, that after the Justice Cusake is departure in to England, the Counsayle here wrat letters un to our Soverayn Lorde the Kyng, of thestate of this pore land, and of the demenure of the Lord Thomas Fytz Geralde, wyche letters the Lord Chaunceller here sent by a servaunt of his, namyd Thomas Brode; by whom I wrat a letter un to your Mastershipe, what hurtis was done here by the sayd Lord Thomas is servauntes and adherentes, as fere as I had knowlege at that tyme. Nowe sens, OConour, in whom thEnglyshe pale had sum trust of defens, and beyng ajoinyng to the Inglyshrye, may do gret hurt to them, he beyng at werre, the said Lord Thomas hathe practissed the meanes, so that he hawe caussed the sayd OConour to be sworne un gret othes, to helpe hym a gaynst all men; and eche of them is sworne to othyr, to be as two bretherne to gydyr, as long as they twayne lywe. To the perfourmans wher of, the sayd Lord Thomas hathe gevyn to the sayd OConor certen townes, wher of thErle of Kyldare was in peasyble possession. I hyre say, that all men that wylbe sworne un to hym, they shall take noo hurte by hym, ne by none that is toward hym; by meanes where of, diverse husbandmen aneryth un to hym, for fere of lostys of ther goodes. He makyth all the meanes, he can possyble, to make hym self strong of people. The comen brute is, that he entend to envad all the Inglyshe pale, furst to take all ther cattell, and after to bourne and dystroy cornes and housses, so that, yf the Kyng entend to send a army hethyr, they shall not hawe wyttayllys, ne howsses to loge in. Hit fere me, we shall be utterly undone, be fore we hawe succor. I wold a gone at thus tyme in to England, and hit ware not that I do tarry here to wrytt un to you, at all tyme, of the myssery of thus pore land; and for a nothyr cause, wyche Cace, the Kynges servaunt, at thus tyme goyth in to England with letters un to His Grace, may showe your Mastershipe. Thus the Holy Trinyte hawe in His blyssed tuytion. At Dublin, the 21 day of July.

Your servaunt,

Thomas Fynglas.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable and my singuler good Master, Mr Crumwell, Secretare to the Kynges Highnes.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle F.

LXXVI. Rawson *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Aftyr my boundyn dewte. Hyt may please Your excellent Hyghtnes to be advertysyd, how the 13 day of the laste monethe, the Lorde Jamys Buttelar, the Bysshop of Waterford[2], the Mayr of the same, and I, dyd sartyffy Your Hyghtnes, how itt was then reaportyd at your Sivite of Waterford, that a chapelayn of the Imperatars was arryved in the west partes of Your Gracys land of Ireland, at a porte caulyd the Dangyll; of whose besenes, at that tyme, we culd have no farther knowlege. And sythyns, the Erle of Osserrie, beyng at Waterford, had then more serteyn knowlege from Lymeryke, by on letter to hym sent from thens, of wiche lykewise hys Lordshyp and I dyd sertyffy Your Hyghtnes, and dyd send the same to Lymeryke, inclosyd in owrse of the 25 day of the laste monethe.

Farthyrmore itt mey please Your Hyghtnes to be advertysyd, how, the laste day of July, serteyn knowlege was browght to Your Gracys Sivite of Waterford, that the Archebushop of Dublyn[3], being in shyppe to departe towardes Ingland, Tohmas, son to the Erle of Kylldare, causyd hym to be takyn, and browght before hym, and there, in hys syght, by hys cummaundement, was cruelly and shamefully murderyd[4], and other dyverse of hys chapelayns and servantes that wer in hys cumpane. Wiche tiranny, withowte marse, causythe the pepyll myche more to fere. And ys gretly dowtyd that he woll do, what he can, to subdeu and dystroy Your Gracys Inglysche subjectes, in faute of ayde and deffens; for syche as wer therunto apoyntyd dyd lytyll good. He hath allso aluryd Oconnor unto hym; and all other Irichemen, that he can gett, be in hys ayde, burnyng and distroying Your Gracys Inglyche subjectes. And inasmyche as ther was no knowlege of the arivall of Syr Wyllyam Skevington, namyd Your Gracys Deputye, I shoyd to the Mayr of Your Graces Sivite of Waterford, that I wold departe into Ingland, or Walys, as wynd and wethyr wold serve, to sertyffy Your Hyghtnes as I knew and harde; and aryvid here at Seynt Davis, in Walys, the 6 day herof, and being moche dezezyd with the

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[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 44. Holograph. [2] Nicolas Comin. [3] John Allen.

[4] Robert Relye, whose examination is quoted before, p. 183, was concerned in this murder. According to his statement, Lord Thomas, accompanied by John Fitzgerald, and about forty others, went to Artayne, where the Archbishop lay at the house of Mr. Hothe, and there the Prelate was murdered; but whether it was by Lord Thomas's command or not, the examinant could not say. But he admits, that the same day he was sent by Fitzgerald to Maynooth, with a casket, which his master had taken from the Bishop, and that Lord Thomas afterwards sent one Charles, his chaplain, to the Bishop of Rome, to the intent (as he heard) of obtaining absolution for killing the Bishop.

palsey, and mey not well indure to ryde, my brother archediacon, Your Gracys chapelyn, who hathe continually ben thys halffe yere in my compane, repeirythe now unto Your Hyghtnes with dylygens; who can informe Your Grasse as he hathe sene and harde in Ireland; to whome itt mey plese Your Hyghtnes to geve credens. And thus the Blessyd Trinyte presarve Your most exselent Majestie in prosperite, with victory of all your adversarys. Writton att Seynt Davis in Walys, the 7 day of Auguste.

Your Grasse faythefull and humyle subject,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) J. Rawson, Pr of Kyllmaynã.

To the Kyng Hys most noble Grasse.

LXXVII. John Alen *to* Crumwell.[1]

From Chester, the 4th daie of October.

My humble dutie remembred. May it plese your goodnes to be advertised, that as yit the Deputie is in Bewmares, and the northern mennes horses hath been on ship bourde theis 12 dais, which is the daunger of ther destruction. They have lost soch a winde and fair wedder, as I doubt thei shall not have agayne for this winter season. Mr Brereton lieth here at the seas side in aredines, for if ther first appointement to Dublyn had been kept, thei mought have been ther; but now thei tarie to passe with the Deputie. Sir, for the love of God, let some aide be sent to Dublyn; for the los of that citie, and the castel, were a playne subversion of the lande. Also the rebell, which chieflie trusteth in his ordinaunce, which he hath of the Kinges, hath in effecte consumed all his shoote; and except he wynneth the castell of Dublyn, he is destitute of shoote, which is a gret cumforte and advantage for the Kinges army. I assur your honourable Mastership, it greavith not a litle Mr Brabazon and me, to hear of the gret destruction of the Kinges land and subjectes, and to sea so litle hast[2] made for the resistence, considering the gret charge the King is at for the same. It is reported here, that soch as went from Bristow, been in

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A. Holograph.

[2] In the same bundle is a previous letter to Crumwell from John Alen, dated at Chester, on the 24th of September, in which he represents that the wind had been fair for eight days and more, and that himself and Mr. Brabazon, the Vice Treasurer, had been on board for two nights, but that the Deputy lay in Wales, and his horses and retinue were not ready, and besides lacked of their number.

Water-

Waterford. May it plese your Mastership to give thankes to the Abbot of Chester, for the kindnes he shewed Mr Brabazon, for your sake, in receyving and lodging him in his howse, for that we could gett no convenient place here, for the suer keping of the Kinges thesaure. And thus Jhesu preserve your honourable Mastership, with increce of moch honour.

Your most bounden Oratour,

JOHN ALEN.

(Superscribed)

To my honourable good Master, Mr Crumwell,
Principall Secretary to the Kinges Highnes.

LXXVIII. SIR WILLIAM BRERETON *and* JOHN SALISBURY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASYTH your hye Magistie and habundant Grace. The Wednesday, being the 14th day of October, Your Graces Deputie of Irlande, and wee, sayled from the havyn of Graycort, toward Irlond, and were sore beten with storme and tempest all that night, and on the morowe aftur, were dryven under the Ile of Lambay, being 10 myles northward from Dublyn, and there lay all that night. And on Friday, the morowe aftur, about 10 of the clock, wee were enformed by on John Darcy, that it was shewed him, that the false traytour Thomas Fitz Gerald, had wone Your Graces citie and castell of Dublyn, which wee ded not beleve. And soo the Deputy, and wee, and all the Counsaill, went to geders to counsaill, what was best to doe. And uppon considerations that it was the best and chef citty of all Irelond, and that many letters came unto us from Dublyn, to sheche ayde and succour, it was concluded, by the consent of the Deputy and all the whole Counsaile, that wee shuld goe to Dublyn, if wee might possiblie, and (not casting our selves awaye) to succour the saide cittie. And soo wee sayled streght to the haven of Dublyn; and the Deputy, and all the other flete, purposed to goo to Waterford. And the Saterdaye, the morowe aftur, wee landed at Dublyn, and all our company safe (thankes be to Our Lord), where wee were gladly reseyved by the Maer, and all the citie. Howbeit the Maer, and the chef men of the sayd citye, (ymediatly after our landinge) brought us to theire counsaill house, and shewed us that they had taken treus

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[1] Printed from a copy in Lambeth Library (Vol. 601. leaf 1.) with the annotations of Sir George Carewe, who was Lord President of Munster from 1599 to 1603.

with Thomas Fitz Gerald, for the space of six wekes, and that he shuld not bryne nor distroye no parte of the country during the sayd space; which promise he brake within 24 howers, for, the next night after that wee had landed, the sayd Thomas Fitz Gerald brane the corne of the Prior of Kilmaynans. And the covenaunt of the treus also was, that the sayd citie of Dublyn shuld gete to the sayd traytour his pardon of Your Highnes, and a deputation of all Irlond, for terme of his life, or elles to deliver him the sayd city, at the sayd day. And upon the same, he had 3 pledges of the best men of the sayd citie; and, as wee be credebly enfourmed, he hath 16 or more of the sonnes and heires of the best men of the said citie. For the which causes we put great waches, both day and night, to kepe aswell the gates of the sayd citie, as the wals; and wee kepe also in our custodie, within the castell, the keves of all the gates of the sayd cittye. And a sevenight aftur our landing, or more, for lake of wynde to Waterford, the sayd Deputye landed at Dublyn. And the 27th day of October, at night, there came a frere from Tradaff[1] unto Your Graces sayd Deputye, and unto us, and shewed us that he mett that morninge 3 or 400 horsemen of Thomas Fitz Geraldes company, goyng to lay sheche to the towne of Traghdaff, with Thomas Fitz Gerald. And the morowe after, being Simon and Juds day, (leving certayne of our company to kepe the towne and castell of Dublyn) wee went with the sayd Depute to defend the sayd towne of Traghdaff; and came there that nyght, beyng 20 long myles from Dublyn. And when wee came there, wee lay 7 dayes, and mony lordes and gentlemen of the countrey there resorted unto us dayly, from day to day, during the sayd space. And when the sayd lordes and gentlemen were put in, an kepe the sayd countryes, the sayd Deputy and wee came to Dublin. And wee humbly beseech Your Highnes, wee may knowe Your Graces pleasure, howe wee shall order our selves, anempst Your Graces sayd cytie and castell, for our discharge. As God knoweth, which have Your excellent Highnes in His blessed tuition. At Your Graces Citty of Dublin, the 4th day of this instant November.

Your servandes,

WILLM BRERETON, K.
JOHN SALISBURY.

Pleaseth Your Grace, this bearer, Francis Herbert, hath done Your Grace good services this warre tyme; for he is a good gunner, and hath slayne with gonnes out of the citie, as is openly reported, 24 persons or more, and one

[1] Drogheda.

great

great capitaine of Thomas Fitz Geraldes company; for the which the sayd Thomas had lever have him, then much goodes; and but for the good speed he hath made, both the towne and the castell had beine gyven up.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Majestie.

LXXIX. Skeffyngton *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Ytt may please Your most excellent Highnes to be advertised, that I, with your army, that tooke shipping at Chester, Lyrpole, and in those partise, ar aryved at your citty of Dublin, where was landed, at the furst, Sir William Brereton and John Salisbury, with theire company; and I, your Treasaurer, and the Northern capitaynes kept the sea, abyding winde that would a served to Waterford, which was contrary to us. And wee had knowledge that the traytour, Thomas Fitz Gerald, had made proclamation, that all his power should be in their most fensable araye, to wayt uppon him at a place called Skeris, by 7 of the clocke in the morninge, thinking I would a landed there. And I, haveng knowledge of the same, made sayle to the sayd place, to the entent that the capitaines, that went to Dublyn, might the more safelyar goo a lande; for the havon there is of no les danger, then I wrot in myne instructions to Master Secretory. And when wee came theder, wee did see diverse men, both on horsebacke and a foote, but no such army as was supposed. And I had caused the shipp bottes to be armed with ordenaunce and furnished with men, putting serteyne nomber a land, and burned in that havon 4 vessaylles, which lay so that they could not be carryed awaye, and spoyled them of all theire taklinge, and brought certayne smale bottes away with us. And after that, wee were drevon, by force and dangerus wether, to harborowe at Lambey, where, on the morowe after, was perceaved Brode, the pirate, under sayle; and I caused two shipps to make owte after him, which gave hym chace to the havon of Drougheda; and at the passing in of the barre of the same, bowged hym, soo that he rane his vessell a lande, and went himselfe to the shore, that the shipps that gave him chace could followe no further, but retourned againe. And at theire retourne, came to me, from the Meiar of Dublyn, and Chyfe Justice, letters that the Earle of Ossery had sent to them, with a messenger of the sayd Erlis, by whome he sent credence; which was, that he would not faile within 2 dayes after to be at Dublyn. And over and besides that, the sayd Meiar and

[1] From a copy in Lambeth Library, (Vol. 601. leaf 2.) with Sir George Carewe's notes.

Justice,

Justice, with bothe the capitaines there landed, wrote to me, that unlesse I would land there with the horsemen, the country would be utterly undone. And upon this knowledge, Your Graces Tresurer and I consulted together, and considered the comming of thErle of Ossery by his promes, and also the distruction of your English pale by the rebelles, and that diverse of our horses dyed a shipp board, the winde contrarius to our purpose, thought best to lande there; and so ded. And when wee weare landed at Dublyn, I, by thadvice of the Counsaile, sent a letter to the Maier of Drougheda, and his brederne, commaunding them to apprehend the sayd Brode, and his company, and to put them in suer jayle, uppon payne of their allegiaunce; which, notwithstanding the great dread that they had of the saide rebellion, obeyed the same, taking the sayd Brode, with 9 of his marriners, and put them in suer jayle, advertising me thereof. And immediatlye, by thadvice of your sayd Counsaill, I sent a shipp furnished, which brought them to your castell of Dublyn, where they now remaine. The rebell, hereing thereof, sent word to the Maier of Drougheda, that he would not fayle to besiege the towne, and utterly to destroy yt, nameing a certain night to be there. Uppon that knowledge, the sayde Meiar, and his brederne, sent in all hast theire messenger, advertising me of the same. Whereuppon I caulled Your Graces Counsaile, to here what were best to be done; who fully agreed, that the whole army of horsemen and footemen shuld march forward to give the sayd rebell battayle, or remove the sedge, yf he kept his appoyntment. Which wee dyd, and there contynued from the Wenisday at night, unto the Tewisday followinge, and he never gave us lokeing on, nor came neere us. And I, and your Counsaile that was there, as Sir William Breerton, and John Salisbery, caused proclamation to be made there, and proclaymed the sayd Thomas Fytz Gerald openly at the High Crosse, on the markett day, as the most notorious rebellion and arrant traytour, that ever was borne under thobedience of so high and mighty a Prince, as Your Grace is; rehersing, in the same, sircomstance of his rebellious and myscheifous demeynours; and also intended to have had him denounced a curssed, by your Chauncellour[1] there, but he demaunded leasure to have counsaile of them that were about him, lerned; which hee and they made answere, that yt myght not lawfully be done by him, unto such tyme as the Deane of St Pulcars, and the Prior of Christischurch of Dublyn, which are Vicars Generall during the tyme of Cedi vacanti, had declared solemly the sentence first, and then he would followe the same.

And, after this done, the sayd capitaynes and I continually aplyed our selves in writtinge and sending of letters to all the gentilmen of Uriell and

[1] John, Lord Trymletiston, was appointed Chancellor in August, 1534.

Meth,

And, after this done, the sayd capitaynes and I continually aplyed our selves in writtinge and sending of letters to all the gentilmen of Uriell and Meth, commaunding them, uppon theire dutise of alegiaunce, to comme in, and sho themselves as the Kinges trew subjectes, and to renounce their untrougthis and mysdeymenours, which, with their willes, or against theire willes, had foloed the sayd traytour. And very few hath refused, but those that in their exskuse hath sayd they could not come, the way being so dangerous. And further, wee have written letters to all the capitaynes in the north partise, which, at my being here, beare their good willes and service to Your Grace and mee; and diverse of them I have good answere of, and of the residewe as yett no answere, by reason that to all messengers the weyse beeth very dangerous, and also many waters, through the great raynes that here hath bene fallen. And as touchinge the said rebell, he shifteth from place to place, after such fashion, that as yett wee cannot come to geve none adventure; which is sore against the sayd capitaines wylles, that they cannot have meetinge with him, and are as forward with dilligence in all counsailes and busines, as ever was any that ever I have been mached with all. And I dare not well make prevey to any seecret counsaile fewe mo, but onely your Treasurer, and the sayd capitaynes. As knoweth the Blessed Trynety, to whome I shall dayly pray, according my bounden duty, for the preservation of your most royall estate long to endure. From your City of Dublyn, the 11th of November.

Your most humble obedient subject,

(*Superscribed*)
To my most dread Sovereyne Lord,
the Kinges Highnes.

(*Signed*) Willm̃ Skeffyngton.

LXXX. Ordinances for the Government of Ireland.[1]

First it is ordeyned that the Kinges Deputie make no warre, ne peace, with any Irishe man, or other persone (oneles it be for hurtes done to revenge the same with sodayne invasions), to the charges of the holle countrey, without the assent of the Lordes and the Kynges Counsayle assembled, or the more part of them.

Item, as often as the sayd Deputie shall passe through the Englyshe pale, for any suche matter or cause, he shall nat set his men to coyne upon the Kynges subjectes, by byll made by the herbynger; and that, by the advyse of two gentylmen of every barony, where the sayde coyne shalbe set, appoynted by the sayd Deputie and Counsayle. And that every man, so lyvereyd, shall be

[1] From a printed copy, from the press of Thomas Berthelet, the King's Printer.

content

content to have suche meate and drynke as foloweth. Every horseman and capitayne of galloglas, and of kerne, to have, on fleshe dayes, fleshe, breade, and ale; and the fyshe dayes, fyshe and breade: and the kerne and boyes, suche meate as the husbandes have, or elles to have payde to everye horseman 2d le meele, every footeman 1½d, and every horsekeper 1d, if they, or any of them, refuse the sayde meate. Also every chiefe horse, for the fyrst nyght, 6 reasonable sheives of ootes, and for the seconde nyght, 4 sheves lesse, and but one boye to a horse.

Item, at suche tyme as the Deputie shall sette his men in the marches to coyne, that they take but after the foresayde rate, and but one boy to a horse.

Item, at suche tymes as the sayde Deputie shall come to any counsayl, or passe any where through the Englishe pale, he shall paye for al his Englyshe retynues, in maner folowynge: for an horsman 2d every mele, and for a horse boy 1d, and every 6 resonable sheves of otes 1d, and for a bushell of otes 6d. And the foresayde horseman, yoman, and horseboye shall be content with suche meate and drynke, as is aforesayd.

Item, the saide Deputie, at all suche tymes as he shall ryde through the Englyshe pale to parle with any Yryshman in the marches, he shal take with him no gret company, but as he may for the savegard of his person, and to have the gentylmen next adjoynyng to the place, whereunto the sayd Deputie shall resorte, to accompany hym to the sayd place: and all and every of the sayd gentylmen, that then shalbe within 5 myles to their owne houses, shall that nyght repaire to their sayd howses, orels to be at their owne costes.

Item, that no man take coyn ne liverey within the Inglish pale, save onely the Kinges Deputie, in maner aforesaide, ne in the marches, but uppon their owne propre landes, the Deputie and capitaynes of the countrey only excepte.

Item, that no gentylman (saufe only marchers) dwellynge within the Englyshe pale, goinge with the Kinges Deputie through the same, take no coyne ne lyverie with in the sayde Inglishe pale, duringe that tyme; but to be upon their owne costes, comynge and goinge.

Item, that every man, spiritual and temporal, have men conveniently arrayed for warre, after the extente of the revenues of theyr landes and tenementes, to wayte uppon the Deputie at tymes requisite; and that all marchers and others, havinge landes uppon the marches, have sufficient men of warre continually in the sayd marches, for the defence of the same, accordyng to the extente of their sayde landes.

Item, that musters be had in every hundred and barony twyes by the yere, and more ofte, yf nede require. And that every man be compelled to have harnes and artillery, that is to say, every man havyng worth 4 £ of goodes, and so upward to 10 £, to have a bowe, halfe a shefe of arrowes, a byll, and a sallet,

or

or a scull. And every man havynge worth 10 £ of goddes, and so upwarde to 20 £, to have a jacke or coote of defence, a bowe, a sheve of arrowes, and a byll, a sallet, or a sculle. And every servant at husbandry, or otherwise, receyvynge by the yere above 13^{s} 4^{d} to his wagis, to have a byll and a scull, or bowe and arrowes.

Item, that no man be compelled to paye the lyvery of any that shall not appere to receyve the same, save suche men as the capitaines of the galloglas, and the capitaines of the kerne, use to have.

Item, suche tyme as the Deputie shall sette his men to lyverey within the Englishe pale, they shall be lyvered in one place, but for one nyght, onles it be for great necessite, or Sondaie; and if they have lyveray for the next nyghte, they shall not be livereid within the space of 9 or 10 myles to that place where they were livereid the first night; and where they have lyverey for one nyghte, or receyve payment for the same, they shall have liveray that night in none other place.

Item, fynes for pardons, restitutions of Archbishops, Byshops, Abbottes, Priours, and for the lyveries of landes, riottes, &^{c}. to be paied in the Hanaper, and the clerke of the Hanaper to accompte for the same.

Item, all justices of peace, gayle delyverey, and of oier determyner, shyryffes, exchetours, and other the Kynges offycers, to have their patentes out of the Chauncery, and recordes made there, as is used in the Chauncery of Englande.

Item, that the Lord Chanceler, callyng to hym a juge of every of the Kynges Courtes and such other of the lordes and Counsayle as shalbe present in terme tyme, shal syt twies every weke, duryng terme season in the Counsayle Chamber, there to receyve and here suche compleyntes as the Kynges subjectes shal exhibite, and take order therin accordyngely.

Item, that the Deputie do not let nor sette any manours, londes, tenementes, or other revenues of the Kinges, but by letters patentes under the Kynges Seale; and that all the revenues of the sayd manours, landes, and tenementis, and all accomptantes of the Kynges revenues and profites, do yerely accompt in the Kynges Eschequier, and that none other be assigned to here their accomptes; and the same so taken to be enrolled of mater of recorde, and indentures to be made therupon betwixt the Deputie and Thesaurer and Barons.

Item, that the Deputie and Counsayle take a substanciall direction for conservynge and kepynge of the Kynges recordes.

Item, that the Deputie and Counsaylle take an order, that gailes for receyvyng and kepyng of felons, and other malefactours, be ordeyned within the counties of Dublin, Myth, Kyldare, Lowth, Cartlagh, Waxforde, and other

Inglyshe shyres in Leynster, and els where, as they may brynge the same to purpose, as wel within franches and liberties, as otherwise.

Item, the Kynges pleasure is, that all mayres, baylyves, portreves, soverayns, and other officers of cities and corporate townes, as well shall receyve and assiste the Kynges judges and officers atte theyr thyther commyng, as permyt them to sitte within any place of their fraunches, to calle the shire before theym; they not intromeddelynge with no poynte of theyr lyberties except the justice of oyer determyner commeth and awardeth a wrytte of Quo Warranto, that as than theyr lyberties to cesse, for that season, accordynge to the lawe.

Item, that in every of the sayde shires, and in the places afore sayd, and the marches of the same, there be quarter sessions kept, and the Kynges juges ryde the circuite in every quarter there twies by the yere, as shall be appoynted in the commyssion by the Deputie, under the Greatte Seale.

Item, that the Deputie, nor none of the Kinges officers, purchase no landes beinge in controversye betwene any of the Kynges subjectes.

Item, that the Deputie do his beste that the Kynges writtes and proces may be obeied, as wel in the marches of the counties of Dublin, Myth, and Uriel, as in al other places afore sayde.

Item, that the pretended lybertie of Kyldare shal cesse from hensforth, and that the inhabitantes of the countie of Kyldare obey the Kynges lawes before the Kynges justices, and al officers for the Kynge to be appoynted and made by letters patentes there, as in other obedient shires; and like officers to be made in the counties of Cartlagh, Kilkenny, Waxforde, and other shires now not obedient, as the Deputie may brynge the same to purpose.

Item, where as dyvers lordes and gentilmen within the sayd 4 shires used to take nyght suppers, called cuddeis, of their tenantes, servantes, and adherentes, bryngyng with them as many as wolde go with them, without refusynge any; wherby they dyd not onely oppresse theym that gave suche suppers, but also their neighbours, the Kynges subjectis, 5 or 6 myles about, with their horse and horse kepers, and also they toke a pecke of ootes of every plough in the sede tyme, called the greatte horse, or chefe horsis pecke: the Kynges pleasure is, that the premissis, from hensforwarde, shall not be any more used, upon peyne the offenders to yelde to the parties greved, double amendes, and over that to forfayt to the Kyng 5 £, to be levied of their goodes cattalles landes and tenementes, as often as they shall offende contrary to this ordinaunce.

Item, where some gentyll men use, whan so ever the Kynges Deputie, or any other lorde or gentylmen comme to their houses, to cesse the substance of their charges and expences that they be at, by the receyvynge of any suche, and

and on theyr poore tenantes levie the same, as wel as they do their rente; the Kynges pleasure is, that this, frome hensforth, be no more used, upon lyke peyne and penaltie as is before rehersed.

Item, where as dyvers lordes and gentylmen, theyr sonnes, servantes, and adherentes, take, by compulsion, of dyvers of the Kynges subjectes in the marches sommes of money, kyne, and horse, called bienges, for to have their favours, manassyng them, that refuse to gyve such bienges, to distroye them; wherfore it is ordered, that every person, what degree so ever he be of, be utterly restrayned to take any such bienges. The Kinges pleasure is, that these premisses shall not, from henseforth, be any more used, uppon lyke peyne and penaltie, as before rehersed.

Item, that no persone lette theyr landes within the herte of the Inglyshe pale, uppon condicion that the lessee shall gyve them coyne and lyverey, besides their rentes and customes due or reserved.

Item, that erikkes, and sautes, otherwyse called raunsomes, be not asked and paied, for any mourder or manslaughter commytted or done by any of the Kynges Englyshe subjectes, or by any of their name or kynne; but that the felony and murder be punyshed accordynge to the order of the Kynges lawes.

Item, that the beste of the name, in every marches, be elected as capitayne of the same, as well by the gentylmen there, as by the Kynges Deputie and Counsaile of the lande; and, upon his defaute, to be avoyded by the sayde Deputie and Counsayle; and that every suche capitayne be sworne unto Our Soveraygne Lorde the Kynge.

Item that no lorde, ne capitayne, compelle any of the Kynges subjectes to sende theyr cartes and men, uppon theyr owne proper costes, to draw stuffe to theyr buyldynges, or there to labour, at their owne charges, oneles it be uppon the marches for makyng fortresses and fortifications ageynste the Iryshemen, for the defence of the contrey; upon peyne to yelde the partie greved treble amendes, and to forfayte to the Kynge fortie shillinges for every defaulte, contrary to this ordinance. And where thErle of Kyldare used to have certayn cartynges or cariages, yerely, of the counties of Kildare and Cartlagh, under colour and pretence of the fortification of castels and fortresses there, whiche hitherto was not imployed, ne converted to the intended purpose; wherfore it is ordeined, that the same, from hensforth, shalbe used and converted to the Kynges use, for fortification of all marche places in that quarter, or els where, as shalbe seen requisite to the Deputie and Counsayle, and none otherwyse.

Item that all the landes in the marches shall contribute to the defence of the same, and all the dwellers there shalbe at the leadynge of the capitayne of the contreye, the Kynges Leutenant and Deputie, and of none other.

Item, that no man shall put any impositions uppon the marches of the Inglishry, but only the Kynges Deputie, and capitaynes of the same.

Item, consyderynge that the Kynges subjectes and obedyencers of Irelande be so invironned with the Kynges Iryshe rebelles, dayly attemptinge and studienge theyr subduenge and exylynge; for resystynge wherof, the temporall lordes, gentyll men, and other of the laye people, at theyr own propre charges, must of necessitie (for the withstandynge of the malice of the other) practise continually the feates of warre, makynge roodes, journayes, and exploites upon the same rebelles: it is consonant to all reason, conscience, and equitie, that they so jeopardynge theyr lyves in the Kynges service, and defence of the countreye, semblably the spiritualle personnes havynge no lesse benefite therby, and havynge lesse cure to maynteyne theyr lyvynge, thanne thothers, shulde, at the leaste, contribute to suche roodes and journayes, sendynge companyes with the Kynges Deputie therunto, after the rate as the temporaltie dothe; moche the rather, whyles they goo not to suche warres in their propre persones, as thothers.

Wherfore hit is ordeyned by Our Soveraygne Lorde the Kynge, and his mooste honourable Counsayle, that the landes of the spiritualtie, and benefyces, to all commen charges of the countreye shall contribute, as the landes of the temporaltie is charged. And all lordes, and other personnes of the spiritualtie, shall sende companyes to ostynges and journayes, in maner and fourme folowynge.

ThArchebysshop of Armachan, 16 able archers, or gonners, appoynted for the warre.

ThArchebyshoppe of Dublin, 20.

The Byshoppe of Myth, 16.

The Lorde of Saynct Johns, 20.

The Bishoppe of Kyldare, 8.

ThAbbot of Saint Thomas Courte, 10.

ThAbbot of Saynt Mary Abbey besides Dublin, 10.

The Abbot of Mellifonte, 10.

The Deane of Dublin, 4.

And every other person of that Churche of Saynte Patricke, that may dispende yerely 40 markes, one able archer.

The Priour of Christes Church of Dublin, 3.

The Prior of Saint Johns of Dublin without Newgate, 2.

The Priour of All Saintes besides Dublin, 2.

The Priour of Saint Wulstones, 2. The Prior of Holme Patrike, 2. The Priour of Atherde 2. The Priour of Sainct Johns besides Trym, 2. ThAbbot of

of Trym, 3. ThAbbot of the Navan, 2. ThAbbot of Bectif, 2. The Priour of Sayncte Peters besyde Trym, 1. The Proctours of Lanthony, 6. ThAbbot of Dulike, 1. ThAbbot of Kenlis, 1. The Prior of Saint Johns there, 1.

Item, out of everye 20 poundes by yere, whiche thAbbot of Furnes may dispende there, one archer.

ThArchdecon of Mythe, 6. ThArchdecon of Nobber, 2. The Person of Trym, 2. The Person of Rathwier, 2.

And every other spiritual person to send out of every 40 markes Irishe, of theyr yerely lyfelode, one able archer to the ostynge or roode; or more, as shalbe sene to the Kinges Deputie and Counsayle, as nede shal require.

Item, that every spirituall persone, whiche maye dispende 20 markes, and above under 40, to suche to sende one archer.

Item, all marchers, and other of the temporalte, to rise out to ostinges, and jorneis, as they have ben accustomed hytherto in any other Deputies tyme; or otherwyse as shall be sene expedient to the Deputie and Counsayle, and as nede shall require.

Item, that the gentyls of the marches of Myth shall cesse on their marche landes 120 kerne, to be indifferently cessed to every ostyng; and the shyre of Uriell to cesse 80 kerne; the marche of the countie of Dublin 24 kerne; the kerne of the countyes of Kyldare and Cartlagh, as the Erle of Kyldare used to cesse there: and all the sayde kerne to be attendaunt uppon the Deputie.

Item, if any that goeth to the feelde be not an able man, appoynted as he ought to be, and this to be examined by the Deputie, or his capitayne, or marshal, that then his maister to forfaite amerciament competent, as if the sayd man had not appered to the saide ostynge, according the concordat of the lordes and Counsayle of Irelande concernyng the apparances to ostynges and journays.

Item, that no Englysshe man, dwellynge within the harte of the Inglyshe pale, do take any speare with hym to the felde, excepte he take a bowe and arrowes, upon peyne of forfayture $6^{s}\ 8^{d}$, and losyng of his spere, totiens quociens.

Item, the Kynges plesure is, for divers and many considerations, for the weale of his lande, that the citie of Dublin, the towne of Drogheda, and all other townes incorporate within the 4 shires, do sende companies of archers and gounners, with the Kynges Deputie, to ostynges and journayes, as hath ben used and accustomed, when the Duke of Norfolke, the Erle of Kyldare, and others, had the governance of the lande.

Item, that the cities of Waterford, Lymericke, Corke, the townes of Waxforde, Kylkenny, and all other incorporate townes in those quarters, shall sende companyes with the Deputie to journeis, when they be required.

Item,

Item, that justices of peace shall be made in everye shire, and they to make wardinges of the peace in every barony, and constables in every paryshe; and that they kepe musters ones every quarter of the yere.

Item, that shotyng be used in every parysh within the Englishe pale, every holyday, so that the wether be fayre, upon payne of 3s 4d of forfayture to the Deputie.

Item, that every husbande havyng a ploughe within thInglishe pale, shall sette, by the yere, 12 ashes in the diches and closes of his ferme, upon peyne of 2s to be forfayte to the Deputie.

Item, where so ever any crye be reared, in any place, that al those, that be adjoynyng next unto the same place where such cries be made, shal answere to the same crie in theyr most defencible array, upon peyn of forfayture to the Deputie 3s 4d, that make defaulte, totiens quotiens.

Item, that where as the Deputies, for injuries and wronges done unto the Kynges subjectes, go to ostinges and journaies ageinst the Kinges Irishe rebels, into their owne countreis, and that to the greate costes and charges of the Kynges sayde subjectes, for to have of the said Yrishe men amendes and recompence for their sayde injuries and wronges; whiche amendes and recompence, had and receyved for the same, the sayde Deputie do deteyne and kepe to their owne propre use and profyte, nothynge giving to the sayde subjectes so injuried and indamaged: wherfore hit is ordeyned, that the Deputie shall have, for his labours and payne, the one halfe of suche amendes hereafter to be made, and the parties damnified the other halfe.

Item, that none of the Kynges Judges of the Foure Courtes be compelled to go to ostinges, as other comon persones do, without theyr owne assentes; but to sende theyr company to the sayde ostynges, accordynge to the revenues of their londes and tenementes, as other do.

Item, that all suche galloglas, as the Farolles shuld beare the Kynge for the Annall, Mac Morgho, and all other Iryshmen, shall be only at the ledyng of the Kynges Leutenaunt, or Deputie.

Item, the galloglas, which the counties of Kyldare and Cartlagh be accustomed to bere, shalbe set upon them by the Deputie, at tymes requisite, as shalbe seen convenient to hym and the Kynges Counsayle, and by none other.

Item, if it shall be seen to the Deputie and Counsayle requisite, the Deputie shall cesse a battayll of galloglas in Westmith, Delven, and other the marches of Mithe, Urielle, and Dublin.

Item, the counties of Uriell and Kyldare to be cessed after the rate of the ploughe landes, accordynge as the counties of Dublin and Mithe be cessed for the carriages to ostynges and journayes.

Item,

Item, thErle of Kyldares londes to be cessed with men of warre, and other charges, as other lordes and gentilmens landes be in the same shires where his ben.

Item, the Kynges pleasure is, that all complayntes of his subjectes of thInglyshrye, about the takyng of coyne and lyverey, and al causes concernyng the warre, be discussed before the Deputie and Counsayle; and if hit be in the warre, the banner beynge displayed before the Deputie or his marshall.

Item, for as moche as it is notorious and manifest that thabhomynable abuse and usurpation of the Bishoppe of Romes jurisdiction, by his provisions and otherwyse, hath not onely distroyed the Churches of Irelande, but also ben the moost occasion of the division and discencion amonges the people of the sayd lande, and the dissolation, ruyn, and decaye of the same; the Kynges Hyghnes, lyke a moste vertuous christen Prince, above al thynges desyryng the repressyng of any enormitie or abuse, whiche, by any meane, mought tende to the violation of the lawes of God, or be an occasion to his people to digresse from charitie or christen maners, willeth, and straytely chargethe and commaundeth his Deputie and Counsayle of that lande, that they, and everye of them, indevour theym selfes, to theyr powers, to resiste the sayde Byshoppe of Romes provisions, and other his pretensed and usurped jurisdiction, accordinge to the statutes therupon provided; and the lyke to be enacted there the nexte Parlyament.

Item, yf any lande be in debate, by severall titles and distresses taken, than the distresses to be putte in the heed towne of the baronye, where the sayde landes be, and ther to be kept in pounde overt, til they be replevied, upon peyne of 100^{s}; and such a pounde to be made in the heed towne of every barony, at the charges of the hoole inhabitantes of the same, betwixt this and Easter.

Item, yf there be any warre with Iryshmen made uppon any of the 4 shyres, that then the lordes and gentyls shall go dwell in their landes next adjoynyng to the sayd warres, and there to contynue duryng the continuaunce of the sayde warres; so that there be a castell upon the sayde landes.

Item, that no Yryshe mynstrels, rymours, shannaghes, ne bardes, unchaghes, nor messangers, come to desire any goodes of any man dwellinge within the Inglyshrie, uppon peyne of forfayture of all theyr goodes, and theyr bodyes to prison.

Item, that no gentyll man of landes weare over lipp commonly called a crummell, ne Yryshe hoode, uppon peyne of forfayture of an 100^{s}, totiens quotiens.

Item,

Item, that every gentylman of thInglyshrie, which may dispende 20 £ by the yere, shall ryde in a saddell, and weare Inglyshe apparel, within the same, uppon lyke penaltie, excepte in warre.

Item, that the statute[1] prohibitynge the conveyance of ordenaunce, powder, or artillery to Yrishmen, to be straytly putte in execution.

Item, the statute[1] of Spanyshe wynes be putte in execution; that is, that no hydes be yoven for any maner wares, except it be for wheate, salt, yron, or Gascoyne and Rochel wines, upon pein of forfaiture of the same, or the valu.

Item, that the statute[1] of takynge of hydes out of that lond before they be tanned shall be put in execution, in the hole, or in part, as shalbe sene convenient to the Deputie and Counsayle.

Item, that no estranger of other realmes take nother horse ne hauke out of that lande, ne any other person convey any such horse or hawke, from thens to any outward parties, except into Englande, without the Deputies lycence, and not thither to the intent to sell the same, upon peyne of forfaiture of the same horse and hawke, or the value of the same, to the Kynges Deputie.

Item, that the borough townes be made sure and fast; and that suche customes as the Kinge hath given, for pavage and murage of them yerely, to be well bestowed uppon the walles and dyches of the sayd towne; and that there come a man out of every house of the sayd townes, on theyr proper costes, 6 dayes in the monthe of March, every yere, from henseforwarde, to scoure and make faste theyr walles and dyches.

Item, that the Deputie do his best to discharge the Kinges subjectes of such blacke rentes and tributes, as ben paied to Irishemen.

Item, that the Deputie, the Kinges Counsaill, and juges of the Kynges Courtis, and the justices of pece in every shire, do punishe the transgressours and offendours of the premysses, as shalbe sene to their discretions.

Item, that the Deputie shall endevour him self to cause al the Kinges subjectes next adjoynyng to Irishmen, of al that land, to fynd good sureties, and to be bounde, by bandes of recognisance, to observe their fidelite and allegeance truly to the Kynge, and to observe the Kinges lawes, as nygh as may be, and to be furthe cominge to answere to all such maters as shalbe laid to their charges by the Deputie.

Thomas Berthelet, Regius Impressor,
excudebat. Anno 1534.
Cum Privilegio.

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[1] Neither of these Acts is in the printed Irish Statute Book.

LXXXI. The Copie of the Curse geven Thomas Fitzgarald and others, for kyllyng of the Archbusshop of Dublyn.

In the name of GOD. Amen. By thauctorite of the Fader, the Sone, and tHoly Goost, and of the blissed Apostels Peter and Paule, Saynt Patric thApostell, and Patrone of Irlonde, all other the Apostels, and company of Heven, and by thauctorite of our Mother Holy Churche, and the kepers of the spirituall jurisdiccion of the Metropolitan See of Dublin, the same Sea beyng voyde. Whear as Thomas Fitz Gerold, eldist sone to Gerold, late Erle of Kildare, of malyce pretensed, not oonlie procured John Telyng and Nicholas Wafer to put violant handes upon the moost reverend Father in God, Lorde John Alen, of good memorie, late Archbusshop of the said Sea of Dublin, Prymat of Irlond, takyng him prysoner at Houth within the dioces of Dublin, and from thens conveyeng hym to Tartayne[1] in the same diocesse; but also, in the same, he, the said Thomas, accompaned with John Fitz Gerold and Olyver Fitz Gerold, bredern to the said late Erle, James Delahide, Edwarde Rookes, and dyverse other evyll disposed persones, moost shamefullie, tyrannyusly, and cruellie murdred and put to death the said Archbusshop[2]; for which execrable, abhomynable, detestable, and dampnable acte, accordyng to the prescriptes and ordynaunce of Holy Churche, we publishe and declare the said Thomas Fitz Gerold, John Fitz Gerold, Olyver Fitz Gerold, James Delahide, Edwarde Rookes, John Telyng, Nicholas Wafer, and all other, which gave commandment, counsaill, favor, helpe, ayde, assistaunce, comeforte, or consentid to the same, or after thacte commytted, ded ratifie, accept, approve, or wilfullie defende it, or socor or receyve any suche said personnes, to be excommunicate, accursed, and anathemazate. And to thentent all Cristen people may the rather take knowlege therof, and avoyde and eschue the daunger of the same, we invocate and call in vengaunce against the said Thomas, and every of the persones aforesaid, the celestiall place of Heven, with all the multitude of angels, that they be accursed before them, and in ther sight, as spirittes condempned; and the devell to stand and be in all ther doinges, on ther right hand, and all ther actes to be synfull, and not acceptable before God. Been they, and every of thaym, cast owt from the company of Cristen people, as dampned creaturs, and all that they shall doo, to be done in ther dampnable offence and syne. Lett thaym be put owt of ther

[1] This place is also named Tartayne in the Act of Attainder, elsewhere Ardtayne. It is now called Artane.

[2] The murder was committed 28th July 1534.

howses and mansyons, which oder men may take, and put to decay and ruyne; ther labors to be frustrat from all goodnes. Lett no man be to thaym mercyfull, and ther memorie for ever in the erth to be forgotten. God Almighty may raygne upon thaym the flames of fyer and sulfure, to ther eternall vengeaunce, and that they may cloth thaym selfs with the malediction and high curse, as they dayly cloth them with ther garmentes; the water of vengeaunce may in the inner partes of ther bodies, as the mary is ther bonnes. Been they, and every of thaym, gyrded with the gyrdels of malediction and curses. Been they, and every of thaym, parte takers with the wycked Pharoo, and Nero, Herode and Jude, the proditors of Jhesu Crist, and with Daron and Abyron, whoom the erthe swalowed qwyck, so may they disend into hell qwyck. O good Lorde, send to thaym, and every of thaym, hunger and thyrst, and stryke thaym, and every of thaym, with pestilens, till they, and every of thaym, be consumed, and ther generation clene radycat and delytit of this worlde, that ther be no memorie of thaym. Stryke thaym, and every of thaym, also with suche leapre, that from the hiest parte of the heed to the sole of ther fote ther be no hole place. Stryke them, also, with madnes, blyndnes, and woodnes of mynde, that thay may palpe and clayme, also handle as blynde men dothe in darknes. And furder been they cursed, and put from the company of all Cristen people, for they cannot have paynes according ther deservyng. And by thauctorite aforsaid, we do declare interdict the place, wher the same Archbusshop was killed; which interdiction we will to be observed accordyng thordynaunce of Holy Church in this behalf; and lykewise do interdict all cities, landes, townes, castels, willages, all maner of chapels, and all other places, wherin the said cursed persons been, or anny of thaym be, or at anny tyme hereafter shalbe, come, or resorte unto; willing and commandyng all spirituall persons of this dioces and provynce of Dublin, upon payne of the lawe, to cease from administration of all devyne service, as longe as the said Thomas Fitz Gerold, John Fitz Gerold, Olyver Fitz Gerold, James Delahyde, John Telyng, Nicholas Wafer, Edward Rookes, or anny other of the said cursed persones, or anny of thaym, shalbe present, and so contynue thre dayes after ther departure. And also, by the same auctorite, decre them, and every of thaym, to be deprived of all spirituall honors, dygnites, offices, benyfyces, and all other ecclesiastycall profightes and commodites, what so ever they bee, which they now possesse; and inhabill thaym, and every of thaym, to receyv or accept anny other lyke, in tyme to come. Furder, by the same auctorite, we excommunicate and curse all persones, thoos, and in the cases which the law permittith, except which, after due knowlege, thexecutyon of this sentence of the great curse; and specially the servauntes and famyliers of the said cursed persones, that from hensforth shall do anny service, kepe cumpany,

cumpany, famyliarite, talke, comon, speke, ayde, comforte, or socor the said Thomas Fitz Gerold, John, Olyver Fitz Gerold, James, John, Nycholas, or Edward, or any other present at the kylleng of the said Archbusshop, gyveng commandment, counsayleng, favoryng, helpyng, aydeng, assystyng, comfortyng, or consentyng to the said murder, and either afterward ratifieng, approvyng, or willfully defendyng the same acte, and all thoys which shall mynister, or gyve unto thaym, or anny of thaym, meate, drynke, water, fyer, dresse ther sustenaunce, or gyve anny of thaym anny maner of comforte or helpe. And to the terror and feare of the said dampnable persons, in signe and fygure, that they be accursed of God, and ther bodies gyven and commytted into thandes of Satan and Lucyfer, we have ronge thes belles, erecte this crosse with the fygure of Crist, &c. And as ye see thes candelles light taken from the crosse, and the light quenched, so be the said cursed murderers and rebellyous persons agaynst the lawes of God, and our Moder Holy Churche, excluded and seperated from the light of Heven, the feliship of angels, and all Cristen people, and shalbe sent to the low derknes of fendes and dampned creaturs, among whom everlastyng paynes dooth indure. And thes thre stones, which we cast towardes ther inhabitacions, is done to the terror of thaym, that they may the soner come to grace, in token of the vengaunce which God toke against lyke cursed persones, called Dathon and Abyron, being so detestable in the sight of God, that the erth opened and swalowed them qwyck into hell. Yet trustyng that Our Salvyor, Jhesu Crist, of His infynite mercye, may call them to grace of repentaunce, and amendesment of this ther execrable offence, ye shall devotlie pray with us. " Revelabunt Celi iniquitatem," &c. cum Spalmo " Deus laudem." Fiat. Fiat. Amen.

(Superscribed)

To Mr Lyveutennaunt at the
Kynges Tower of London [1].

LXXXII. John Alen *to* Crumwell.

My honorable and most singuler good Master, my humble dutie remembred. What I shall omitte to advertise your goodnes, either of the late jornay made by Mr. Thesaurer to Waterford, or any other procedingis here, I doubt not ye

[1] This copy must have been transmitted to the Lieutenant of the Tower, for the purpose of being communicated to Kildare, who was his prisoner. Several passages of this sentence of excommunication are given by Coxe.

shalbe advertised by his letters, and others; also, by the true reporte of this berer. Beseching your Mastership, of your most gentill humanitie and goodnes, to accept my true meaneng, faithfull intente, and ardaunte desire in the service of my Prince, and furtherance of his causes, for his honor and profight, and not to take respect to the rude maner of my writing. This berer can advertise you, more at large, how moche it greaveth M^r^. Thesaurers harte and myne, and what paynes and daunger it is unto us, to consider and see the chargis, which the Kingis Majestie susteynethe, for finding of this army here, and not soche service doon for it, as mought be; but the Kingis landes and subjectes dailie brente and destroied, withought provision for the defence of the same, which is not for the Kingis honor, this army being here but a grete incorageng of his ennemies. For whiles we wer in the said jornay, having with us litle above 300 horsemen, we passed and repassed thorought the counties of Kildare and Cartlagh, and by Mac Morgho, and Omore. In which jornay, the traiditour[1], with Omore, and all his frindes, durst never sett upon us, by night ne daie. Nevertheles, in the meane tyme, accompained with the number of 60 or 80 horsemen, at the most, and aboute 300 kerne and galloglas, he cam to the towne of Trym, and ther robbed not oonlie the same, but also brente a grete parte therof, and toke all the cataill of the countrie theraboughtes, and after that assaulted Dunboyne, within sex miles to Dublin; and thinhabitauntes of the towne, defending them selves by the space of too daies, and sending for socour to Dublin, in which place lay the residewe of the horsemen, M^r^. Brewton and M^r^. Salisbury, with ther retynewes hoolly, and in defaulte of releve he utterlie destroied and brente the hooll towne. After all which hurtes doon, the Deputie, with thadvise of the said too capitaynes, befor our retourne, toke a treuge with him, untill the morne after the Fest of the Epiphane, which, as me semeth, was nothing honorable. And Oneile, on thother side, invaded, praied, and brente, parte of the Baron of Slanes landes, all Betaghes landes, and a grete parte of the countie of Uriell.[2]

The

[1] Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

[2] In the State Paper Office there is an abstract of the despatches from Ireland, from the 14th of October 1534 to the 23d of March 1535, some of which are lost. It is there stated, that the Deputy and Brereton, on the 15th of November, went from Dublin to Dunshaughlin, and that the traitor then shewed himself near Trim, and that seven or eight score of his company were slain, and 100 horses taken, and that Trim was committed to Richard Fitzgerald with forty horsemen, and all the gentlemen of the country were commanded to aid him. From thence the Deputy and Brereton returned to Dublin. On the 1st of December they took the castle of Kildare, and left twenty men to keep it; but within six days it was retaken by the traitor, who went from thence to Trim, and retook it in two hours. The traitor then desired a truce from the 19th of December until the morrow after the Twelfth Day, within which time Edward Fitzgerald, one of the traitor's captains, was taken, and imprisoned in Dublin Castle. On the 5th of January 1535, 700 men were sent by the

The gentilmen, and the Kingis poor subjectes, crie and resorte to us daily for defence, but our peple will not oute of Dublin. Sir, as I and M^r^. Thesaurer have advertised you hertofor, this rebell cannot be subdued, ne the Kingis landes preserved from utter destruccion, if the Kingis army, although they were 10ten thousande in number, contyneu thus in Dublin. Assuring, it is evidently knowen, if they had setto the subdueng of him (as he thought him self we wold), I have perfite knowlege by thois, which have privay intelligence with him, he loked for non other, but to be banished a monethe past. And now, by our negligente lieng in Dublin, which is situate in Irelande, as it wer Dover in Inglande, farr from the defence of thooll realm, he groweth in pride and strength agayne. Wherfor it shalbe best both the King, and your Mastership, write to the Deputie and the capitaynes, to approche nigh to the warre, and leve Dublin and Drogheda; for ye shall never have good service doon, untill ye prohibitt them to demore in thois placis. And wold God some of the capitaynes here had been yit at home, as this berer shall advertise you. This traditor, at the most, may not make above an 100 men on horsebacke, and 300 footemen, wherof is not oon archer, ne 10ten handgunnes. He carieth no ordenaunce with him, wherof shuld men be in feare. And if he be not quickely setto, he is in purpoose to brenne Trym, the Nowan, Athboy, the Naas, Kildare, and other incorporate townes, les Inglishmen shuld garison them selves, be lodged, and vitteld in the same; wherin if he be not prevented, he shall make the Kingis domynyon wast, and therby inforce the army to kepe Dublin and Drogheda, with moch penurie of victels. Also, if he be not quickelie setto, he intendeth, like a desperate harlot, by the advise of Omore, to breke his awne garrisons, and brenne his landes, to thende that Inglishmen shulde not keape garrison in them, ne have any profight of them. May it plese your honorable Mastership, I am informed by parte of thois which be secrete with him, that by no counsaile ne persuasion he cannot be induced to summitt him self to the King, as a subjecte, but openlie bostethe that he expecteth for an army, at this somer, ought of Spayne, cumforting his frindes therwith, and of late hathe appointed the officiall of Mith, who with thofficiall of the Bishop of Armachan, the Deane of Kildare, Parson Walshe, the Bishop of Killalo, and certen other papistis, hath been his lerned coun-

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the Deputy to keep Trim; and Brereton, Salisbury, Dacres, Musgrave, and Aylmer were sent to keep the Newcastle, Lyons, Colmeston, Rathcole, and Tassagard. They went eight miles into the county of Kildare, and there preyed upon the traitor's towns, who, with OMore and Cahir OConor, feigned an attack on Brereton, but dared not abide battle. By the advice of the Council they were sent to burn Maynooth, where there was a skirmish, in which thirteen rebels were slain, and the army, with a small loss, burnt five or six towns.

sailours

sailours in all theis maters against the King and his Crowne, with moch of his faders thesaur with him, to take shippeng at Sligo, in a Spaynarde ship, towarde Spayne[1], and from thens to Rome; and hath sente with him diverse oold munymentes and presidentes, which shuld prove that the Kinge holde this land of the See of Rome; alledging the King and his realme to be heretiques, digressed from thobedience of the same, and the faith Catholique; wherfor his desire and request is to the Emperor, and the Bishop of Rome, that they will aide him in the defence of the faithe Catholique against the Kinge, promising that he will holde the saide lande of them, and paie tribute for the same yerelie. For the soner redres of this, his inordinate traiterous intente, my simple advise shalbe, that if ever the King intende to shewe him grace, (which him self demaundeth not in due maner) as to pardon him, to withdrawe his chargis, and pardon him oughte of hande, orellis to sende hither a proclamation under the Grete Seale of Inglande, that the King never intende to pardon him, ne any that shall take parte with him after that proclamation, but utterlie to prosecute both him and them to ther utter confusion. For the gentilmen of the countrie hath saide plainely to diverse of the Counsaile, that untill this be doon, they dare not be ernest in resisteng of him, in doubte he shuld have his pardon herafter, as his graundfader, his fader, and diverse his auncessours, have had; and than wold prosecute them for the same: and it is thought clerelie that this proclamation will cause many, bothe Irishe and Inglishe, to forsake him. And, to be playn to your good Mastership, if the army will take payne to goo abroode, as they shuld do, it will not be longe or he be subdued; for thinhabitauntes of the countrie dare not make any defence against him, onles they may see parte of our army among them, to assist and maynteyne them. Wold God, your Mastership knew, how negligently, and how faintelie, this mater is handeld; it maketh the hartes of us poor Inglishmen to blede within. But for the quicker redres herof to better purpoos, lett the Deputie, thErle of Ossery, and other the capitaynes, be commaunded to assemble all ther powers, and repaire into the countie of Kildare, takeng and wardeng asmany of the garrisons ther, as they may gett, and take the gentilmens hostagis of the countrie, and than lett the Deputie cesse ther asmany horsemen and footemen for the Kinge, as the rebell now hathe. And, Sir, amonge all other thingis, ther must be a Mershall appointed ought of hande, which may be no Walshman; in default wherof ther was never army furder ought of order than this is, for they robbe bothe frinde and foo, and smaly regarde the Deputie, and moch les any of the Counsaile.

[1] According to Stanihurst, Dominick Power was sent to the Emperor to crave his aid, and carried presents to him from Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

Wherfor

Wherfor ther must be an order taken, that they shall dispoile no man within thInglishrie, otherwise then shalbe aggreid by the Deputie and Counsaile, for ellis the lande shalbe lefte wast, and the King loose his profight of ther fines, and otherwise, as the law will. Albeit Sir Rice Mansfild, which cam downe hither at this tyme, is a discrete man, and doth not oonlie order his cumpany verie well, but also is conformable to the order of the Deputie and Counsaile, to do the King service right willinglie hitherto.

Within theis 2 or three daies Edwarde Fitz Gerald is taken, which, next James Delahide, hath been the chief capitayne in this traiterie. For feare and example of like malefactors, may it plese your honorable Mastership to advertise the Deputie, that he, and Broode, and soch others, may be justified according ther demerites; and my Lord of Shrewsburie to be advertised that Rookes, which was taken comeng to lande at his towne of Waxforde, with his ship and ordenaunce in the same (wherof parte was the Kingis awne), be delyvered to the Deputie and Counsaile.

Our Deputie is oolde, and by reason of sickenes may not, as yet, take paynes, as a capitayne in this jornay shuld require; wherin a remedie must be had, for if this army wer in good order, and stirred abroode quickelie, all men will, and must, give over the traitors parte; but the number of the northen horsemen is soore disminished, and withoute them no notable exploite can be doon, neither to defende, ne invade. Wherfor it is thought by any that have thexperience of this warr, that it were necessarie to have 200 more of them, with some hardie capitayne, althought the number of the Walshe horsemen, and parte of the Walsh footemen, shuld be abated in stedd of the same. And because men shall not saie, as some now saie in deade, that I, and M^r^. Chief Baron, give counsaile to drawe men abrode to daungers, as they saie, where we will not, ne dare not, goo our selfis, albeit that we have lost in the Kingis service all that we had, and have neither recompense therfor, ne yit interteynement to this purpoos; and although, as your Mastership knoweth, it is not meate ne honest for us, but daunger, to be in an army withoute cumpany, whom we may trust to attende upon us for our defence; if it shalbe the Kingis pleasure and yours, that we may have, at our awne election, 24 speremen, and sex archers or gunners on horsbacke at our leading and commaundement, we shalbe redie to attende upon the said army dayly, wher so ever they goo: and peradventur your Mastership shall perceive and knowe, that we shall do as good service as so many men shall doo in all the army, and that on soche wise, as we trust, ye shall saie we shalbe occasion of good service doing. Also, where by the Kingis last letters to the Deputie, it is mentioned that the capitaynes shall departe Dublin, and goo abroode with the Deputie to all

jornaies

jornaies and placis requisite, Sir, ye muste understonde, that for defence of this rebell, the army may not lie in oon place oonlie, but in diverse townes and garisons, except at soche tymes as they shall goo in a mayne jornay. Wherfor they must be advertised by other letters, that they shall not oonlie goo with the Deputie, but lie in any other place, where he and the Counsaile shall appointe. For, peradventur, some men seke mor ther awne advantage and ease, than they studie waies to subdue this arante traditor. I see, by dailie experience, that thappointeng of capitaynes of this army to be of the Privaie Counsaile hath doon raither hinderance, than otherwise; for now, being Counsailors, they may chose, whether they will assente or not to an interprise. After my simple mynde, it were farr better they shuld, in this caas, be commaunded, than commaunders; for the Deputie, the Lord Chauncelor, thErle of Osserie, the Lord Butler his son, the Baron of Delven, and soche other besidis, as be appoincted of the Privay Counsaile here by your letters, with thassistance and hartie furtherance of M^r^. Thesaurer, know better the maner of the warr of this land, the power of the traditor, the placis for defence of him, and the meanes to subdue him, than all the capitaynes in Ingland, except my Lorde of Norfolkis Grace; and besides ther knowlege, the quiete, welthe, and liveng of them lieth upon the same, which will inforce men to use annother manner of ernest faction therin, than straungers. In this, and all other thingis, may it plese you to give credence to this berer, Edward Becke. And thus Jhesu preserve your right honorable Mastership. From Dublin, the 26 day of December.

Sir, as I oones motioned you, I trust the Comons of Ingland will graunt the King an 100000 £ for subdueng of this fals traitor, and his partakers, which so cruelly and most spitfully conspired against the King and Inglishmen. Howbeit, that sum could not have served the purpoos, if thErle of Ossorie, and the castel of Dublin had given over. That castel shuld be otherwise provided for herafter.[1]

Your continuall most bounden Orator,

(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

LXXXIII. BRABAZON *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

PLEASITH it your honourable Maistership to be advertised, that my Lord Deputie haith bene verie sore seke, and now he is sumwhat amendyd, so that he intendeth to ley seege to Mynouth the Tewysday in the second weke of

[1] The last paragraph is added in Alen's own writing.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

Lent.

Lent. Sir Rice Maunxell, Leonerd Skeffyngton, and M^er^ Eglionby lie at Trym, 20 mylez from Dublyn, accompanyed with 5 hundreth men or their aboutes. Sir William Brereton, and M^ter^ Salesbury, and their retynue, with the retynue of Dacrez and Musgrave, lie at Newcastell, and other townez, syx mylez from Dublyn. Sir John Seyntlow, with his retynue, lie at Waterford, Kilkenny, and in the countie of Wasshford, where my Lord of Osserey doeth assigne them; who haith done high service, and is a right true lord to his Prynce. The capiteyns do right well their duetiez, seth their departyng from Dublyn; notwithstandyng the traytour, with a small cumpeny, dailie doeth much harme in burnyng and robbyng. I trust, if ther have bene eny slouth, now it will amend. Purcell, Brode, and other perottes of the see, be hangyd drawne and quartered, accordyng their demerites. We may not be hastie in doyng of execucion, unto suche tyme as the countrey be more at the Kinges commaundement. Bathe, the lerned man, I put to the castell, for his accompt of the Underthesaurer. I dowbte not but, or he depart, he shall make a true accompt for his offences committed ayenst the Kinges Grace. I thinke clerelie much sute wilbe made to the Kinges Grace for meny traytoures. Sir, suche as were hed offenders, capiteyns and leders of men in this high rebellion, grete pitie it were that ever eny suche shuld have the Kinges pardon; for, if due punisshement doo nowe ensue, it wilbe an example in Irelond evermore hereafter. Muche sute wilbe made for possessions, and the Kinges wardes, to the Kinges Grace. Sir, I trust His Grace will remember his chargez, and not to be hastie therein. Mocions, as I am enfourmed, wilbe made for the countie of Carlogh, now wasted; it is the feyrest cuntrey of all Irelond, and verie easie to be kept. Meny letters have bene sent from the Irisshe men to my Lord Deputie, of ther good myndes towerd the Kynges Grace; notwithstandyng the borderers, as Oconer, Oraillie, and other, have much robbed the cuntrey seth oure landyng. There is not oon of them, but that will take his advauntage, when he seeth his tyme; albeit now they withdrawe them selffes from the traytour, so that, at this day, he is of no power, except kern, and certeyn horsemen. I dowbte not, but your Maistership, or this tyme, have sent the Kinges tresure to the see side, which, if it were in Irelond, wold coumfort meny a souldeour that now wanteth money; and more then I have borowed will not be had in thiez partiez. Diverz of the northern men have conveyed them selffes secretlie from their capiteyns; wherfore, as me semeth, it were requesite that the Kinges letters might be sent to the wardens of the marchez to make serche for such souldeoures, as departed without lycence, and sum punisshement to be done to them, wherby other may take example. I have receyved but small revenuez of the Bysshop of Dublyn

landes[1], for it was resceyved or the cummyng of the army, and the poore men much enpoverisshed. The Kinges revenuez in Ireland be right small, his customez oonlie excepted[2]; and yet, that notwithstandyng, sundry merchauntes have opteyned letters for the fermez of them, which I doo stey, and so entend, for sundry causez that I see, which hereafter wold be prejudiciall to the Kinges Grace. And thus I beseche Jhesu to have in hys custodie the King, our moost drad Sovereign Lord, youre honourable Maistership, with all the Kinges moost honourable Councell of England. From Dublyn, this 15th day of Februarie.

By your humble Servaunt,

(*Signed*) Willm̃ Brabazon.

(*Superscribed*)
To his right honourable Maister, Mter Secretorie to the Kinges Highnes.

LXXXIV. John Alen *to* Crumwell.[3]

My humble dutie and commendacion premised. May it plese your right honourable Mastership to be advertised, that sines my last writing unto the same by Edward Becke[4], the Kinges affaires here been, in effecte, in the same astate. And my Lord Deputie now, by the space of 12 or 13 wekes, hath continewed in sikenes, never oones going ought of his howse, ne as yit is not recovered; which hath been, and is, a gret hinderance to the setting forthward of the Kinges warres. And, in the meane tyme, the rebell hath brent moch of the countrie; trusting, if he may be sufferde, to wast and desolate thInglishry, wherby he thinke to inforce this army to departe. Sir, as I hertofor advertised you, this rebell had been banished ought of all thies parties, or now, if all men had doon ther devours. But, to be playne to you, except ther be a Marshall

[1] The See of Dublin still remained vacant. George Brown, who succeeded, was not consecrated till March 1536, and the revenues received by the Crown, sede vacante, amounted to £623. 5*s*. 8*d*.

[2] Brabazon's total receipt, as Under Treasurer and Receiver General of Ireland, for three years, ending at Michaelmas 1537, was £14438. 11*s*. 3½*d*.; of which £1281. 6*s*. 8*d*. arose from customs, and £2836. 14*s*. 11*d*. from a subsidy; and there were two large sources of revenue, which did not exist at the date of the above letter, viz. £3356. 12*s*. 11¾*d*. from the lands forfeited for treason in the Geraldine rebellion, and £1182. 3*s*. from the possessions of the suppressed monasteries, £938. 2*s*. 3*d*. from their lands, and £244. 0*s*. 9*d*. from their jewels, &c.

[3] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 53.

[4] The despatch of the 26th of Dec. 1534 (which is printed p. 219.) was sent by Edward Beck, as appears by Alen's original instructions to him, which remain in the State Paper Office. Among Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B., is a letter from Beck (signed "Edward Beck of Manschester") to Crumwell, dated from Holyhead the 10th of February, when on his return to Ireland, from whence he had been driven back to the Welsh coast by contrary winds. In this letter he informs the Secretary, that a small boat had come in from Dublin, by which he had obtained a report of several of the facts particularized in the letter above printed.

appointed,

appointed, which must do streite correccion, and tharmy prohibited from resorting to Dublyn, the King shall never be well served, but his purpoos long dilaid. And my Lord Deputie, on thother side, desireth so moch his awne glorie, that he wolde no man shulde make an interprice, except he wer at it. I wold, lord, gentleman, and yeoman shuld do, what thei mought, in the Kinges service. Also, according myn other letters, a restraint to be had, that this army shall not spoile ne robbe any person, but as the Deputie and Counsaile shal appoint; and that the capitains be obedient to ther orders, orelles it will not be well; ne it is not meate, that every soldeour shall make every man a traitour, for to have his goodes; the King may have them by annother meane. Thei be so nosild in this robberie, that now almost thei will not goo furth to defende the countrie, or otherwise, onles they know to have gayne. For redres of theis, and many other enormities, and taking payne ernestlie in the subduing of this rebell, the Kinges Highnes must write his severall streite commaundementes to all the capitaines, and especiallie to M^r^. Brereton and M^r^. Salisburie; for if thei two do ther duties, I suppose thothers woll do likewise; and, thei so doing, your Mastership, God willing, shall not neade to doubt, but this somer, with this army (onles tharmy of Spayne come here, according theis traditours firme trust and expectacion), the King shall have his purpoos against theis miscreant wretchis, which conspired to have murdred his noble person, if thei mought have had commination and power therto. Annother gret hinderance of the Kinges causes is lacke of money, wherby M^r^. Brabazon is in caas that he may not speeke and do for the furtherance of them, as he ded whan he had. Your Mastership knowith the rudenes of an army, whan they lacke wages. Sir John Seyntlow lieth in Waterford, and we can not have him hitherwarde, in default of wages. M^r^. Brabazon made all the shifte possible for the last pay day to tharmy here; and on Friday last, thei shuld have been paid agayne; and except money come shortelie, I fear me the King shalbe evel served. As I have oft tymes advertised you hertofor, M^r^. Brabazon taketh gret paynes, and hath doon the King high service here. When he hath money, he is bolde, and wil tell every man his defaultes; but whan he lacketh money, his harte is goon. I am suer many a tyme, within theis 2 monethes, he hath wished that ye had tied him in a cheane, whan ye him sent hither. May it please you to remember, that his wages[1] is not sufficient for him, considering the charge he hath, and the paynes and labours which he susteyneth; for in good faith, as

[1] Brabazon, at this time, besides his office of Under Treasurer and Receiver General, held also that of Treasurer of the War in Ireland. Some of his accounts, in each character, are in the State Paper Office, from whence it appears, that his fee, for the former office, was £66. 13*s*. 4*d*. a year, and his wages, for the latter, were 6*s*. 8*d*. a day.

farr as I can perceive, no man, noither Deputie ne other, is at soch charge as he is; but of oon thing I am suer, non of them take like paynes. Also this army want bowis and arows and stringes, and many other habylymentes of warr, for this army, as it is now; for the lyvery, which came ought of the towne, was but for the Deputie, and an 150 men; and as for the bows, which came oute of Ludlow castell, wer nought, for many of them wold not holde the bendinge.

This Terme, Broode, the traditours admirall, with certen of his felaws, and oon Purcell, which stale the ship ought of the Tamyse, and was now a gret capitaine under this traditour, wer arrayned in the Kinges Benche, and attainte of high treason, and adjudged to be hange drawen and quartered, and had execution accordinglie. But, at leisure, ther must be some of the gret cobbes served likewise, and the King to have ther landes likewise, as, God willing, he shall have thErle of Kildares in possession, or somer passe. We have in warde, in the castell of Dublyn, Dam Jenet Ewstace, Sir Walter De la Hides wif, which was thErle of Kildares aunt[1], and most of secretes with him; and, by all probable conjectur, she was the chief counsailour and stirrer of this inordinate rebellion. She is the traditours foster moder; and by the Delahides, her, her 2 sonnes, James and John, Thomas Ewstace, which is her nephew, the same was begonne, and hitherto is maynteyned and upholden; and the tyme that this army scomfited the traditour, and had him in chase, for his socour he fled, with him self and a boy, to her, into Delahides castel of Balyna, and ther was rescued. Also we have in warde in the said castell, Roose Ewstace[2], which waited on my Ladie of Kildar, untill thErle of Kildare was committed to the Towre; and after, as ye know, with the said Erles doughter, privailie stale hither, and put this mater forthwarde. Also we have in warde, likewise, the Redd Bath[3], that fals traditour. Furder, as I advertised you befor, Edward Fitz Gerald, son and heire to Sir John Fitz Gerald, and broder, by the moder,

[1] Lord Kildare's mother was Alison Eustace, a daughter of Lord Portlester.

[2] She appears from Beck's letter to have been daughter of Janet. Robert Relye, in his examination before quoted, p. 183, says, that about eight weeks after he had entered into the service of Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, an Irishman of Kilcullen, who had had business in London, came to Lord Thomas, in the examinant's presence, and gave him recommendations from the Earl of Kildare, and delivered to him a little heart of silver gilt, and a pair of black dice, and said to him, in Irish, that he should play the gentlest part, and should not trust to the King's Council there, for, if he did, he should be brought perforce into England, and there should lose his life; and that he should keep himself out of the way, as much as he might. Relye adds, that about a month afterwards, there came to Fitzgerald, from the Earl, one Dr. Hykey, Edmund Nele, Catharine Fitzgerald, and Rose Eustace, but what message, letters, credence, or token they delivered to him or his uncles, he knows not. Relye deems James De la hide, Sir John Fitzgerald, and Parson Walsh, to have been Lord Thomas's chief advisers; but he took counsel of all his uncles, though Richard never bare him (as Relye imagines) good heart and favour.

[3] William Bath, of Dollardstown.

to

to that arand traditour Burnel[1], is in prison. He is indighted of high treason towching the Kinges person; but we dare not arrayne him uppon the same, untill the King, or you, commaunde it; for he is nigh kynne to certen of the capitaynes, which openlie kepe the said Burnel in ther cumpanies, daielie waiting upon them. The said Edward and Burnell, next James Delahide, wer most executours of this vengeance. All men in effecte, both Irish and Inglish, be in purpoos to forsake this traditour, if his garrisons wer taken. Wherfor it shalbe best both the King and you write to the capitaines, that at this Marche thei set to the taking of Maynoth, Portlester, Rathangan, Cartlagh, Lye[2], and the bridge of Athie[3]; and this doon, though the Spanyardes come, thei shall not be able to maynteyne him within the countie of Kildare, but he shall seche annother place. He hath conveied all his substaunce, and the most of his ordenaunce, into the castell of Lye. If the money and bowis come, we shall besiege Maynoth on Saint Mathies day next; otherwise that appointment can not take effecte. I sende you herin closed, the copie of an examination against Richard Delahide, late Justice[4], and the copie of a letter of thErle of Ossories, which I sende you for non other purpoos, but for the clause towching the expectacion of the comeng of the Spanyardes[5].

Plese

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[1] John Burnell of Ballygriffin. [2] Lea, in Queen's County. [3] On the Barrow, in Kildare.

[4] He was appointed Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, during the King's pleasure, in 1532, and his patent was revoked in Oct. 1534.

[5] The following letter from the Earl of Ossory was inclosed:

" Pleas it your honorable Lordship to be advertised, that at the commyng to Kylkenny of your " late letters, which were of the 2d and 5th daye of Januarij, I was in the borthers of Yoghull, " treating there not oonly to have alurid these pretendid Erls of Dessmond[1] to sum good concorde, " wherby they mought joyne ther poers in oon to serve the King truly in this great nede, but, in " case I coulde bryng the same to noo good effect, to devise policie to kendill ther discorde, " wherby they shuld be the rather lettid to joyne in oon with the adversarie parte; so as I coulde " not receyve your said letters befor this day. And where as by the tenour, aswell of theim, as of " other letters, whiche I receyvid, also, from dyvers of the Kynges Counsaile there, I do perceyve " ye thinke requysit, and also right expedient, that my son James, with 60 horssmen, or with suche " number as I thought convenyently to be sparid oute of thes parties, shuld repayere to be in " holding with you there for a season. My Lord, I am of none other mynde, but utterly fyxt and " disposid allwaye reddy to bestowe my service and his, in every place, where your Lordship and " the Kinges Counsaile shall thinke propice and necessarie, to have the Kinges moste gracious " intended purpose touching the prosecuting and condigne punysment of his rebells, and the " reduccion of this his land to good ordre.

" Thes pretendid Erls of Dessmond have great domynions under theim, and bene of great poer, " if ther awne discention were not cause of ther severaunce. Ther have suche a cankerid malicious " rebellion rotid in theym, evyr sithens the putting to execucion of oon Thomas, Erle of Dessmond[2],

[1] On the death of Thomas Earl of Desmond, at an advanced age, in 1534, the succession was controverted between his brother John, and his grandson James, son of Maurice. The controversy terminated by James being treacherously slain in August 1535, by Maurice, the second son of John.

[2] Thomas, the 8th Earl, who was beheaded at Drogheda, 15th Feb. 1467.

" at

Plese it you to remember for the King, thexchaunge for Cartlagh and Waxford, and thother landes (wherof it was commoned befor the King, in your presence), now whiles this army is here, that thei may maynteyne the atteyneng of the possession therof. The King, ne any of that realme, can atteyne any thing within the counties of Kildar or Cartlagh, but by conqueste; wherefor do therin what shalbe thought good to you.

John Teling, which toke my Lord of Dublyn, and brought him to the place wher he was killed, is deade in Maynoth; and befor he died, he was striken with most fowle leprie, and his privaie membres rotted from him,

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" at Droghedaa, that they ben asferr seperated from the knowlege of any duetie of alegeaunce, " that a subgiet oght to owe his Prince, as a Turke is to beleve in Christ. Thei blasfeme the " King; thei have ther ears and ies open, every daye gaping to have asistence in this highe rebellion " oute of Spayne.

" And ower that, yf I did not, to my great cost and charge, kepe Obrens son, my son in lawe [1], " from yoyning with his father, and other his kynnesfolkes, the Brens, in maner as an outlawe uppon " his contre, they wold have joynid in werre with Thomas of Kyldare, or nowe.

" Also I am enformed that the Kellyes of Imane, in Connayght, be preparing, to goo in at West " Mithe, to ayde the said Thomas with 160 horssmen; and I, being soo enformed, have sent to " McWilliam of Clanricarde, and to Richard Burges sonnes, whiche ben my lovers and frendes, " lying in the bake syde of the sayde Kellies, and instantly deasyrid theim, as evyr thei wolle doo " me any acceptable goodnes or frendly pleasure, to anoy the said Kellies in ther baksyde, yf thei " attempt any suche thing, wherby thei mought be the lesse able to go to geve him any suche " asistence; and for ther so doyng I have promysid theim the Kynges rewarde and highe thankes.

" Your Lordship knowes better then I can tell, what great charge the Kyng is at, and that these " 60 or 80 horssmen after this countre facion, and 120 sparris of galloglas, that my son must of " necessitie have with him, shuld put His Grace to a greater charge, then all the retynue, that I " have here of myne awne, daylie doing His Grace service, puttith him to. Nevyr the lesse, if " your Lordship and the Kinges Counsaile conclude that he shall goo thether, you must provide " that the Kinges armye of horssmen maye cum against him to the borthers of Catherlagh, for I " can spare no more men for his salve conducting thether, then shall remayne in his retynue there. " Therfor loke, what so evyr daye and houre after Candlemas that your Lordship woll apoynt to be " at Leiswodd, my said son shall not fayle to be there with theim, God willing. And as for Sir John " Sentlos repayer thether, he must be at your Lordships commaundement. Howe be it, that I can " full evill spare him oute of this countre; therfor I beseche your Lordship that he may remayne " here still. I have here to for, uppon your former motion made unto me of an holding, broght " into my countre an holding of 120 horssmen, whiche I kept here, to the great charge of my " countre, the space of sixe wyckes, and were allway demaunding me what wages thei shuld have " of your Lordship; so as suche strangiers, as I must send thether with my son, because I can " not spare the horssmen of myne awne countre, woll nedis knowe what wagis your Lordship woll " geve a horssman a daye. Your Lordship must consider that every horssman must have 3 horsses " and 3 kepers, and therfor that your Lordship do force that ther wagis may be ratid after suche " maner, as thei may have a lyving, as the market gothe there, and therin to certifye me your " determynat answere with the next brynger of your letters. And this the Blessid Trynytie send " Your Lordship prosperous helth and good counsaile. Wryttin the 17th day of Januarij."

(*Indorsed by Alen*)

" The copy of thErle of Ossories letter to the Deputie."

[1] See note to p. 171.

and

and his root boll, and all his necke rotted. And Waffer, his other companyon, is striken with the Frenche pockes, and the fallen evell.

Sir, whan my Lord Deputie writeth unto you in his awne praise and glorie, M^r^. Brabazon and I advise to beleve not all the same; and to write unto him, that we may see the Kinges letters and instructions; for he kepith all thing secrete from us, the Kinges commissions, and other, wherin we be auctorised with him and others; so as in defaulte of sight of them, we cannot folow the Kinges pleasure, ne, for my parte, I can have accesse unto him to open thois thinges, which, in myn opinion, shuld conferr to the furtherance of the Kinges affaires. Also all the printed bookes, wich wer made ther by the King and his Counsaile, moche beneficiall for thorder of this land, and gret paynes your Mastership ded take in the divising and debating of them [1], he kepeth secrete, saing thei be lost. May it plese you to commaunde the printer to printe freslie 2 or 300 of them, and to sende them to M^r^. Brabazon and me; and, God willing, thei shalbe executed, as tyme shall requier. I trust your Mastership by your gret wisedom will so order the mater, that soche pour men, as I am, shall not be disclosed of any thing we shall write unto you; for, as ye know, displesure mought folow to us therby. And among other writinges to be sent hither from you, write a taunt to the Deputie and Counsaile in generall, that non of us take any bribes or rewardes; for, as ye know, this tyme is not meate therfor, considering the Kinges charges; and ye shall perceive herafter the Kinges causes shal succede the raither. So knowith God, who preserve your right honourable Mastership in long and prosperous lif, with increce of moche honour. From Dublyn, the 16 daie of February.

Your most bounden Oratour,

(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)

To my most singular and especiall good Maister,
Mr Crumwell, Principall Secretarie unto the
Kinges Highnes, and Master of the Rolles.

LXXXV. BOYS *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

AFTIR moste humble recommendacion. It may pleas your honorable Mastership to be advertiside, that the 8th day of Marche last past, I recevid your honorable letter, dated at London the 16th day of January next preceding, wherby I perceve the Kinges Graces pleasure is, that I shuld not onely delyver

[1] The Ordinances, printed in pp. 207 & seqq.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

unto

unto the Countas of Kildare, or to Thomas Houthe, hir attorney, all suche hir apparayll and rayment, as remayned in my custodie, but also to have certified His Highnes and his Counsaill, what other goodes and catels I had in my keping, that apperteyned to the late Erle of Kildare[1]. I certifie your Mastership, that immediatly after the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgerald, I surrendrid myn office of the Constableship of Maynothe, and utterly refused the same Thomas is service; who, in September last past, conveyd thens unto a castell in the Irishry, called the castell of Ley, aswell all the said Countasis apparayll and rayment, as all the substance, in effecte, belonging unto the said late Erle, so as, at the receipte of your letter, remayned nothing of the premisses in my custodie; and if ther had, I wold not have failed, to the uttermost of my litle power, to a fullfilled the tenour of your letter. As knowithe God, who have your most honorable Mastership in his custodie. Writtin at the Citie of Dublin, the 12th day of Marche.

Your humble servant at all commaundment,

(*Signed*) JAMYS BOYS.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Maister, Maister Secretarie unto the Kinges Highnes.

LXXXVI. SKEFFYNGTON *to* SIR EDMUND WALSINGHAM.[2]

RIGHT honerable and my moost especiall good Maister, myn humble duty remembred as apperteyneth. It may pleas you to be advertized, that synes my cummyng into Irlonde, ther was no jorney made, but that I was the setter forth therof in my persone; aswell when it was intendid a seage to be laid at the towne of Droghdae, for the levieng therof, as to the jorney to Trym, wher Thomas Fittz Gerolde, lyke a cowardly boy and traytour, was dreven to flye at sporres, and lost dyvers of his men and horseis with ther harnes, to his shamefull rebuke and reproche. And at my cummynge homeward from Tryme, which was the Sonday before Saynt Katerins day[3], there did fall suche a rayne as hath not been seene in thes parties; so that the fotemen wadid by the way to the middels in waters, which was pite to see, and that every man made as gret hast to Dublin, and to houseis nigh the same, for ther socours, as they

[1] Lord Kildare died in the Tower of London, 12th Dec. 1534.

[2] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 607. leaf 14. This letter appears, from the concluding sentence, to have contained the substance of the Lord Deputy's despatch of the same date to Crumwell, which has not been discovered to be extant.

[3] Nov. 22.

might,

might, and left the fotemen to come as they might. The Lordes Chauncelour, Busshop of Mith, and Gormanstown, with others gentilmen, also Dakers, with 16 speres of his company, which taried with me for the sayd fotemen that coulde not have defended themselfes with ther bowes, for ther stringes wer so weate, and moost of the fethers of ther arrowes fallen of. Ther came alarum that certayne horsemen of Thomas Fitz Gerolde wer laid at the wood ende of Killmaynan, for to have distressed the fotemen at a narough bridge, wher as no other passage was, but at the same. And I, hering therof, send in all hast that I could, to stay thordenaunce, which, as chaunce was, wer good peaces that day; and when I came at the bridge, I passed over all the fotemen, and left not one behinde. And that done, I laid the said ordenaunce at the moost advauntage, and shoot dyvers peces amonges them, and drave them from ther grownde, and brought, by that mean, the sayd fotemen saulflie to Dublin. And if I had not doon this, ther had been 3 or 400 of them killed and taken prisoners. And at my cummyng thether, ther was dyverse of the armye in Dublin, 4 howers before my cummyng. And that night my sykenes tooke me, which was the clere cause for socoring of the Kinges Grace retynue; and I am well assured ther sykened 100 more besides me, wherof, at the leest, I thinke 40 been dead, and at this day the Kinges Attourney[1], being oon of theaym, is in as evill case of his helth, as I am. Assuring your Maistership, that I was never so nigh the jepardie of death in my lif, and (thankes be to God) nowe well recoverid therof, and I trust past daunger; and, God willing, as sone as I shalbe habill to ride, I shall make that false traytour take as evill rest, as ever wretche had. Also it may pleas you to bee advertized, that synes my hether cummyng, all the cheif Irish lordes of the Northe (onely excepted Onell) hath written ther letters unto me, firmely promising ther service to the Kinges Grace, and his Deputie here, whose originall letters I send unto your Maistership herewith, to thentent ye shuld perceyve theffect and tenour of thaym; beseching you, that after the sight therof, ye wold saulfly retourne thaym to me, because I have as yet no other suraunce of thaym, but ther letters, yf they, or anny of thaym, (as I trust will not) wold vary from ther promises. And such a penury life, as the sayd traytour liveth this day, I thinke never wreche lyved in; and dought not but within this 10 dayes, God willinge, to make him that he shal not knowe wher to habide, or els it shall cost me my lif. For I have none other desire, under God, but to serve the Kinge according His Graces pleasur, which hetherto I dare habide the proif of the same by all thonerabels of this

[1] Thomas St. Lawrence.

lande. And in my deceas, Sir Rise Mansell, with his bande, and my sone, Leonard Skeffington, with 160 of my retynue wayting upon the Lorde Chauncellour, wer the furst that enterid in garisone at Trym, and in ther abode ther, have done right good explootes and acceptable service in noyeing the traytour and his folowers. And the rest of my company, at all tymes, hath gyven ther attendaunce on the Kinges Grace Thesaurour, whersoever he hath gone; whoo hath shewid him self of right good currage and conduct, which I wold not have thought that so good experience had been in feaw captains of the armye, and ther is no man that the armye wolde gladder folowe, than him. And for that litell substaunce that I had, or coulde make, I trust he will repourte, that I have shewed my self according my duty, and have spared nothinge thereof; and if I had anny more left, it shold be used after the same. And furder it may please you to be advertized, that I, with thadvice of the Kinges Grace Counsaill here, before Cristmas, discevered the armye to divers garisons; the Lordes Chauncelour, Bushopp of Mith, and Baron of Delven, Richard Fittz Gerold[1] (which is commen into the Kinges Grace service, and have no doubt but that he will contynue truely, as hitherto it hath proved), with Sir Rise Mansell and his retinue. Also Leonard Skeffington, with 160 archers on horseback of my retynue, which lieth for defence at Trym, Kenles, the Navon, and West Mith; and with them Agleebe, and his cumpany of the northeron speeres. And at an nother border, as at the Newcastell, Lyons, Tassagard, and Tallaught, Sir William Brewerton, Salisbury, Dakers, Sir James Fitz Gerold[1], Musgrave. And the saide Sir James is, in lyke case, commen to the Kinges service, and shewith him self lyke a true man. Also the Tolles, and OBrynnes; and they doo dayly right good explootes and service, aswell for the Kinges honour, as there owne furderaunce, and high proffittes to ther servauntes. And they, in booth the countres, use them selfe lyke men of right good currage; as I trust shall better appere to the Kinges Highnes, and his honerable Counsaill, within shorte space, of better service to be done to His Graces honour. Of what purpose, I will not openly mention, to such tyme I see our fortune in conclusion of the same. Also your Maistership shall furder understande, that John Griffen and Robert Browne, two capitaunes of myne, haveing with thaym 60 archers on horseback, the 13 day of February last past, gave meating with the traitour Thomas Fittz Gerolde, accompened as then with 120 horsemen, 240 galowglas, and 500 kerne, as then begynneng to bourne and destroy the countre; they drave him to flight lyke a cowarde, and killed 32 of his men, and

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[1] Brothers of Kildare.

tooke

tooke twoo good prysoners, with 14 horse, and hangid two of his men. In doyng wherof they deserved great praise.[1] Also on Saterday, the 6th day of Marche, Masters Paulett[2] and the Kinges Thesaurour, with Sir William Brewerton and Salisbury, also Dakers and Musgrave, with ther companyes, at the Nase, slewe 100 of the traitour Thomas galowglas, or aboif, and of the best of thaym; which I dought not will cause, and be meane, that his men will the rather forsake him. And this day, towardes the purpose (that I writ of before to your Maistership), we begyn to ley seage unto the castell of Maynuth, and by Godes grace, trust to go furthwardes with the same, to the Kinges honour. And undoughtidly the cummyng of Mr Pawlett hether, with the Kinges Grace authoritie, have reformed this armye by right high discretion and policie; so that, in myne opinion, it had bene hard for few men to have brought it to suche purpose, for he hath been so playne in declaring of the Kinges pleasur, with suche sobernes, that I am assured every capitan of this army is so enstructed of his owne obstinacy and misdemeanour, and therby so warned, that they wilbe dredefull hereafter to offende, and inclinable at this day, that ther retynues from hensforth shalbe discevered, wher I and the Counsaill shall thinck the Kinges Highnes to be best served. And I hartely pray you to be my solycytour in all my causis, good cosyn Walsingham, with the help of Sir Wyllyam Kyniston, according the premissis. This day I sett forward to the seage of Mynooth. From Dublin, the 13th day of Marche. And I trust shall doo right well there. By your lovyng Cosyn.

And I pray you kepe this verey secrete, except such as ye thynk good, for here in is my hole wryttyng to good Mr Secretory.

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Skeffyngton.

(*Superscribed*)

To my right worshipfull Cosin, Sir Edmunde Walsingham, Lyvetenant of the Kynges Tower of London.

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[1] The Abstract mentioned in p. 220. states, that on the 27th of February, the army which was left in Dublin burnt thirty towns, which were the refuge of the traitor; and the garrison of Trim, on the same day, burnt nine or ten towns.

[2] Poulet is mentioned in Beck's letter of the 10th of February, as being then in his company.

LXXXVII. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your moost Excellent Highnes to be advertised, that I, your Deputie, with your armye in thes parties, the 14th day of Marche last past beseaged the castell of Maynuth, which by your traitor and rebell, Thomas Fiz Gerolde, was so stronglie fortified, booth with men and ordenaunce, as the liek hath not been seen in Irlonde, synes anny your moost nobell progenitors had furst domynion in the lande. Ther was within the same above 100 habill men, wherof wer above 60 gonners. The 16th day of the said monith your ordenaunce was bent to the north west side of the dungen of the same castell, which ded baitter the tope therof on that wise, as ther ordenaunce within that parte was dampned; which doone, your ordenaunce was bent upon the northe-side of the base corte of the said castell, at the northeast ende wherof ther was new made a very stronge and fast bulwark, well garnisshed with men and ordenaunce, which the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, and 22nd dayes of the said monithe, ded beat the same, by night and daye, on that wise, that a great batery and a large enterie was made ther; wherupon the 23d day, being Tewsdaye next before Eister Day[1], ther was a galiarde assaulte gyven betwixt fower and fyve of the clocke in the mornyng, and the base corte entered. At which entery ther was slayne of the warde of the castell aboute 60, and of Your Graces armye no more but John Griffen, yeman of your moost honorable Guarde, and sex other, which wer killed with ordenaunce of the castell at the entree. Howbeit, if it had not pleased God to preserve us, it wer to be merveled that we had no more slayne. After the base corte was thus wonne, we assaulted the great castell, which within awhile yelded; wherin was the Dean of Kildare[2], Cristofer Parys[3], capitayne of the garysone, Donough ODogan, maister of thordenaunce, Sir Symon Walshe, priste, and Nicolas Wafer, which tooke thArchbusshop of Dublin[4], with dyvers other gunners and archers to the nomber of 37; which wer al taken prysoners, and ther lifes preserved by

[1] Easter Day fell on the 28th of March in 1535, which fixes the date of this despatch.

[2] The Dean is said by Ware to have been one of those who were put to death.

[3] Paris is stated, by the same historian, and by Coxe, to have betrayed the garrison, being tempted by a bribe; notwithstanding which, he was executed.

[4] Wafer was one of Kildare's servants, who murdered Archbishop Allen. It does not appear from this narrative, whether he was one of the twenty-six who suffered military execution. He is said by Ware to have died of a loathsome disease, under which Alen's despatch of the 16th of February states him to be labouring.

appoynt-

appoyntment, untill they shulde be presented to me, your Deputie, and then to be orderid, as I and your Counsaill thought good. And considering the high enterprise and presumption attempted by them ayenst Your Graces Crowne and Majestie, and also that if, by anny meane, they shulde escape, the moost of theym beyng gunners, at some other tyme wold semblablie elliswhear aide your traitors, and be example and meane to others to doo lykewise, we all thought expedient and requisite, that they shulde be putto execution, for the dread and example of others. According wherunto, the Thursday folowing, in the mornyng, they wer examyned, and ther depositions written; and after none the same daye arrayned before the propheest marshall and capitannes, and ther, upon ther awne confessions, adjudged to die, and ymmediatly 25 of them before the gate of the castell heeded, and oon hanged. Dyverse of the heedes of the principalles, incontynentlie, wer put upon the turrettes of the castell. We send Your Highnes hereincloosed theffect of ther depositions, amonges which ther is a priste, which was privay with the traitor, deposith that the Emperor promised to sende hether, against Your Grace, 10000 men, by the first day of Maye; and the Kinge of Scottes promised to yeve aide to your rebell lykewise. We doo advertise Your Highnes therof, in discharge of our duties, to thintent serche may be made of the furder circumstaunce therof; not doubting but, if anny soche thinge be intendid by thEmperor, or Kinge of Scottes, Your Highnes hath some intelligence therof, and will provide for it accordingly; for, on les aide be sent hither from owtward parties, this traitor shalbe pursued to his adnoyaunce and destruction, to the best of our powers, we trust to Your Graces honor. Albeit thenhabitauntes of this lande have an imagination and doubt, that he shulde hereafter obteyne Your Graces pardone, as his antecessors, dyverse tymes, in lyke caases ded, which if, at anny tyme, he shulde, wer ther undoyng, as they say. The same causeth dyverse of thaym to adhere to hym, and others not to doo soche service, as they ells wolde.

Finallie, may it pleas Your Highnes furder to be advertized, that we thinck we cane no les doo of our dutes, than assertayne Your Grace of the diligent and circumspect demeanor of Mr Paulett, synes his hether cummyng; assuring Your Highnes that he hath not oonly pronunced your pleasur, after suche sorte and fasshion, to the capitaunes here, that they have ordered and demeaned themselfes synes, and done Your Grace better servyce than they ded before; but also the said Maister Paulett hath taken suche diligent paynes and labors in the filde, for the setting forth of this last enterprise of Maynuth, and all other thinges for Your Graces honor, as we have considered so mutche forthwardnes to growe by him, that we have made instawnce unto hym to tarye here, for a season, for the quieting of the armye. And also he cannot as yet departe, untill the cummyng

cummyng of Sir John Sentlowe, upon whoos cummyng he shall retorne with all speed, with furder aunswer to Your Highnes of thestate of all your affares here. So knowith God, to whoom we shall dayly pray for the preservation of your moost Royal estate, longe to endure. From your Maner of Maynuth, the 26th day of this said monith of Marche.

Your Highnes moost humble Subjectes,

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃ SKEFFYNGTON.
(*Signed*) J. B. of TRYMLETESTON Chaunceler.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P̃o of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLIAM BRABAZON.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOMAS LUTTRELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃, Barron.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, Mr of the Rolles.
(*Signed*) PATRYKE WHYTE, Justice.

LXXXVIII. LORD CHANCELLOR AUDELEY *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASETH it Your Magestie to be advertised, that the Irisshe man, who sued to Your Highnes, at Mr Secretories, hath enfourmed me, that ther is a prist commyng with letters to Your Grace from James of Desemounde, of your land of Irland, and from one Cormoke Ogge, a Knight, whois doughter the saide James hath maried. And the effectes of the letters shold be, to make sutes to Your Highnes, that the saide Jemes mought be Erle of Desemount, as heir to his graundfather, late Erle of Desemount. And hath likewise enfourmed me, that one Sir John Decemount, Knight, uncle to the saide Jemes, pretendeth to be Erle, which Sir John, as this Irissheman reporteth, in this tyme of hostilitie in your land of Irland, hath put his good indevour in assisting your subject, the Erle of Ossery, agaynst the rebell and traytour Thomas Fitzgarrard,

[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 417. On the death of Thomas, 12th Earl of Desmond, in 1534, the succession was disputed between his grandson James (whose father, Maurice, the only son of Earl Thomas, had died in 1530,) and his brother John, who denied the validity of the marriage between his nephew Maurice and Joan Fitzgerald, daughter of the White Knight, and the consequent legitimacy of their son, James Fitzmaurice, the husband of Cormoke Oge's daughter. See p. 160.

and

and hath goten part of the countie of Lymeryk, and diverse of the castelles of the said rebell and traytour. And this Cormok Ogg, and Jemes, daily warr uppon the saide Sir John Decemount, wherby he is the lesse able to pursue the saide traytour, bycause he is compelled to defend him self, and his countrey, agayn theym. So that the opynyon of this Irissheman is, that what so ever sutes shalbe made to Your Magestie by the saide Jemes, and Cormok Ogge, or by the saide Sir John Decemount, that Your Highnes shold, in this tyme of contencion in your saide land of Irland, abstayn to graunt your favour to any of theym to be Erle of Decemount, but to giff the prist, that shall come to Your Highnes in this behalf, faire dulce wordes, till Your Grace may knowe more of thiere demeanours and service towerdes you, in your saide land.

He also delyvered me a letter sent unto Your Highnes from the Maier and counsell of your towne of Youghill, in your said land; the effectes of which consisteth, that they declare theym selffes to be your true subjectes, and the great paynes they have taken in defence of your saide towne agaynst your enemyes; making humble requestes that Your Grace wold send to theym some ordynaunce and power; for they think theym selffes sufficiently furnisshed of men, to kepe the walles of your saide towne.

These be the effectuall thinges that the saide Irissheman shewid to me. And forasmoch as I, being occupied about Your Graces commissions, may not convenyently repair to Your Highnes this 9 or 10 dayes, I therfore thought it good to advertise Your Magestie of the premisses, to this intent, that if letters shall happen to come to Your Grace, from the said Jemes or Cormok, that then Your Highnes, knowing their untowerd service, may use their sute, as to your moost excellent wisdome shall seme best; most humbly beseching Your Magestie to pardone me of myne absens, and rude writing. And thus the Holy Trinytie preserve Your Highnes in long and prosperous lif. Written at Stratford, this Friday, the 9 day of Apriell.

Your most bounden and humble subject and servaunt,

(*Superscribed*) To the Kinges Highnes.

(*Signed*) THOMAS AUDELEY, K. Chauncelo.?

LXXXIX. SKEFFYNGTON *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASITH it Your moost Excellent Highnes to be advertised, that I have receyved, by your faithfull and trusty servaunt, Thomas Paulet, aswell your letters credentiall, wherby Your Grace willed me, and your Counsaill, to yeve no les credence unto hym, than to Your moost nobell Persone; as, at the time of his arrivall, certayne other Your Graces letters of your most gratius mynde and pleaser, together with certen instructions, which the said Thomas Paulett publisshed and declared to me, and your Counsaill, concernyng thordering of your affares and armye here: wherin, and all your causeis committed to his charche in that behalf, he used himself with suche discreat police, great diligence, and paynes, as Your Graces armye here hath not oonly been in better order and fasshion synes, than they were before, and more willinge service doon by thaym; but also, by thaide and helpe of his counsaill, your affares a great deall better sett forthwarde: wherof, and all other thinges worthy advertisement, I and your said Counsaill, according Your Graces pleaser, had asserteyned Your Highnes immediatle, had it not been that we wer so busied in the furnatur and settyng forthwarde of suche exploietes, as we thought the good successe of the same shulde be to Your Graces honer and good contentacion, the moost annoyaunce of your enemyes and rebelles; wherby we trusted to acquyte the slaknes and remyssion, in that behalf, which Your Grace imputed to us heretofore, which caused us principallye to differ to procede to the perfection of aunswer to all Your Graces writinges, untill thende of your said exploietes, and agaynst the retorne of the said Thomas Paulett. Nevertheles dyverse articles and poyntes, booth of his said instructions, and Your Graces letters directed to me, the tyme of his arrivall conteyning but oon thinge in effect, partely before the receipte of the same, wer determyned and fulfilled alredie, and the residew thereof synes, as oportunyte of tyme wolde serve me, I have and shall endevor myself, with due diligence, to followe to the uttermost of my power.

Furst, wher Your Grace mervailed, that no attemptates notable wer executid ayenst the traiditor, Thomas Fiz Gerolde, but that your armye was suffered to sojorne in Dublin frustratelie, spending Your Graces theasor; I most humblie beseche Your Highnes to consider my sykenes, which was thoccasion that no soche service was doone, or grevaunce attemptid ayenst that traditor, as els wolde: as I have advertized booth Your Highnes of the same heretofore, and Master Secretarie.

And

And, for that it pleasid Your moost Excellent Highnes to consider the disobedience of the capitannes of tharmye towardes me, and for the redrees of the same ded not oonly send unto me, by the said Thomas Paulett, a proclamation, under your Great Seale of Inglonde, aswell by the publication wherof, as the circumspect and politique declaration of him unto them, booth of ther disobediens and abuses, with your moost drade commaundment and pleasor ther upon, they have synes better demeaned thaymselfs in obedience, service, and otherwise; but also appointed Sir John Seyntclow, Knight, to be Marshall of your armye, for the better ordering therof: I moost humblie thancke Your moost gratius Highnes for the same, which was more comforte unto me, than anny wordely thinge, and was a farre better meane to me of recoverye of my helth, than anny phisition coulde bee; and, God willing, shall endevor myself to serve Your Grace with as mutche feare, and with as mutche love, as anny subject lyving. Albeit, Sir John Sayntclow came not hither from Waterforde, for thexecution of his said charge, untill the 17th day of Apriell, unto whoom the said Thomas Paulet declared your gratius pleasor, after what sorte he shoulde accept, use, and exercise the rome of Chief Marshall of this armye; trusting that the same, from hensforth, shalbe brought to better conformite, and estrayned from riffeling, robbing, and spoyling of your true subjectes; wherein hitherto I have done my devoir, as the said Thomas Paulett will instruct Your Highnes, aswell therin, as according your gratious pleasor, shortelie after his arryvall, that I departid with your hole armye oute of your cite of Dublin, and at this time sojorne in Maynuth, and so will contynue abroode in the countre, disparsyng and engariseng your armye in soche places, as shalbe seen, from tyme to tyme, to me and your Counsaill moost convenyent and meate for thadnoyaunce of your rebelles, and conducyng of the countre into good trayne and faction.

But as to anny affiaunce or trust to be committed to anny the Geraldynes, or anny other reconciled enemyes, I trust I shall use thaym after none other sorte and faction, than shalbe to Your Graces honor, and the suertie of this your lande and subjectes; neither have graunted them, or anny other, which be expressed in your said letters or instructions, anny grace or pardone; neither will doo otherwise than Your Gracis plesor is in that behalf.

Semblablie concernyng Your Graces plesor, that I, and your Counsaill, shuld doo our devoires to take oothes, pledges, and ostages of suche as make clayme to thErldome of Desmonde, not oonly to abide thorder of your Counsaill upon ther titles, as right shall requyer, but also to be alwayes obedient to serve Your Grace truely, as ther naturall Sovereigne and liege Lorde; Your Grace shall understande, that truth is, the same thinge is very

necessarie to be done, moch to Your Graces honor, and the weall of this lande. Albeit, that enterprise canenot convenyentlie be perfited, onles I shulde repayer into thes parties, with your armye, in proper persone; which, as I perceyve hitherto, I cannot convenyentlie accomplishe before thes quartiers be otherwise staid. Nevertheles, as oportunite of tyme shall serve, I shall conform myself therin, God willing.

As to that, that Your Grace wold be certified of thenstablishment of the lande, and the revenues booth of the same, and the profittes of thErle of Kildares londes, and other your traditors and rebelles, I can in nowise resolutely make aunswer to Your Grace therof, hitherto; for the rebellion of this traditor hath been suche, untill this tyme, that litell or nothinge coulde be levied therof. But, God willing, Your Grace shall shortelie perceyve your gratius plesor to succede therin to your honor, comforte, and profitt. And concernyng suche traditors and rebelles, as have offended arrogantlie and principallie agaynst Your Highnes in this rebellion, others than thois which be executid alredie, your pleasor knowin, your lawes shall procede agaynst them accordinglie.

And wher, besides the premisses, the said Thomas Paulet declared unto me, that Your Grace was crediablie advertized, that my retynue of horsemen and fotemen, to me lymited, shulde not be complete and furnished, I have mustered my said retynue before him, and so have all other the capitannes ther numbers. The truth therin I referr to him, to make perfite relation to Your Grace, and your Counsaill.

And wher the same Thomas Paulett privelie declarid to me, and your Privey Counsaill, that your pleasor was for thextirpation of the roote and mischief of this rebellion, that we shulde devise and invent by all meanes and practizes possible, closelie and secretelie to have the said traitor either taken or slayne; I doo assure Your Highnes that, booth before the said Thomas Pauletts arrivall, and synes, we practized the same to all our powers, offering to diverse 100 markes by yere, and 500 markes in mony, for thaccomplishing of that purpose. Albeit thes traitors, supposing that if he shulde be extincte and destroied, than your Deputie and armye shulde have oportunite to attempt the redres of ther enormities, and also having an eye and imagination that he shulde hereafter have Your Graces pardone, never wolde attempt the same, as the said Thomas Paulett shall declare unto you; but in thende he was put in suche feare and dreade, that he was inforced to leve horses, and goo to woodes, as a kernaugh, and now is fleed oute of theis parties, to what place it is not certaynlie knowen, neyther whether he will come agayne, or wher he will abide.

And wher Sir William Brewrton and John Salisbury refused, untill tharrivall of the same Thomas Paulet, to receyve wagis for ther retynues, onles they

they had allowance for every hundrith men, for a capitane 4^{s} by the day, and for 2 capitannes 2^{s} the day, for every of thaym; which thing is reformed according Your Graces pleasor by the meannes, industrie, and diligence of the said Thomas Paulett[1].

Concernyng your gratius pleasor for thattaching of the bodie of the Archbusshop of Armachan[2], and thexamyneng of him upon certen articles of treasone, and the justifieng of him according your lawes, I coulde not accomplishe the same hitherto, for soche diseases and sykenes as the said Archbusshop hath been deteyned with, so as he coulde not in proper persone repayer to me, ne your Counsayle. And I shall daylie pray to God for your moost Royal estate. At your Manor of Maynuth, the last day of Apriell.

Your Highnes most humble subject,

(*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Skeffyngton.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Highnes, our moost dred Soverayne Lord.

XC. Agard *to* Crumwell.[3]

Right honorable and my synguler good Maister, my dewttye to be premyssyd, I have me recomendyd unto your Maisterschipe, ever dessyryng your good prosperyous helthe, to Godes pleassour, with longe contenewaunce in honor. This to acertayne your Maisterschipe, that, as the 19th daye of Maye, I arryved in Dublyn, with the Kynges treasswre in savete; thankes I gyve to God. At the whiche tyme the Thezawrer, Barron Aylmer, with the Maister of the Rolles, were ryddyn into the countye of Kyldare, ther to kepe cowrttes, and to see and survey all suche landes, as were the late Erle of Kyldars, and to sett and lett all the said landes, as the thowght beste to the Kynges usse and proffett. And as yett the be not retornyd. I truste in Jhesu that thes bordyrs nye abowtt Dublyn schall be in a good steye, for the Lorde Depute lyethe at Maynewthe, Sir Ryce Mawnxell at Trym, Mr Salsburye at Dundalke, Mr Brewerton at the Castyll, Sir John Saynctlow att Conwey; and soo the armye is well devyded, to the greate savegard of all thes parttes. Now, God and you puttyng forwardes, that ther maye cumme an armye att the nexte spryng of the yere, then ther is noo dowbtte, but all will be in ordyr

[1] It appears from the accounts of the Treasurer of the War (adverted to in p. 227.), that Brereton and Salisbury furnished each 250 footmen; that each hundred men was commanded by one grand and one petty captain; and that the daily wages of each grand captain was 4*s*., and of each petty captain 2*s*.

[2] George Cromer.

[3] From Lambeth Library, Vol 602. leaf 96.

schortlye, and soo to reste for ever; othir elles, all that is spent, is loste. I thinke Mr Pawllett will cumme with the nexte wynde, and with hym, Thomas the traytors wiffe[1]. He lovys hir well (a prima facie). Howbeit I can not perceyve that sche favors hym soo tendyrlye. This jorney is to hym proffyttable, as your Maisterschipe schall more perceyve here aftyr, at my retorne. He hathe, at the leste, 16 or 20 hobbyes, the warste worthe 6 markes sterling; ther is noo better in Irlande; and 3 or 4 caste of hawkes; and as for privey stuffe, God knowis whatt. I thinke you schall perceyve, that he will worke by sum pollycye to cumme agayne, for he makes his reconyng evyn now, that myche of this good expedystion in thes parttyes, of the Kynges affayris, dothe rysse of hym. Howbeit in that, I thinke here aftyr your Maisterschipe schall know more in this. I here few men here dessyre his retorne hythir agayne. He came hythir with a smale male, but he comythe whom with his trussyng coffers. I ham well ascheweryd, that he hath gett more clere, then the Thezawrer schall, iff he were here this 7 yere; yett schall ther servysis never be lyke to ther maister. Here is perfecte good and trew servauntes to the Kynges Grace, of Irysche men evyn, the good Erle of Oyssrey, Sir Jamys his sunne, Odonell, Barron Aylmer; and evyn ther reste; for all othirs, as well Chaunceler, Justessis, and othir, the maye all goow in one nomber.

I have delyvered to the Lorde Deputte the Kynges Gracys lettyrs, and your Maisterschipz; and he mervellowslye enjoied in them, with greate thankes unto your Maisterschipe. Thankes be to God, he mendes well. Sir, I beseche Your Maisterschipe to be good to the Priore of Kylmaynam. Undowbtyd he is, and ever schall prove hym selphe, an honeste man, as I truste it schall, by the holl Inglysche Councell here, be reportyd. One letter from your Maisterschipe to hym were more comforthe then 500£ of money. He dessyris your Maisterschipe to take of his gyfte 20 markes yerlye, the whiche he wyll sende to your Maisterschipe, iff he durste be soo bolde, by me, at my nexte returne. I beseche your Maisterschipe of your mynde in this behalffe, at your pleasure. I beseche your Maisterschipe to remember the commyscion for the Thezawrer, soo that he may doo with the Kynges revenews, and all othir thinges here of the Kynges, to the Kynges proffett; soo that noo man mell therin to the contrarye. And thus the Blessyd Trynete have your Maisterschipe in His mercyfull tewyscion. At Dublyn, this 24 daye off Maye. by your servaunt and daylye Orator,

(*Signed*) THOMAS AGARD.

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[1] She was the daughter of Sir Adrian Fortescue.

Your

Your Maisterschipe shall perceyve, iff it pleasse you to examen Sergyaunt Whitt, whatt the demeanor off the Chaunceler was, with the Cheffe Justes, at the segee of Dublyn. He hathe schewed me, that the Chaunceler said theis wordes; "Sergeaunt Whitt, iff you will, you maye save this syttye; as "this, to delyver the Kynges castyll to the Lorde Thomas, and you schall "have lybertye to passe with bagge and baggage; and in casse you will "nott, you schall dystroye this cyttye, and caste away your selphe." Thes wordes are not insedent for a trew man. For when the Chaunceler sate on judgment of Bathe with the redde hedde, ther cowlde noo man fynde, that ever he roode nor went jurney with Thomas, but onles that he said to them of Dublen thes wordes, that Thomas the traytor commawndyd hym to say; "Syrs, iff the Inglysche men cumme, you muste doo your beste to resyste "them, and lett us drynke all of on cuppe;" and the Chaunceler was with hym at that same tyme, and hadde with Thomas halffe an 100 men but to serve the Kynge at Maynewthe, with hym selphe and a ladde: suche is his trewthe, with othir. As for Talbott, that is in the Fleett, I have, in the abcens of Mr Thezawrer, cawssyd an inventorye to be takyn of all his goodes to the Kynges usse, to he have tryed hym selphe, and put saffe kepyng over them. I dowbte he will be provyd neybour lyke.

With the nexte that comythe, I schall acertayne your Maisterschipe off all thinges here, whiche are off trewthe, iff it schall soo pleasse you.

XCI. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* Crumwell.

Our duties remembred, commende us most hartelie unto you. Advertiseng, that we have latelie aswell received the Kingis most gracius letters, as certen other letters and instruccions from you, of the Kingis plesur to be put in execucion and foloid by us, for thordering of His Highnes affaires here; among which, ye willed us to devise soche articles, as we thought convenient to be passed as Actis, in the next Parliament to be holdeng within this lande, and to sende them unto the Kinges Highnes, and his Counsaile, to be viewed and over seen, and than to be retourned hither, under the Greate Seale of Ingland, according the Estatute therof made within this lande[1]. According wherunto, we sende thider, at this season, certen articles, under the Greate Seale of this lande,

[1] 10 Hen. VII. cap. 4.

by

by the Maister of the Rollis and the Chief Baron of thExchequor of the same lande, who at this tyme repaire unto His Highnes and you. Beseching you, of your accustumed goodnes and favours towardis the weale of this lande, not oonlie to dispatche them with all convenient celeritie, to thintente that bothe the Parliament may the soner, before winter, be somoned, and the same and other the Kingis affaires the better, by ther being here, sett forthwarde, but also by them we may have knowlege of the Kingis plesur and yours, aswell what other Actis His Majestie and you shall wille to have put furth and passed in this Parliament, for the advauncement of the comon weale of this lande, and the Kingis revenues and profightes within the same.

As towcheng thordering of soche malefactours as have offended in this rebellion, bothe concerneng thois, whom His Majestie shall determyne to be attainted and executed, and how the residew shalbe ordered aboute ther fines, and compositions for ther pardons, togeder with the Kingis finall pleasur, and your determinate mynde, concerning thordering of all other His Gracis affaires for the reformation of this lande; the said Maister of the Rollis and Chief Baron can instructe His Highnes and you, at large, of the astate of this lande, and all the successes of the Kingis causes hitherto: wherin it may please you, aswell to give them credence, as your awne hartie thankis for ther good counsailes, diligente devours, and service ministred by them, at all tymes, for the furtherance of the same, to ther powers, and to informe the Kingis Majestie therof, so as His Grace, by your meane, shall give them his most gracius thankis according ther desertis in this behalf, for they never refused paynes, daunger, labours, ne costis, to do the thing that mought advaunce the Kingis causes. So knoweth God, who preserve you. From Dublin, the 16th day of June.[1]

Yours at commaundement,

(*Signed*) WYLLM̃ SKEFFYNGTON.
(*Signed*) J. B. Lord of T. Chaunceler.
(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER, Thesr.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) P. Oss̃. WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) WILLIAM BREREȚON. PATRIK FYNGLAS, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S LUTTELL, Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To our good Maister, Master Crumwell,
Principall Secretarie to the Kinges
Highnes &c.

[1] A similar letter, of this date, was written by the Lord Deputy personally to the King, and remains in the State Paper Office.

XCII. Skeffyngton *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Yt may please Your most Excellent Highnes to be advertized of the state of this your land, and procedinge of your affaires within the same. That synnes my last rude wrightinge to Your Grace, by your servaunt Thomas Pawlet, yt hath bin bruted here, that your traditour, Thomas Fitz Geralde, demoringe and habidinge in the great OBrenes contry, under his socour, the M^c^Williams and Kelleis, entendeth to draw thaym, with the power that thay may make, into OChonours countre, called Ofayleigh, and soo from thens they all togethers, and with Onell and Manus ODonell, yf they may joyne, to invaide thEnglishe pale. Thay have appoynted ther time to be aboughtes Mydsomer next, ayenst which time they are gatheringe men and vittells. If they all attempt to invade on that maner, my trust is in God and Saynt George, with your army, to yeve them meetinge, and offer them battaill, or thay enter thEnglish pale.

I was asserteyned from your cittie of Limerike, by letters which I have sent to Your Highnes Cheif Secretary, that the saide traditour had sent into Spaine James Delahide, the parson Walsh, and 4 more with thaym, where they tooke shippinge, and in what shipp they passed; as by the saide letters Your Highnes may better perceyve.[2] I have kept ODonell, with divers other

[1] From a Copy in Lambeth Library (Vol. 601. leaf 19.), with Sir George Carewe's notes.

[2] According to the evidence of Robert Relye (see before, p. 183.) Lord Thomas Fitzgerald went after Easter into OBrien's country, with the intention of going from thence to Spain. He abode there till after Whitsuntide, and then returned home, leaving his plate behind him in Thomond. He sent James De la Hyde and Parson Walsh to the Emperor, to treat for succour and aid, instead of making the voyage himself. The abstract noticed in p. 220. states, that he sent the Dean of Meath to the Emperor, and to Rome, a sevennight before Christmas. In the Chapter House, in a miscellaneous Bundle, $A\frac{6}{1}$, is a letter from John Cheryton, dated at Cadiz, 16th July 1535, containing the following passage: "My Lorde, for to sertify yor Lordshippe of the nwis that is here, the "14 day of June, ther come to Cadix for Inbaxador, a man of Erlonde, hois name is Sir Jamys "De la Hyde, and has brought lettors to the Emperor from Thomas Fegarit, wher in his petision is, "that the Emperor will geve hym aid with men and ordinanse; and more conteynyng in his letter, "that the Skotis Kinge has grantid them aid; and if that the Emperor will grante them aid, for the "which the Emperor hathe grantid, and by this leterrs that is com, that, God giving him lyffe, that "againste the next Marche that comys, that they shall have as moche aid as in hym may ly. Wherfor "I pray you, my Lorde, that your Lordshippe will loke substancially of this mater, that the Kingis "Grace may have knowlege of this; and that God my put it in his gracius mynd, that he may "send thether suche aid that His Grace may commande, that they may all by distroyid. For this "leters, that this Sir Jamys the la Hyde has browght, sais that Thomas Fegarit, and if that he may "have 10000 men owt of Spain, more to that he has, and ordinance, with the aid that the King of "Skottis will geve hym, that he dowtis not to have Erlonde and England. But my trust is, in God, "that I shall here of his hangynge firste. How be, my Lorde, ther ill pretensid mynd, hit may ples "the Kingis Grace to colle ther gret het in tyme, for, my Lord, they ar as full of poyson as they "may be. I pray God send them litill powre."

+ capetaines

capetaines of his, here still with me; to thintent I, and your Counsaile, might, from time to time, be the better asserteyned, as well from his frendes in the Irishrie, of the purposes and crafty intentes of that your saide false disloyall traditour, and his maynteners, as allso to here his advise and counsayll, what is best and furst to be done for Your Graces honour and profitt, tranquillity and ease of your subjectes: whoo, I assure Your Grace, as your loving true and faythfull subject, endevoringe him selfe to have knowledge from the Irishrie, doth noe lesse assertaine mee, and your saide Counsaill, of the same, but allso is allwayes redy to yeve his advise and counsaill in such thinges, as we call him unto; wherein, and whane oportunitie of time shall serve, the good successe of the same may ensue, highlye to your honour and profitt. It may please Your Highnes, therefore, by your letters to yeve him your thankes, which shall encorage him, and induce others the soner to doe like service.

Furder yt may please Your Grace to be advertized, that the 13th day of this present month of June, Neale Connelaugh came unto me, to your castell of Maynoth, and haveinge credeble enformation and ferme knowledge of the crafty entent of Onell, and Manus ODonell, hath shewed me, and the Lord ODonell, how they, ever sins myne arryvall into this land, hath done there best endevorie to drawe the Scottes of the Owte Isles of Scottland to there countrey, for there mayntenance and helpe, to fortefie your traditour, Thomas Fitz Gerald, and pursuinge daillye to me, and your Counsaill, to have a treatie for peax, purposeth noe other wise, as yt is collorablely, but to delay the time, till there ayde come to thayme, and that the traditour, with the said OBrennes, McWilliams, and Kelleis, might joyne to gethers to invade and distroy your Inglishe pale, and others Your Graces freindes and allies. The said Neale Connelaugh, therefore, personally present, and McGuire, by his letters and credence by him sent, desireth to have thadvice of me, the Lord ODonell, and others your Counsall, what for the adnoyaunce and distruction of the saide Onell and Manus ODonell is best to be done; noe other wise doubtinge, but, yf the saide Onell and Manus ODonell doe not come in, and keepe there day apoynted to parle with me, and your Counsaill, but that they, with Claneboy, and others of Your Graces band of Ulster, shall, with the strenght of the Lord ODonell, prevent there malicious purposes, and sett one them on the backe side, to there great noyaunce and hurt. For the which theire advertisementes, truth, and diligent service to Your Highnes, on your behalfe, I have yeven thayme thankes; besechinge Your Grace to doe the same, which shall be to thayme great comfort, and animate others in those partise, to doe Your Grace the better servyce.

Finally, and consideringe that this land is nowe in like case to Your Highnes, that yt was in at the firste conqueste, being at Your Graces plea-

sure,

sure, whether you will or not shewe mercie to suche manye and divers, as notoriouselie and willingly hath offended Your Majestie, traiterously transgressinge your lawes; and for that, yf yt be effectually and dulie followed, Your Highnes may have not onely suffitient revenewes here, to bere and maintaine your Deputie, to be of England borne, with a retinew for the governance and defence of the contre, but alsoe have yearly, over and aboife, great revenewes and profighttes to your coffers, which shall be comfort the rather to Your Grace, and your noble succession, to tender the weale and defence of this contrie: in consideration thereof, and according my bounden dutie of aledgiance to Your Grace, at your next Parliament to be holden here, mine advise to Your Grace is, to send hether some of your noble and discreet Counsell of England, with your pleasure for the good orderinge and establishment of this contre; who than, with your Counsaill here, may foresee a new stent to be made of your revenewes, and how, and after what manner, they have bene and may be enlarged, to the profight of Your Grace, and your saide succession. For I doubt, wee, your Counsell here, shall not be habill to compas that thinge, that may ensue here, to your most high commoditie, honour, and profight. And as God knoweth, my will shall be to accomplish the same, to the uttermost of my power, with my daily prayer for the preservation of your most Royal estate longe to endure. At Your Grace Mannour of Maynoth, the 17th day of June.

Your humble and most obedient subject,

William Skeffyngton.

XCIII. Ossory *to* Walter Cowley.

Instruccions to Waltier Cowley, to be shewid and declared to the Kingis Highnes, and to His Gracis moste honorable Counsaile, on the behalf of thErle of Ossorye.

Furst, how that the said Erle, at the cummyng, in August last past, of Geralde Aylmer and Waltier Cowley, with letters credenciall from the Kingis Highnes to the said Erle, did congregate the best retynue he coulde, and invaded the counties of Catherlagh and Kyldare, bringing infynyte nombre of cattaill, which tollid the trayctor and his sequele from the English pale, where they were making distruccions, and applied to revenge the same upon thErle of Ossery; soo that the citie of Dublin, being then confederated with the traictors, perceyving that thErle of Ossorie soo stedfastely and ernestly tanglid against the same traictors, they withdrewe their talentis from theme, and then,

at that same tyme, the Kinges letters being delyvered to the citiezins, Thomas the traictor then being in the said Erle of Osseries cuntrey, attempting invasion, they made then provision for resistence, and prepared accordingly.

The traictor Thomas, upon that hurtes comyttid to him, prepared a great hoste, with a 4 wikkes victailles, and furst besegid an olde manor of thErle of Ormondis, callid Tullo[1], and there the warde a 5 dayes made defence, where gatherid from all quarters great numbre of men, to whome he exbursid noo smale treasure, and, at the last, that castell was wonne, and thErle of Ossories men, the warde, slayn.

Then being in Auguste, he came and campid his hole hooste in an ylande in the water of Barrowe, and dayly wolde come into the bordures of thErle of Ossories cuntrey, and sawe moche people dayly in ordre of battaile, and then would recule to their campe. In whiche meane tyme, the said Erle was providing for men to joyne, and copp with the traictors; and the traictors, soo beitin of a 5 dayes, at last putt them in ordre of bataill, and yssuyd from the campe well nigh half a myle, where thErle of Ossorie came with his men in like array, offering to performe the battaile, and shot ther faulcons and light ordynaunce at other; where the skyrmysshers bykerid, and the traictors faynid to recule with losse of men, and therwith immediatly flewe to their campe, and promysed, the next morowe after, to performe the battaile; and bothe the campes campid within a myle; and in the night the traictors stale their way, leving moche baggage, victaile, and cariage.

The traictor Thomas then sent to thErle of Ossorie, how that, yf he wold withdrawe his duetie from the King, he wold departe, and devyde all Irlande with him, and accept him as his father, offering to make particion of his awne enheritaunce with him. Wherunto he aunswerid, that yf his cuntrey had bene wastid, his castels wonne, or prostrate, and him self exiled, yet wold he never shrynke to persevere in his duetie to the King, to the dethe.

The morowe next after, they sent medyatours to thErle of Ossorye, promysing to be at truce for a tyme; and for that the said Erle might make defence against thErle of Dessmond, who then attempted like invasion in the countie of Tipperarie, (and well nigh had bene happely overtaken, and upon his recule two gentilmen of his were taken prisoners by summe of his servauntes) agreed to the truce aforsaid; and then disparpled his folkes. For whiche intent, and abiding the comyng of Onele to their aide, the traictors falsely toke take truce, and within their days, upon the comyng of Onele, they comyttid the invasion.

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[1] In the county of Carlow, on the Slaney.

ThErle

ThErle of Ossory came to Thomaston[1], to devise howe to assaulte the traictors in the night, and thought howe to devise, howe to ley ordynaunce to shot at theym; and so in that devyses were trappydd by the traictors, in whiche incontre the said Erles son, James, woundid OMores son, and unhorsid others, and was sore woundid him self, soo that with great happ he ever escaped the dethe.

Then Mc Morrowe, OMore, OConnor, Obyrne, in Septembre, with the greatist parte of the gentilmen of the countie of Kildare, were reteyned, and set at Catherlaghe, Castelldermot[2], Athye[3], Kilkaa[2], and there aboutes, with victailles, during a 3 wikkes, to resist thErle of Ossorie from envading of the countie of Kildare. Soo that, during that same tyme, the traictor beseidgid Dublin. In whiche season thErle of Ossory appointed at a certayn day to bee at the reskuyng of Dublin, or at the leste comytting suche invasion to the traictor, wherby he shuld be fayne to reyse his sedge; and soo certified the Maior and citiezins of Dublin, by writing. At whiche veray day, the same Erle came with his power into the countie of Catherlagh and Kyldare, and there a 3 days contynually burnyd, spoyled, and distroyed that cuntrey, so that therby the traictors were not all oonly put from abode in that marches, laking bothe housing and victaile there, and thenhabitauntes, whiche were contributary to the charges and fynding of theme, being destroyed, but also drewe Thomas from the parties of Dublin. At which tyme and jornay, the armye arryvid at Dublin, and Sir John Sayntloo at Waterford.

I, theruppon, with Sir John Sayntloo, Sir Ryse Maunxell, and the armye, arrived at Waterford with myn awne retynue, besiegid a castell, callid Knokgraffon[4], wherin dyvers theves and outlawes soucourid, noying all that parties, where we gate that castell.

Wheruppon the capytaynes and I, the said Erle, directid sundry letters to the Deputie, to mete us in the countie of Kildare, at Kylkaa, bringing with him ordynaunce accordingly, where the Deputie appoynted without faill to mete, bringing with him the armye. At whiche day and place the said Erle, with the armye arryved at Wateforde, faylid not to be, and there did abide a 3 days contynually for the Deputie; where he, nether any of the armye came not, ne any letter or worde was had from him, but alloonly that Sir James Fitz Geralde tolde, that he herd say he was seke. Wherby, and forasmoche as we were creadybly enformed that the traictors passid through Omores cuntrey, to make like distruccion, in myn absence, in my cuntrey, we made the better spede, trusting to have overtaken theme; but they staydide at their purpose,

[1] In Kilkenny.
[2] In Kildare, on the Greese.
[3] On the Barrow.
[4] In Tipperary, between Cashel and Cahir.

 and

and happned not soo happy. Suerly yf, at that tyme, we had mete according to the appoyntment, all the feates, in effect achievid sethens, had then takyn effect.

Thomas Eustace, and a forty gentilmen of his kynne, came and submytted, and bounde theme to the Kinge, and put hostagis into my handes, from thensfurthe not to aide the traictor, but to serve the King truely.

In our retorne, perceyving that the principall maynteners of the traictor were Mᶜ Morrowe and OMore, we soo thretned Macmorrowe, that he was content to put yn his hostages, and bounde further from thensfurth not to aide the traictors.

In short tyme after, which was in Novembre, the said Erle went aboutes to allure OMore from the traictors, and deasired his hostages; but as then he coulde not have his hostages, but with truces, and with marching with my power against him, he never coulde aide Thomas to doo any feat elswhere, but was fayne to bee contynualy resident in his aune cuntrey, for the defence of the same.

Then in Decembre, OConnor, being ofte at the hande of the traictor, aiding him, the said Erle did sende sundry letters to him, with messengers, and fynally brought about, that he drewe him clerely from the traictor, whiche he performed not.

Januarij.

The traictor Thomas, perceyving this extremytie, did send to Okelly in Conaght, to come to his aide, who promysid, with 160 horsmen and many fotemen, to have comen, and be resident with him. Wheruppon I did sende to Mᶜ William, and to the olde Mᶜ Williams sons, to make such warre on the said Okelly, soo that he shuld not be suffrid to applye the aiding of Thomas, and promysid theme fermely, aswele the Kinges high favors to their comoditie herafter, as also my rewarde at this tyme, and contynuall frendshipp. Which wele and truely they performed, soo that Thomas was disappoyntid of theme, wherin he had lytle doubte.

Then in January also, the Mᶜ Carthies, and many of the Geraldynes of Mounster, began to murmor and swelle, and were aboutes howe to aide the said traictor. Wherupon I, with my retynue, went into Mounster emonges the Geraldynes, where I sowid suche stryff betwene them, as they do contynue in the same, full of warr and debate, the oon destruyng the other.

Then oon Cahir Mᶜ Arte, and divers his kynesfolkes, assistors to Thomas, dwelling in the Fasagh of Bentre[1], and in the castell of Olde Rosse[1], the said Erle, with Sir John Sayntloo, the Prior of Kylmaynam, Sir Rise Maunxell, and the Chief Baron of thEschequier, and that armye, had that castell yeldin to

[1] In Wexford.

the

the Kinges use. And theruppon we caused the gentilmen and inhabitauntes of the countie of Weysford to take oon parte, and to be of oon conformytie for the noying of the Cahir Mc Art, and other the Kinges rebells; and the Chief Baron was with me, contynually, in executing of all the premisses, who repayring thidther, at this tyme, may more at large declare the same, with further matier, to the Kinges Highnes.

The Deputie sent for my son James, with a numbre of horsmen, and at the tyme appoyntid was repairing thidtherwardes accordingly, and then contermanded to stopp by the Deputie.

The Brenes then, in February, for summes of money paid, promysid to have commen to the ayde of the said traictor. Wherupon the said Erle brought to passe, that Obrenes eldest son, maynteyned with dyvers the tenauntes and servauntes of the said Erle, made war on his father and kynesfolkes; soo that, if they had reasortid to the succor of the traictor, their cuntrey had bene totally destroyd.

Then, in Marche, I allured 2 of Omores brethern, and divers other gentilmen of Omores cuntrey, to be at war with Omore; wherby suche stryff was in Omores cuntrey, that he was constrayned to geve up the ayding of Thomas, and attende for his awne defence.

The Deputie and army came, in Marche, then from Dublin with ordynaunce, and besiedgid Maynothe; and I, with Sir John Sayntloo, lay soo, and were in suche redynes, that the Brenes were alway lettid from ayding of Thomas, and stayed OMore, Mac Morrowe, the Geraldynes of Mounster, and plucked, in our rather jornay, many of the gentilmen of the countie of Kildare from him; and, he being in that poynt, the Deputie and capitaynes in that parties, valiantly, and with good couradge, assaulted Maynoth, where with honor they achieved their hardy enterprise.

By these devises Thomas was soo weyked, that he was without any succor, but his dayly very servauntes, wherby he lakkid the power to resiste or invade; and theruppon suddaynly, being without refuge or hope of ayde, stale his way with a fewe company of gentlemen, yeomen, and prestis, to the nombre of 16, and is now with Obrene, and thought then to have goon into Spayne. Howebeit, by counsaile of Obrene, he hath chaunged his purpose, and sent thidther oon James Delahide, and a preste callid the Parson Walshe, who are goon for ayde from the Emperor.

Then, according to the Deputies appoyntment, I came with 16 days victailles, in Aprile, with 200 horsmen and 400 fotemen, and came to the Novan, and from thens, by conclusion of the Deputie and Counsaile, I did send my said son James, with a nombre of my folkes, and sume of the armye uppon Tirrell, Dalton,

Dalton, and Petit, where they gate infynyte nombre of cattaile and goodis, comitted moche burnyng and destruccion, and wan Tirrelles castell, and kyllid the warde, except twayn, which were takyn prysoners; where my said son gate sume apparaile of thErle of Kildares hid and kept there.

The said Erle of Ossorye, in that meane season, brought yn OMore, and came to Maynoth; soo that the Deputie and Counsaile were at a through out poynt with him, agrede and sworne, and his hostagis in my handis to the Kinges use, whiche we concluded the rather, for that then we were but at a slypper poynt with all the Iryshrie; and having him assured, being the hardiest capitayne of theme all, we might entre the sharper in buyssynes, and have the better and honorabler peace with the residue of the Irisherye.

I brought then Mc Morgho yn, who hath conformyd him accordingly, and must buylde up agayne for the Kinge a holde, which he brake in thes warres.

I comyned with OConor in Maij, in the frontures of his awne cuntrey, accompanyed with others of the Kinges Counsaile, where we founde him of bettir conformytie then hitherto. Neverthelas, we shall take a truce with him for a season, and, in the meane tyme, be otherwise occupied, to thentent that we may have a full leaser to him, and bring him to a comendable peace, or otherwise to prosecute him with extremytie.

The Counsaile and I, here at Dublin, in June, have concludid also that a rode shalbe made this next wike in Westmyth, to bring that quarters in better suertie, and ordre of obedyence to the Kingis Highnes; and then upon their retorne, that I, with Maister Sayntloo, and 600 of the armye, shall repaire into Mounster, aswele for the wynnyng of Dungarvan to the Kinges possession, and reformyng of the inhabitauntes in that quarters, as also to drawe the Irishrye, in this side of the water of Shenyn, from joynyng with Obreene, whoo wolde, with the traictor Thomas, joyne with OConor, yf they were of sufficient streynght; soo that that jornay shall serve to dysparple theme from suche attemptates, and yet terrour to others, to shewe like maynteaunce of the traictor against the King. And besides that, we entende to attayne thErle of Kildares lordship and castels in the countie of Lymeryk[1], seing that there restith noo more of thErle of Kildares landis out of the Kingis possession, but the same all oonly.

During the achieving of whiche enterprises, it is likewise determined, that a 400 of the armye, with their capytaynes appoynted, shalbe resident

[1] By one of the numerous extents made in 1540 by the Commissioners then sent to Ireland for the purpose of surveying and valuing the lands forfeited for high treason, it appears that, in the County of Limerick, the manors of Adare, Crome, Rachanan, and Toberney, had been forfeited by Lord Kildare, and were then in the King's hands.

in

in the frontures of Oconors cuntrey, and Omore at their hande, bothe for resistence and invasion of OConor.

Furthermore, like as to my duetie it appertayned, the putting to my handis for the wynnyng of these possessions and domynions to the King, even soo belongeth it to me, semblably, to devise the meanes and wayes, not oonly to retayne the same, but also howe to entre, persevere, and steppe further in like enterprises, and to augment proficte and revenues to the Kinges Highnes, exonerating His Grace of his great charges; whiche shall appere in briefe maner ensuyng.

All reddy is wardid the garysons and holdis in the counties of Catherlagh and Kyldare with souldeors and gonners, and is likewise devysed that every gentilman of landis in the said counties, having men of warre, shall delyver hostages into my Lorde Deputies handis, for the contynuaunce of their trouthe to the King.

The people are slowe to take fermes of the Kinges landis, till the attayndre pass, knowing wele that their leasis and patentis made before suche atteyndre are voide in lawe. That therfore with spede the attaynders may passe by Parliament.[1]

And forasmoche as dyvers holdis and garysons of thErle of Kildaris are in great decay, to the entent that they may be the better let to ferme and repaired, that the Thesaurer, with others of the Previe Counsaile, may have auctoritie by Parliament, to lett to ferme for certain yeris the Kinges landis and lordships, binding the fermours to make reparacions.

Surely many Actis, right expedyent, shall be devysid at this season, and moste of all at the assemblee of the Parliament, where every quarter and shire knowith best their awne myschief and remedy. Wherfore it shulde be best, in my mynde, that the Acte, that restrayneth to holde Parliament without certyficat into Englande[2], be put in susspence during this Parliament.

To have also a resumpcion of all grauntes of the Kinges revenues and custumes, specialy to privelegid places: and percase the King, of his liberalitie, woll, upon causes, make distribucion to theme, yet it is moste expedyent and convenyent, that his custumes be in His Gracis awne handes; and then yerely to disburse, as His Grace shall, in rewarde, or upon consideracions, graunt theme.

That then certein auditors be appoynted to extente the Kinges manors, possessions, landis, and subsidie, with his custumes and revenues soo readoptid,

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[1] An Act for the attainder of the Earl of Kildare, and others, was the first Act of the Parliament, which sat on the 1st of May 1536.

[2] Irish Stat. 10 Hen. VII. c. 4.

and

and to make bokes and certyficate accordingly, to the Kinges Highnes, wherby His Grace shall fully perceyve the circumstaunce of every thing reduced into certayntie.

Theruppon, also, to make all the diligence that can be, in punisshing and bringing to peax the Iryshrie, and putting theym to assured silence, that, by lytle and lytill, the King be dyschargid and lightid of the chargis.

There muste be suche Knightes of the Shires, as shall surely styck in the Kingis causes; and, God willing, I woll devise the better nombre out of my parties, suche as shall styck and serve for the purposes. And yet, seing that nowe universaly, in effect, the people being in daungier, and loking to have grace shewed, they woll moche the lasse styck in any thing that soundeth to the Kinges advauntadge.

That suche of the cleregye, ye, and that merchaundmen of Dublin, and Droogheda, and othir places as have defylid their treuth at this rebellion, pay sumes at dayes appoynted, whiche shall helpe the King in the warre.

And that sume holdis and garysons be edyfied in diverse placis for the defence, possessions, and landis, whiche shalbe securitie for the pore tenauntes, and profitable for the King, and moche enfebeling of rebelles and the Iryshrie, and the harder for theme to enter or comyt any grevaunces.

The Kinges Highnes to sende likewise, by instruccion, that the Deputie make sore warre in Mounster, for the bringing of theme there to obedyence; wherin consistith moche of the reformacion of this lande, as this bringer shall further declare.

After the preclosing of the premisses, I had sure worde that OConnor bringith with him Obrene and his power, OKelly, with the greatist parte of Mounster and Connaght (and that in haste), entending battayll or destruccion of the English pale.

That in consideracion of the trywe and faithfull service doon in the Kingis service, specialy in this moste dysloyall rebellion by Thomas Fitz Geralde, by Sir Richarde Poer, Knight, that the same Sir Richard been enhablid to be a Baron of Parliament[1], with sume profictes to bee grauntid nowe to him, in the countie of Waterford; wherby, where as nowe the King hath neyther obedyence ne profict in the said countie, except the citie of Waterforde, the same Sir Richard shall bring theme, specialy the Powers, to be conformable, and to be justyfied according to the lawes, aydid and furtherid therin by the Kyngis Deputie for the tyme being, which were moche comendable and acceptable service.

(*Signed*) P. Oss'.[2]

[1] This advice was followed.

[2] Each page of the original has the same signature.

XCIV. The INDENTURE betwene Sir WILLIAM SKEVINGTON, the Kinges Deputie in Ireland, and CONAN ONEILL.[1]

PRESENS Scriptum Indentatum, apud villam de Drogheda conceptum, 26to Julij Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo 35to, et anno Regni metuendissimi et excellentissimi in Christo Principis et Domini nostri, Domini Henrici VIII^vi^, Dei Gratia Anglie et Francie Regis, Fidei Defensoris, et Domini Hibernie, 27mo, inter illustrem et nobilem virum, Dominum Willielmum Skevington, Militem, Deputatum dicti Domini Regis in terra sua Hibernie, ex una parte, et nobilem spectabilem virum Dominum Conacium Oneylle, sue Nacionis Principalem, ex altera parte; Testatur, quod dictus Dominus Deputatus, ex parte Domini Regis, et Conacius Oneille, pro omnibus, qui nunc sunt, et infuturum erunt, sub ejus dominio et potestate, in subscriptos articulos firmiter tenendum et observandum concesserint. In primis, videlicet, idem Dominus Conacius Oneille jurejurando promittit et concedit, quod erit fidelis et obediens dicto Domino Regi, heredibus et successoribus suis, ac eorum Locumtenentibus, Deputatis, et Gubernatoribus terre sue Hibernie pro tempore existente, eisque deserviet fideliter contra omnes homines mundi. Item, ijdem Locumtenentes, Deputati, et Gubernatores, pro tempore existentes, dictum Conacium Oneille in suis licitis justis et racionabilibus causis manutenebunt et supportabunt. Item, quod dictus Deputatus, ac Deputati, et Locumtenentes pro tempore existentes, habebunt super pace et guerra Domini Regis omnes hujusmodi Hibernicos, quos Dominus Deputatus nunc existens, cum ultimo in eodem officio Deputatus fuerit, habuit, et in presente habet. Item, quod dictus Dominus Conacius Oneylle habebit integram restitutionem omnium bonorum, ab ipso vel aliquibus amicis seu servientibus suis surreptorum, ex quo pax facta fuit per Gillaspik M^c^Donyll, ex parte dicti Conacij Oneylle, apud Maynothe[2], per aliquos super

[1] Printed from a copy in the State Paper Office, corrected in a few words from another copy in Lambeth Library, (Vol. 603. p. 128.), which latter is authenticated by the signatures of the Lord Deputy, and the Chancellor of Ireland, Rawson, Brabazon, and Fynglas.

[2] This has reference to a preliminary treaty concluded at Maynooth, on the 1st of July 1535, with Gyllaspike Mc Donyll, on behalf of Con ONeille, with a promise that ONeille should personally appear before the Lord Deputy and Council on the 16th of July, or within two days after, and ratify the treaty. A copy of these preliminary articles is in the State Paper Office, with a memorandum subjoined, that ONeille put his hand and seal to them on the 25th of July, at Drogheda, in confirmation of all that was above written. This memorandum is signed by the Lord Deputy Skeffyngton; J. Barnewall, Lord Chancellor; Sir William Brabazon; and Patrick Finglass, Chief Justice. Mc Donyll is styled "Constibiliarius Domini Conatii Onell, et sue nacionis Capitaneus "principalis, dicti vero Domini ONell nuncius specialis."

 pace

pace Domini Regis, vel ipsius Domini Deputati, existentes. Et ulterius, pro aliquibus materijs discordie vel displicencie, aut pro aliquibus dampnis, injurijs, sive traunsgressionibus, per aliquos dicto Conacio adherentes vel adjacentes, qui modo sunt super pace Domini Regis, vel dicti Domini Deputati, qui nunc est, et infuturo erunt, factis vel perpetratis, idem Dominus Deputatus non petit remedium sive restitutionem dampnorum dictorum, per ipsos, sive eorum aliquem, committendorum, ab ipso Conacio Oneille; set licitum erit dicto Domino Deputato recipere et habere obsides pro restitutione et emenda eorundem; ad quod dictus Oneille adjuvabit, et pro posse suo supportabit, dictum Dominum Deputatum, si inde requisitus fuerit. Insuper, si dictus Conacius Oneille requisitus fuerit per Locumtenentes, Deputatos, sive Deputatum, pro tempore existentes, ad serviendum Domino Regi in aliquo viagio sive itinere, idem Conacius Oneille serviet Domino Regi in eodem viagio in tam amplis modo et forma, quemadmodum aliquis predecessorum suorum, vel ipsemet, fecerunt vel fecit Deputato Domini Regis temporibus retroactis. Item, ordinatum est inter dictum Dominum Deputatum et prefatum Dominum Conacium Oneille, pro reformatione et emenda cujuscunque violationis alicujus articuli hujus tractatus post datum presentium inter inhabitantes utriusque patrie contingentes vel insurgentes, quod nulla pars hujus pacis inde sit fracta vel rupta aliquo modo; sed quod Dominus Deputatus nunc existens, Dominus Cancellarius, Dominus Odonill, et Orayly, ac Gillaspik Mc Donill, aut tres eorum, reformabunt eadem inter partes predictas, prout melius sibi videbitur expedire. Ulterius, prefatus Deputatus et dictus Dominus Oneille promittunt, et per presentes se obligant, quod pro omnibus dampnis et prejudicijs inter partes predictas ortis et oriundis, pro finali concordia in hac parte habenda et determinanda, stabunt judicio et finali determinationi predictorum Domini Deputati, et Dominorum Cancellarij, Odonill, Orayly, Gillaspik Mc Donill, aut trium eorum. Item, si aliquis sub dominio ejusdem Domini Oneille venerit inter subditos Domini Regis, et ibi deliquerit contra leges Anglicanas, licitum erit delinquentem secundum easdem leges punire, justificari, vel committendum delictum letaliter contigerit aliquem ex suis vulnerari, vel occidi, nulla, ex ea occasione, emenda, vel exactio, vel redemptio, que vulgariter dicitur a saulte, exigetur, sed tanquam sue proprie mortis aut dampni reus reputabitur; ac casu quo aliquis subditorum Domini Regis commiserit dilictum infra dominium Domini Oneille aliquid morti dignum, Dominus Oneille eum capi et mitti faciet ad arbitratores superius nominatos, et ipsi eum destinabunt proxime persone dicti Domini Regis, ubi justificabitur secundum qualitatem delicti sui, juxta leges dicti Domini Regis. Et ulterius concordatum est, quod dictus Dominus Oneille stipendium suum solitum et consuetum habebit. Concordatum est

est insuper, quod Anglici, et omnes de partibus Anglicorum, liberum habebunt ingressum et regressum in patria dicti Domini Conacij Oneille; et omnes venientes a patria dicti Conacij Oneille, cum mercimonijs et alijs necessarijs, habebunt liberum ingressum et regressum inter Anglicos. Preterea ordinatum est inter partes predictas, quod nullus de patria Domini Conacij Oneille habebit refectiones vel expensas, que dicuntur proprie coyne, lyverye, coydeis, emciones, vulgariter nuncupatis kennaghtes, vel talia poculenta, inter Anglicos; quemadmodum nullus de Anglicis, vel partibus Anglicorum, petet vel habebit talia in patria dicti Conacij. Insuper concordatum est inter dictum Dominum Deputatum et prefatum Dominum Conacium Oneille, quod nulla animalia, vacce, seu alia catalla patrie Oneill habebunt pasturam aut mansionem inter Anglicos; uti nulla animalia aut bestia pasturam habebunt patria dicti Oneill. Ulterius concordatum est, quod in omnibus causis, controversijs, et demandis, inter dictum Dominum Oneyll et Dominum Mc Gwyr existentibus et pendentibus, ijdem Domini Oneyll et Mc Gwire stabunt determinationi et arbitrio dicti Domini Mc Wir et Mc Gillaspyk Mc Donyll; et Dominus Mc Quir erit finitor pacis, si non concordaverint. Item in omnibus causis, contraversijs, et demandis, inter dictum Dominum Oneyll et Nelanum Connelagh Oneyll existentibus, stabunt arbitrio et determinationi dicti Domini Deputati, Rosie filie Domini Odonyll uxoris dicti Nelani, et Henrici filij Shan sive Johannis Oneyll. Preterea concordatum est, quod in omnibus causis inter dictum Dominum Oneyll et Nelanum Magnum Oneyll pendentibus, idem Dominus Oneyll et Nelanus Magnus stabunt arbitrio dicti Domini Deputati, Domini Odonyll, et Domini Mc Gwyr. Preterea, tam dictus Dominus Oneyll, quam Dominus Mc Gwyr, Nelanus Connalaght Oneyll, Nelanus Magnus, Gillaspik Mc Donyll, prestiterunt juramentum corporale, super Sancta Evangelia, servare omnes articulos harum Indenturarum; quod si aliquis eorum infringere voluerit aliquem articulorum predictorum, omnes alij erunt contra eum cum Domino Deputato, ad correctionem illius, de tempore in tempus, quousque fuerit reformatus. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium, tam dictus Dominus Deputatus, quam dictus Dominus Oneyll, alternatim sigilla sua presentibus apposuerunt. Datum die, loco, et anno predictis. Hijs testibus, quorum nomina scribuntur, ac Dominus Odonyll, Mc Quir, Nelano Connolagh, Nelano Magno, Mc Maghan, Gillaspik Mc Donyll, Arthuro Mc Quenos, et pluribus alijs.

XCV. AYLMER *and* ALEN *to* CRUMWELL.

OUR humble duties premised, commende us most hartelie unto you, with our condigne thankes for your goodnes shewed unto us, at our being with you. At Chester we receyved letters from M^r^. Brabazon, whiche we send you herin perclosed[1], beseching you, after your accustumed maner, to peise and consider the contentes therof, wherby ye shall perceive that the remisnes and slouth of the governors and capitaines of tharmy, and the shamefull misorder of the soldeors toward thinhabitauntes of the cuntrie, was and is thoccasion of the losse of the Kinges lande, which was well established at our departur; and yet, sines the writing of that letter, much more hurte is doon, as we thinke ye be advertised by other letters, both of the burneng of Kildar, and moste parte of that shire; so as if M^r^. Thesaurer had not sojorned in the Naas, with a few men with him, the same had semblablie been brent, and the countrie than destroied to the gates of Dublyn, which had been a losse in effect irrecuperable. But as we be informed by certen merchantes of Dublyn, who landed on Saint James daie at the Holy Hedde, M^r^. Thesaurer, on the Weddnisdaie befor, sending oute of the Naas certen cartes of vittels to the castell of Rathangan, Thomas Fitz Gerald, having knowlege therof, furnished with the strength of Ochonor, and other fals traitors, purposed to intercept the same, but M^r^. Thesaurer, with such cumpany as was with him, which as we hear saie was Musgrave, Dacres, and Thomas Ewstace, hearing of ther intent, foloid and mett with him, and notwithstanding the doble number of them, as it is said, to him and his cumpany, he sett upon them, and so not oonlie, in conclusion, discomfite them, but killed 16 of ther horsmen, and the capitaine of ther galloglas. Therfore, Sir, for the love of God, seing his good service and towardnes, and that the defence, which hath been executed ther, hath been doon by him, lett him have his awne hundreth horsmen in all hast; for, as we hear reported, most of the footmen, taking occasion of lacke of money and weapon, been sojorneng in Dublyn, and have left the defence of the cuntrie so, as if the Thesaurer wer not ther, shuld no litle destruccion and dishonor ensue. Also concerneng the kerne, mentioned in M^r^. Thesaurers letter, may it plese you, that we be

[1] The letter is extant, but the only material part of its contents is incorporated in the above. Chief Baron Aylmer, and Alen, the Master of the Rolls, were at this time on their return to Ireland, from their visit to the English Court.

advertised

advertised of the Kinges plesur therin, for in the winter season Inglishmen cannot take payne, like kerne, as ye may be advertised by thois which have had thexperience of the warres ther.

Sir, your army contynually take occasion of remisnes in service, in default of money. Our simple advise shalbe unto you, to furnish the mater on that wise, from hensforth, that service be not slacked under color therof, for we poor men dare not be be bolde to comptrolle soldeors, whan they snarle us with lacke of money and wepon, which thei must have in theende; and had in tyme, good service shuld not be so moch letted. So knowith God, who preserve you. From Bewmares, the 27^{tie} daie of Julie.

Your bounden Orators,

(Signed) GERALD AYLMER, Baron.

(Signed) JOHN ALEN.

(Superscribed)
To our most especiall good Master,
the Kinges Principall Secretarie.

XCVI. LORD LEONARD GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

SYR, In my mooste hertie and lovyng wyse I recommende me unto you, advertyzyng you, that the 28th daye of Julye, I arryved in Irelande; but my horse, and the reste of my servauntes, came not tyll the 14th daye of Auguste. And as for newes, here be but fewe, that bee good, as yet. Howbeyt, the thyrde daye of Auguste, Maister Tresourer of the Kinges warres here, accompanyed hymself with William Sentlowe, brother unto Sir John Sentlowe, Maister Bruertons company, Maister Dacres companye, Maister Mussegraves companye, and some of my servauntes, that landed when I landed, went into the cuntrey of Allon, and approched very nere to the lodgyng of that traytor Thomas Fytzgarret; and if every man had kepte towche with the Treasourer, Thomas Fitzgarret had ben taken that daye with Inglysshemen; but as ferre as I and other coude lerne, he was taken with the Yrysshemen, and let go agayne, and so wer dyvers other likewise. Howbeit, that false traytor, Burnell, was taken that daye by Omore, and ys yet in holdyng with hym. Nevertheles, I, and divers other of the Kinges Counsayll here, have parled with hym, to have hym delivered unto us for the Kinges use; whom as yet we can get no graunte of. Further he had another errand rebelle, whose name ys Phelim Boye, and he hathe promysed to delyver hym unto us within these 2 dayes. And ther wer

wer many of the Yryssherye slayn that daye, and dyvers other taken. And there was oon Decka, a Welcheman, that was Maister Bruertons servaunt, and went to Thomas Fytzgaret, that was taken and slayne that daye likewise. And divers other thinges I wold wryte unto you, but your trusty servaunt, Thomas Agard, can shewe youe mor playnlyer at large. And thus fare ye aswell, as I wold myn owne hert in my bodye. Wryten at Nasse, on Our Ladye Daye at night, the Assumpcion,

By hym, that ys bounden to be assuredly yours,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Leonard Gray.

To my very good frend, Maister Secretorye.

XCVII. Skeffyngton *to* King Henry VIII.

Ytt may please Your moost Excellent Highnes to be advertyzed, that sins my last rude writtyng to Your Grace, I have, by thadvice of your Counsayle, made peace wyth Oneyle, which peace I have send the copy thereof unto Your Highnes, signed wyth your Counsaylles handis, and doo kepe the oregionall to shoo to the sayd Oneyle, yf he wold breke any parte thereof. And, God wylling, I intende, wyth your army, this Wenisday next, which shalbe the 18th day of this moneth of August, to enter and invade the countrey of Ochonor, caulled Ofaly, and there to contynnewe, to his noyaunce and distruccion, the space of 21 dayse, with the best power that I and your Counsayle can make. And, as yt is sayde the greate Obrene, the Kellyse, and others, there adherentes, come at this tyme in the ayde and assistence of your disloyall rebelles and traditors; that notwythstonding, with the favor of God, I have no doubt but ye shalbe well served, to Your Highnes honor, and distruccion of your sayd traytors. And yett, as at this tyme, this your land is so generally infected with the grete plage, that I can take no strenght of theym with me, nether of cetyse, nor borowe townes, nor of the gentilmen of the countryth, but verey fewe or none. Wherfore I am drevon to assaye my owlde fryndes of Your Grace band of the north partyse, as Odoneill, Mac Gwire, Neyle Connelaugh, ORaylly, Neyle More, Hew Roo McMahounde, the OHanlonis, and diverse other, and Oneyle, or McDonell in his absence, which be newly reconsiled, and hath promysed to be with me, in my company, the space of 21 dayes in there awne personis, and upon there awne costes and charges, with a good

a good power, well victeylled. And what I have done to bryng theym to this pas, seing such infyrmite and disease here, I shall declare unto Your Highnes, at suche tyme, as your most haboundaunt grace shall be of your goodnes and marcy pleased that I may repayre unto your excellent presence; which I most humble besech you, with spede thereof. For to thys day I have noo doubt, but to prove my service acceptable to Your Grace, according my duty, whatesoever reporte hath bene to the contrary; for, after this tyme, I stand in so myche doubt that your treasure assigned for my charges shalbe in maner wast, and to Your Highnes no good service shall ly in my power to doo as I am ordered, which fynally shalbe no les then my distruccion, with utter rebuke and dishoneste, in thende of my contynuall service to Your Grace. And whane yt may please Your most noble Grace, that I shall repeire unto you, to declare unto Your Highnes the hole effect of all causes here, according my bounden duti, then I shalbe at your most gracius comaundement, to doo my service here or there, as shall stande most wyth Your Graces pleasure; as knowyth the Holy Trenyte, to whom I daylly pray for the preservacion of your most Royall estate in longe and prossperius lyfe to endure. Wretten at Your Grace Castell and Maner of Maynoth, the 17 day of August.

Your most humble and obediaunt Subject,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Wyllm̃ Skeffyngton.

To my most dread Sovereyne Lord,
the Kinges Highnes.

XCVIII. Aylmer *and* Alen *to* Crumwell.

Our duties remembred, as apperteyneth, commende us most hartelie unto your honorable good Mastership. Advertising the same, that we landed here the first daye of this present moneth, and the Lord Leonard 2 or 3 daies befor us. Assuring, that we merveled to consider thastate of this countrie at our landing, so farre alterated from the condicion, that we left it at our departur; for in the countie of Kildare there been 8 hundredis or baronies, and sex of them were, in effecte, all brent; few or no peple inhabiting ther, but leving ther cornes in the grounde to the traitors; besides many and diverse hurtis burnengis, and wastis, doon within the shire of Myth, withoute any effectuall provision made for the resistence therof, but oonlie what was doon by M^r^. Thesaurer. For ondoubtidlie, if he had not lien in the Naas, and fortified the

same

same with parte of the armye, Thomas Ewstace, and such horsemen and kerne as he reteyned and waged, the Naas, and all the residew of the countie of Kildare, and the countie of Dublin, had been destroied to the gatis of Dublin. And, whiles he was defending of thois parties, the Tholes entred by tradyment into Powers Courte, oon of the fairest garrysons in this countrie, (the buyldeng wherof cost the oolde Erle of Kildare, and thinhabitauntis of the countie of Dublin, 4 or 5,000 markis, for the defence of the said Thooles and the Birnes,) and prostrated the same downe to the grownde, which is a grete losse. And 4 or five daies befor our arryvall, the traytor, with the aide of Ochonor, assaulted agayne the court and castell of Rathangan, wherin was certen of the retynew of Sir William Bretons, who first loost the base curte, and after yelded the castell, which was brought to passe by the tradyment of Felom Boy Ochonor, whom, after he was indighted and arrayned of diverse treasons, murdours and felonies befor us, at Kildare, befor our last comeing into Inglande, my Lorde Deputie, withought proces or order of law, constrayned the shirif to delyver him at large, and after put him in trust for the vitteleng and over sight of the said garrison. M^r^. Thesaurer, the next daie after, not having perfite knowlege therof, but thinking with his cumpany to make a jornaie into Allon, where the said traytour was socored, which is not past 4 miles from the Naas, yit to be suer, whether it were true or not, resorted thiderwarde; and if knowlege had not been sent befor, by some of thois which were in his awne cumpany, as al be fals traitours of theis Geraldines, he had founde Thomas, with many of his cumpany, within the castell and curte; but, or he came, they fledd, and so he entred the castell and court agayne; albeit, no Inglishman wold tary in it to kepe it; neither good wisdom wold, that any of them shuld be left in trust to kepe it, which had loost it twies befor, and Kildare also. Wherupon he entreted Sir James Fitz Gerald to take upon him the keping of it, graunting him wagis for as many of his men as shuld be in it; and so he hath warded it with horsemen, gunners, and other footemen, and kepethe it salvelie hitherto.

The Tuisday after our arryvall, M^r^. Thesaurer, intending a jornaie into Allon, and thois parties where the traitor was socoured, sent for Omore unto him, and his cumpany. And ther went with him William Sentlow, and all his broders cumpany, for Sir John liethe sicke; Sir William Brertons cumpany; Dacres, and Musgrave, Thomas Ewstace, Sir James Fitz Gerald, his broder Walter, and diverse other of the gentills of the countie of Kildare. After they had entred into Allon, and brent and riffeld the countrie, Omore caused all thInglishmen to departe, as though they were going homeward, and assigned every of the cumpanies, both horsemen and footemen, how they shulde divide and

and keape standingis in the valleis and stritis; and he sent a certen of his kerne to skirmishe upon the moores side with Thomas and his cumpany, and they foloid the trayne into the playne. And in the meane tyme Omore lighted on foote, with all his men, and came on the backe side of them, betwixt them and ther fastnes, so as he, and our cumpany, had him and all his, to the number of 3 or 400, in the playnes amonge them, that they culde never have escaped man, if our partie had doon ther devors. For our northern men, whiles the trayne was making, left ther standingis, and ranne away with the bottie, leving ther gapp at large, and in that waie escaped the most of them; and, as for Sir James, Walter his broder, and all the Geraldines, sufferd them to passe by them. Omore wold kill never oon of Thomas men, but of Ochonors, yit many was killed, and the most of them by M^r^. Thesaurer, and soche of his awne cumpany as stode with him; and by Thomas Ewstace diverse prisoners were taken, and let goo agayne by the said Geraldines, and by the Dempcies, being in Omoris cumpany, among whom the traitour him self was taken, as the common reporte is, and let goo agayne. Burnell of Balgriffen, and the said Felom Boie Ochonour, with Omore, which Felom is delyvered to the custodie of Thomas Ewstace; William Keting, Capitayne of the Keting kerne, and diverse other, were taken prysoners: but, if our awne Inglishmen had terried, the traitour, and all his cumpany, had been taken or killed.

The thirde daie of this monethe we repaired to M^r^. Thesaurer, sending unto my Lorde Deputie to knowe his pleasur, where we and the Counsaile shuld waite upon him, for delyverey of the Kingis letters, and declaring the Kingis plesur unto him. Therupon he appointed us the Monedaie foloing, at the hill of the Lyons, for all the townes of this countrie been sore infected with the pestilence, and especially Dublin. At what tyme my Lorde Leonarde and we attended upon him, delivereng our letters, and sheweing the Kingis plesur accordinglie. Assureing you, that if we had not come, even the tyme we came, this lande had been, in maner, as nigh lost, as ever it was; for my Lorde Deputie (by thadvise of what persons M^r^. Thesaurer and we do marvell) had appointed a 1000 kerne, many horsemen, and galloglas, to be in an holding upon the countrie for a quarter of a yere; the chargis therof, and other impositions wold have surmounted £3. 6^s^. 8^d^ every sex score acres of lande, besides the lordis rent, which shuld either have been occasion of a universall rebellion and insurreccion of the people, or the desolacion of the countrie, for they had never been able to paie it: insomoche that after our landing, we must, in common assemblies of the country, have goon to pacifie the people, and to shew them that the Kingis mynde was not to have them so to be ondoon, for if he had, he wold never have so releved them with this army. And so, by

fayr persuasions, with ther good willes they graunted to finde a 1000 kerne during this jornay into Ochonors cuntrie. No doubt this warre against Ochonor and Thomas must be most executed by kerne; and yit, as my Lorde of Norfolk knowethe, Ochonor and Thomas, of themselves, besides the socor of the Brenes, cannot make a 1000 kerne; and besides them, yit is ther 300 kerne founde at the Kingis charge in the countie of Kildare.

We have delyvered William Keting at large, upon hostagis and suirties, who hathe undertaken to drive Thomas Fitz Gerald oute of the fastenes of the countie of Kildare; and hathe allured from him the most of the Keting kerne, which was his chief strength, and ded moste hurte, by reason of ther knowlege of the cuntrie; and synes the said good daie which M^r^. Thesaurer had upon him, and the delyverey of the said William, the said Thomas hathe not doon any hurte, neither dare terry in the countie of Kildare. But the poore peple resorte agayne to ther cornes, to reape and gather them that be lefte.

On Satirday last my Lorde Leonarde, M^r^. Thesaurer, and wee, met with Omore, by Kildare, and have acquainted and bound my Lord and him togethers. At what time, by soche meanes, policies, and enterteynementes, as M^r^. Thesaurer and we have practised and divised, Chaier Ochonor, Ochonors broder, came thider, and is sworne and bounde by suirties and slauntiaghs of Omore and others, to take the Kingis parte against his broder and Thomas, upon certen condicions mentioned in writeng; wherof oon is, that he shall have, during this warre, for the overthrow of his said broder and Thomas, at the Kingis wagis, 12 horsemen and 160 kerne. And oon Tuisdaie, my said Lord Leonarde, M^r^. Thesaurer, and we, went to Rathangan, aswell to view the keping of the said garrison, as mete the said Chaier Ochonor, for the view of his cumpany; with whom, and our awne, we entred the woode in the marises besides Rathangan, wherin Thomas had a stronge house, made all of erthe, and so diched, watered, and of soche force, as men of experience said, that being manned, ordenaunced, and vitteld, it had not be pregnable. Albeit, we brenned it so, as we trust the mater is now at that point, that, the Deputie and army doing half ther duties, Ochonor shall not longe troble us.

But to be playne to you, our Deputie is as evell and wors in his helthe, than he was at our departur from hence; insomoch as, at his last being in Drogheda, for the conclusion of peas with Oneile, and others of the northe of Irelande, wherunto we have non firme credence, whiles non hostagis been delyvered for performance of the same, setting in the Counsaile, he was almost deade amonge them. Wherupon the Counsaile, before our arryval, were determyned to certifie the Kinge of his debilitie; and thinkeng to move him therof, to thintente he shuld assented therunto, considered that he wold discorage so moche

moche therat, that it shuld be occasion to hinder his helthe. But suerlie the man is spent; and by reason of his impotencie, if the Treasurer, at this time, had not sette his hande, the lande had been destroied to the seais side. For the lordship of Maynothe, which was worthe 400 markis by the yere, where he lieth himself, is made waste to the gatis of the castell, and a thisside 2 miles; and his awne bestis taken thens from him, and he not able to rescue nothing. Or, if he rise before 10 or 11 of the clocke, he is almost deade or none. And now, in this later eande of the somer, and the chief of the harvest, he, with tharmy, being appointed to set forthwarde with 21 daies victels, on Mondaie last, towarde Ochonors countrie, this daie being Satirdaie, he is not furthe, and my Lorde Leonarde, and the residew of tharmy, lie in the filde, spending ther vittels; and my Lorde Butler, with sex score horsemen, and 500 footemen, Omore, and Chaier Ochonnor, on thother side, do likewise: so as either the jornay shalbe disapointed, or at the leist nothing so moche hurte doon to thennemies, as ellis mought. Wherfore, considering that he is not able to stirre, ne execute his rome for debilitie, and that the winter is draweng nye, and also for that the Kinge is determyned that my Lorde Leonarde shalbe Deputie, whom we trust shall do high service; for in judgementis by his doinges now, he will execute that rome verey well; for he beginneth to order well tharmy, and is a stirrer abroode, and no sleaper in the morneng; that the Kingis Highnes, at the retorne of M^r^. Agarde, sende aswell for thother home, as a patent for the Lorde Leonarde of the said office, with a clause in the same for the holdeng and contyneweng of the Parliament, which assone as this journay is finished shalbe summoned. And, God willing, M^r^. Thesaurer and we shall so indevour ourselves, that all the Kingis causes shall take effecte, according his gracious plesur declared and opened at our ther being.

But as for the jornay sowthwarde, for the brekeng of Obreenes Bridge, and executeng of other exploites there, we dowbt les the same shall not take effecte this yere, both for that the somer is so farre past, and theis causes foloing; the debilitie of the Deputie (and he will not honor to be so moche obfuscate, that any other shuld execute soche an enterprise); the continuall raynes and wetnes which hath chaunced this somer, that carriage can not well passe; lacke of artillerie, for all the artillerie, which cam hither, will not furnish this army to soche a farre journay. Of 1600 men being here at the landing of the same, ther were not 400 of them furnished with weapon; the lacke wherof they objecte, for ther excuse bothe of the destruccion of the country, and the dishonestie they toke in Ochonors cuntrie; and especiallie lacke of money, which we assure you, hitherto, hathe hindred the doing of moch good service, and shalbe in maner the oonlie lett of this so notable an enterprise; for

besides that which this berar brought, tharmie is a monethes wagis behinde. And what rumor and exclamation they have made for money, he can shewe you, that unneth my Lorde Leonarde, Mr. Thesaurer, he, and we, could pacifie diverse of them. Sir, ye must remember what maner of men Inglish and Walshemen be, whan they lacke ther wagis. Assureng you, that the said Master Agarde, bothe in the view of muster of tharmy, paing of them, and otherwise, at this tyme, hath used himself like a right wise honest man; beseching you aswell to give him thankis therfor, as credence aboute the relacion of the circumstancis of the premisses.

Fynallie, according the Kingis plesur, the 100 Walshe horsemen been discharged oute of wagis, as this said berar can shewe you. Wherfor we beseche you, according the Kingis appointment at our ther being, that this said berer bring with him, in ther steddis, an 100 horsemen to Mr. Thesaurer, in whom the grete defence of this countrie, and setting forthwarde of the Kingis causes, hath consisted, in our absentie. And we dare be so bolde to affirme, that his 100 horsemen shall do the King as good service, as some other 200; and we feare, les he have them, ye will kill of him a man of warre, which were no small losse. For if he had had an 100 horsemen of his awne choise, and at his leading, neither Kildare had be brent, neither soche hurtis doon, as were; and if he have not his horsemen, the Kingis revenues wilbe litel worthe, as this said berer can shew you at large; neither we assure you shall any of thErle of Kildares tributes be levied. According the Kingis letters, the Lord Chancelor hath delivered me the Gret Seale[1], which God willing, shalbe not oonlie suerly kept, but also used as apperteyneth; peradventur more to the Kingis profight and expedicion, and remedie of the subjectes, untill His Grace shall appoint a meate Chancelour. So knoweth God, who preserve your honorable Mastership. From the Naas, the 21st daie of August.

Your most bounden Orators,

(*Signed*) Gerald Aylm[?], Justice[2].

(*Signed*) John Alen, Mr. of the Rolles.

(*Superscribed*)
To our most singuler good Master,
the Kinges Principall Secretary.

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[1] Lord Trimletiston was ordered to repair to the Court, and to deliver the Great Seal to Alen, the Master of the Rolls, in whose handwriting are the six last lines of this letter. On the 26th of September his Lordship obtained the King's permission, by letter to the Lord Deputy, to resume the Seal. Coxe quotes largely from this letter.

[2] Aylmer had been promoted to the Chief Justiceship of the King's Bench, 12th August 1535, in the room of Patrick Fynglas.

XCIX. REMEMBRANCES from GERALD AILMER, Chief Justice, and JOHN ALEN, Maister of the Rolles, to their oonly good Master, under God and the King, the Kinges Principall Secretary.

FIRST, as concerneng the musters of my Lorde Deputie and others, and thexclamation for money, this berer, M^r^. Agarde, can advertise your goodnes at large.

Item, for M^r^. Thesaurers horsemen, he can likewise asserteyne you, what hurtis hath been doon sines our departure; which had not ben attempted, yf he had had men at his awne leading. For the saide M^r^. Agarde can shew you, how the Deputie, and the residewe of the capitaynes (William Seintlow, and his broders cumpany, except) lefte the defence of the countrie, and sojorned in Dublin, Drogheda, and other placis from the borders.

Item, where, according the Kingis pleasur, the Lord Chauncelour, now repaireng thider, hathe delyvered me, John Alen, the Grete Seale, as he was willed by the Kingis letters; I have received the same, and, God willing, shall not oonlie kepe it suirlie and salvelie, but also exercise the same after soche sorte, as may be for the Kingis honor, and the redie expedicion of his subjectis, untill the Kinge appoint a Chauncelor more meate for that purpoos. Nevertheles, albeit that the praise of myself is not commendable, yit the thing being truthe abrogateth the contrary. This I dare be bolde to affirme, that the King, befor I was made M^r^. of the Rolles, for the space of 40 yeris had not, by fynes and amercimentis of the Chauncery, not 40^s^; and my Lorde of Armachan[1], being Chauncelor, and sike, in his absentie I sate but the Mihilmas and Hillarie Termes, during which tyme thextreaties of the Corte, no man injured, surmounteth 200 markis, and mo causes spedd ther thois 2 termes, than was 2 yeres befor. And furder I dare be bolde to affirme, if the Seale tarie with me till Ester, the fees therof shall be more to the King, than they were theis 2 yeris paste. Desiring Your Mastershipp not to think that I write this for any ambition of furder auctoritie in this behalf, which I assure you I do not, but that my simple service shuld appere.

Also Thomas Finglas goith thider, at this season, to complayne to the Duc of Norfolke, as it is said, for the losse of the roume of Chief Justice, which his fader had, (gyven by your meanes, good Maister Secretarie, to me, Geralde

[1] George Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, from July 1532 to August 1534.

Ailmer)

Ailmer) with diverse secrete letters from my Lord Deputie to other persons of the Counsaile. The said Maister Agard can shew you, how the said late Chief Justice lefte the castell of Dublin withoute Sir John Whightes[1] knowlege, compoundeng with Thomas Fitz Gerald; his bill of composition Mr. Thesaurer hathe; conveied afterwarde his men and abilementis of warr oute of the castell secretelie, and did diverse other thingis contrary his allegiance, as it hath been reported.

And percaas it be the Kingis pleasur, according our letters, to sende for his Deputie, now being, home; and to institute the Lorde Leonarde in his place and auctoritie, the same to be kept secrete ther; and the letters, which shalbe directed for him to be sent by Mr. Agarde to Mr. Thesaurer and us, to thintent before the delyverey we may be at staie with Irishmen, especiallie those of the north, les they shuld, upon the first rumor, stirte at large, which peraventure some of them wold do, upon displeasur of the removing of ther frinde, or upon imagination that the nexte Deputie shuld not be so favorable to them as he was; or principally for ther awne lucre, as ther fals craft is, betwixt the chenge of two Deputies, to strite oute, and do grete hurtis, wherof they never make amendis: for they will saie to the new Deputie, "it is not sufficient to you that I be true, and do good service to you "from hensfurth, but ye will challenge me of oolde maters befor your tyme"; wherfor ther craftie light maner must be prevented; and also les any hostagis which this Deputie hathe, by crafte of the kepers or otherwise, shuld be set at large.

Commaundement also to be sent unto him, that he take not over the seas with him above 20 or 30 of his number, and thois to be non of them, which shalbe thought to the Counsaile to be principall gunners, or other men of experience, meate for to serve the Kinge here; and the residew of his number to be appointed and ordered, as to the said Lord Leonard, Mr. Thesaurer, and us, shalbe thought convenient to tary in the Kinges service and warres here.

Item, that he deliver to the said persons, by indentur, all soche hostagis as he hath, of Irishmen or others, whether they be in his awne custodie, or in any other persons by his delyverey, or at large upon suirties.

Item, that he deliver, by indentur, to the Clerc of the Counsaile, not oonlie all the Kingis instruccions and yours, and all His Gracis letters and yours, especiallie thois, which we brought at this tyme, which the Kingis Majestie, either you, concerneng the Kinges causes and affaires, hathe addressed unto

[1] Sir John White was Constable of Dublin Castle.

him,

him, synes his hither comeng; to thintent the same maie be foloied by the new Deputie, both abought the causes of the warre, Parliament, and otherwise; but also all the aggreamentis, writingis, and indentures betwixt him and thIrishmen, or any others inhabiteng within this lande, togeders with Odonelles, Magwiers, Orayleys, Neyle Connelaghis, and any other Irishmannes letters, for the 2^{d} oute of every cowe, and all other ther letters of covenauntes or promises. And if he have not a straite commaundement in this behalf, he will not delyver the said writinges, but, for excuse, saie he will delyver them in Inglande, and so shall we be new to seike for all theis maters.

Item, that my Lorde Leonarde be commaunded to folowe, in all the Kingis causes, the advertisement of the Privaie Counsaile, and the same orders which were prescribed to him, aswell at his ther being, as thois which be mentioned in the Kingis said writingis, and yours, to this Deputie.

And percaas it shalbe paynefull to you aboute the divise of his patent, or otherwise, if it shall please the King to write his letter to me, John Alen, having the custodie of the Grete Seale, to seale him a patent according the forme of this Deputies patent, and to take any band of recognisance of him in that behalf; it shalbe accomplished, God willing, withoute furder circumstance, or publication of the same before tyme requisite.

And forasmoche as this Deputie hath received diverse the Kinges revennues, traitors, and felones goodes, that he accompt and restore the same, before his departure.

C. Ossory *to* Walter Cowley.[1]

This is to advertise you, I have receyvyd your letter, datid the 19th day of July, at which tyme my son James, with my retynue, were awaiting the rysing oute of the Deputie to this hosting. The Deputie appoyntid my retynue to bee at the Naas, the 14th day of August, where they have contynuyd thees 7 days, spending their victailes voidely, awayting uppon the Deputie, who ponderith litill my charge, and the coste of the cuntrey have theire, burnyng and robbing; and he before put me to great charge, before Christmas, and neyther came ne sent to me, and eftsones before Mydsomer, with mouche victailes. And when I brought my company to the Naas, he made the moost parte of

[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 408.

my

my company to retourn home. And this is now the fourthe hoosting that I have answerid; and yet the Deputy never wrote to the King of my service or charge, but wold have all the glory and fame of other mens services attributid to him silf. Yf he had followed my counsaill, Thomas of Kildare had been kepte still with OBrene, and OConours pledges in keping; wherby the said Thomas shuld have had no succoure in OConors cuntrey, and the English pale in saufgard, and the armye, and I, all this season, occupyed in the Kinges great affaires, in breking OBrenes bridge, taking Dungarvan, and refourmyng or subduyng the Brenes, and Mounster Geraldynes, and all Mounster; which had bene wele forwardes by this tyme, yf this wilful tangeling with OConour had not beene. The Deputie followith the counsail of suche as have nether strenght, activitie, practise, or yit good will to further the Kinges moost necessary affaires.

After all my suytes and decres against James Penrise, who the Counsail comyttid to the castel, till he had satisfyed me my meane proffittes, the Deputie hath put him at large, and remitted me to the circute of the comon lawe, and to loose all my decrees, and 4 yeris suyte; which is the rewarde he gevith me for my good service, as he was accustumed to doo. Opteyne a letter from the King to the Deputy and Counsaill, that the said James bee comyttid agayne to the castell, there to remayne, till he have perfourmyd the said decre, and comaunding theyme to bee moore favourable to me, in my suytes, specially against Sir Christopher Barnewel, and Petir Barnewel, for Kateryn Barnewelles matier.

I doo send, at this tyme, three gosshawkes, oon olde and twoo yonge hawkes; whereof I will that Maister Secretary doo chewse twoo hawkes, and that my Lord Chaunceller may have the thirde hawke, and that as fewe know thereof, as ye may, and specially that my Lord of Wilshire know not therof.

Labour Maister Secretarys letters to the Under Thesaurer and capetaynes, to see the armye of better order then they were last in thes parties, ryfeling and taking pigges, gese, capons, chikkyns, perforce, for nought; cutting crosses and chekers of their beddes; forsyng the taverners, and other inconveniences. The cuntrey, where they bee, complayne sore uppon theyme. At Portlester, the 23 day of August.

(*Signed*) P. Oss'.

(*Superscribed*)
To my trusty servaunt,
Waltier Cowley.

CI. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald *to* Lord Leonard Gray.

Affter all dw recummendations, I hartely recummend me unto your Lordshyp, sertyfiyng you, that whereas I have done any thyng contrary agaynst my Sovyryng Lorde the Kinges Grace ys mynd, came nothyng of my owne mere mosyon, butt onely by youer cownsayll, the which bene in your Lordshypys cumpany now, as ben Thomas Ewstas, and Gerald Gerott, Shane ys son, with dyverse othyrs, by the which I was gowernyd att that tyme, and dyd nothyng, butt affter ther mynd; the which I reportt me to all the lordes of the Englys pale. Wherefore I hartely desyre your Lordshyp to be interssessor betwyx my sayd Ys Grase and me, that I may have my pardon for me, and myn lyff, and landes, the which shall nott be ondyservyd to the uttermost of my power; and yff I cannott optayne my forsayd pardon, I hawe no nothyr to do, butt shyfte for my sylff, the best that I can; trustyng in God, who preserv your Lordshyp.[1]

By your lovyn Frend,

(*Signed*) T. Fytz Geralde.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Rygtht Worsypfull Lord Leynard Gray,
delyver this with spede.

CII. Skeffyngton *to* King Henry VIII.[2]

Yt may please Your most excellent Highnes to be advertized, that wher as by my rude letters sent to Your Grace, that I, by thadvise of your Counsall, with your army, was determined to march forthward, and hostinges, the 18 day of this present month of August, uppon OChonor, and the traditour Thomas Fitz Gerald, with others that be succored with him in Ofaileigh; I have accordingly ther unto advanced your said army, aswell with the power of Your Graces band of the worth of this land, as otherwise, enterd into the borders of the

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[1] This letter is wholly in Lord Thomas Fitzgerald's handwriting. Its precise date does not appear, but it is manifestly posterior to Lord Leonard Gray's letter of 15th August 1535. Fitzgerald, having surrendered himself, was sent to England, where he was made prisoner, and committed to the Tower.

[2] From a copy, with Sir George Carewe's notes, in Lambeth Library, Vol. 601. leaf 20.

said OChonors countree: who, persevinge that there was noe waye els, but his utter distruction and banishment, came in and yelded him selffe unto me, Your Graces Deputie, and Counsaill, and offered to put in his pledges into my handes, to habide and performe the sayeinge of 4 indifferent personns, in all thinge, to the contentation and accomplishment of Your Graces pleasour. And all soe the saide traditour, Thomas Fitz Gerolde, with divers others his complices there beinge with him, (consideringe that he could not be succored furder by the said OChonor, and that his band and strength was by pollicie alured from him) hath, in like manner, submitted and yealded himselfe to Your Highnes mercy and pitty, without condition, ether of pardon, lyfe, landes, or goodes, but only submittinge him selfe to Your Grace; soe that his desier is, now that he is brought to uttermost extremitie, to be conducted to Your Highnes by the Lord Leonard Gray.

And, for that that the Lord ODonell hath allwayes dilligently used himselfe for the furderinge of Your Graces affayres, yevinge unto me, and your Counsaill, his best advice, and at this present time, sent his substantiall aide to this ostinges with the Lord Mc Swyer[1], and personally would have commen him selfe, but for the warr of Manus ODonell, his sonne; I, by thadvice of Your Graces Counsaill, with part of your army and ordinaunce entend to repayre unto theis parties, for the subduinge of Your Graces rebell traditour, the said Manus, whoo is like to put his father to greate danger and troble, onlest he have aid of some parte of Your Graces army ymmediately. Wherunto I determine myselfe, as fast as I can make provision for victuall and mony, by anny meane possible, to sett forthward uppon the said Manus; and subdued, as I have noe doubt in God but he shall, the north part of this land hath not been soe reconsiled of many years. And at my retourne from thence, where I, and your Counsaill, by the advice of your captaines, can see any furder service to be done, I shall apply me therin accordinge as to my most bounden duty shall appertaine. As knoweth the Blissed Trinitie, whoo preserve your most Royall estate in longe and prosperouse life to endure. From the Campe at Castell Iredayne, the 24th day of August.

Your Highnes moost humble obedient subject,

WILLIAM SKEFFINGTON.

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[1] In Sir G. Carewe's notes, Mc Guira.

CIII. The Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.

May yt please Your mooste excellent Highnes to bee advertyzed, that your Deputie and armye, according as Your Grace hath bene lately asserteigned, and with there vytelles, repayryng to the borders of Ochonours cuntry, for invading the same, and persecuting of hym, for the receyvyng, maynteynynge, and socoryng of your traytour and rebelle, Thomas Fytz Gerald, and his complices, bothe he, and the same Thomas, offred to common with the Lord Leonerd, me, James Butler, and me, your Cheif Justice. And after communication betwext them, the said Ochonour delivered hostages for redresse of his offences, according as certen persons shall ordre. And the seid Thomas Fytz Gerald, by suche meanes and policies as was used, (in the presence of Sir Rice Maunsfell, John Salisburye, and William Sentlowe) fynally confessyng his abhomynable offences towerdes Your Highnes, yelded hym self into the handes of the seid Lord Leonerd, to be presented to Your Grace by the seid Lord Leonerd, and me, the seid James Butler; to be ordered concernyng his lyf, and otherwise, as shuld please Your Highnes. According wherunto, the seid Lord Leonerd repayryth, at this season, to Your Majestie for that purpose, bringing with hym the same Thomas; beseching Your Highnes, moost humbly, that according the comfort of our wordes spoken to the same Thomas to allure hym to yelde hym, ye wold be mercyfull to the seid Thomas, especially concernyng his lyf[1].

Your Counsayll here, for suche causes as the Maister of your Rolles (whome we have apoynted to repayre to Your Highnes at this season) shall shewe Your Grace, hathe wylled me, James Butler, to tary here for defence of your lande, untyll the retourne of the seid Lord Leonerd, and not to resort to Your Grace according my promes aforeseid; whose advertisement, on Your Graces behalf, I shall never fayle (my lyf duryng) to folowe, without respecte of any other cause, what hurt so ever shuld ensue to me thereby.

The seid Maister of your Rolles shall advertyze Your Grace of the causes and considerations of the peax taken with Ochonour, togedre with the astate and condition of this your land, and all your affayres; beseching Your Highnes, that not onely, at his retourne, we may be advertysed of your pleasure in that behalf, but also that yt mought please the same to gyve your moost gracious

[1] See Lord Chancellor Audeley's Observations, Vol. 1. p. 446.

 thankes

thankes to the seid Lord Leonerd, for his notable service doon to Your Majestie, at this season, (for no doubte the seid Thomas wold yelde hym self to noon other, but onely to hym,) and to retourne hym hyther agayne, with spede, for your capytayns of your armye, nobles and gentyles of this land, have suche a respecte unto hym, that they be contented gladly to be governed and ledde by hym, as the seid Maister of your Rolles can advertyse Your Highnes; to whome it maye please Your Majestie to geve credence on our behalf. And we shall dayly praye to God for the preservation of Your moost Regalle Majestie, prousperously long to endure. From the Campe of your hooste, the 27th day of August.[1]

Your moost humble subgiettes,

(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P̄ of KYLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) R. B. of DELVYN.
(*Signed*) R. MANXELL.
(*Signed*) JOHN SALISBURY.
(*Signed*) JOHN SEYNTLOW.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃ Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To the King our Sovereyn Lorde.

CIV. NORFOLK *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MR. SECRETARY, with most herty recommendations, and lik thankes for your goode newes now sent to me, these shalbe to desire you, if the baylyff of Troyes be come, to advertise me, how ye thynk all causis betwene the Kynges Highnes, and the French Kyng, shall do. The cause, why I am now most desirous to know the same, is, I am determyned, as both the Kynges Grace and the Qwenys do know, to send my yonger son in to Fraunce for one yere at the lest; and, as I shewde you of late, I woll not send hym, onles I may perceyve the love betwene both Kynges likle to contynew. Wherfor eftsonys most hertly I requyre you to advertise me of your mynd consernyng the premyssis.

[1] A copy of this letter, with Sir George Carewe's notes, is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 601. leaf 9.
[2] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Letters, temp. Hen. VIII. Vol. 7. leaf 11.

Further-

Furthermore, sith my commyng hither, I have had knowlege that the inhabitantes of Norwiche made certificate to the Commissioners, consernyng the 10th; and none of them cessyd above 100 £, wiche, right wisle, they wold not accept, but yave them a lenger day, wiche, as I remember, shalbe on Wednysday next, with as gode exortacions as was possible.

I am determyned to hount at my park of Esham on Holyrode Day, and shall have with me Litleprowe, Edward Rede, and Austeyne Steward, wich be of most estimacion of that towne, and shall cause them to bryng to me the certefycate; and if I shall not lyke it, I shall yeve them 8 days lenger respite, with the best advyse I can. At wiche tyme I thynk it wer convenient the Kynges Highnes shuld wright to me a letter, that he doth not a litle merveyle of their onhonest certificate; commandyng me, aswell there, as in all other places in this shire, wher the certifycates be not yet taken, to speke rowndly to all suche as do not honestly, and, as I thynk, not trewly, make their seid certyficates. I trust som gode shall come therby.

And as consernyng sewers, litle is done therin as yet, but ther shall lak no callyng upon on my behalfe; wiche mater, if it be also towched in the Kynges letter to me, I thynk shalbe necessary. I dout not ye woll cowche the wordes of suche sort, that I may shew the letter, or send the copies theroff, wher I shall thynk necessary.

Fynally, as consernyng the traytours[1] takyng, I am sory, as ye be, that it had not be of a nother. But yet thanked be God it is thus; for by the same His Highnes shall not only eschewe gret charges, but also the knowlege ther of shall highle redownde to his honour in all countrees, no thyng to the plesure of his enemys. I dowte not ye woll streitle examyn hym, of all suche as hath confederate with hym, and most specyally, what answers he hath had of thEmperour, and the Kyng of Skottes. And, accordyng to myn accostomed facion, playnle to shew myn opynion in all thynges consernyng His Highnes affaires, I am of the mynd, as yet, and shalbe unto I shall here better reason to the contrary, that in no wise he shuld be as yet put to execusion, quod defertur, non aufertur. And these be part of the reasons to lede me theronto. One is, that consernyng the facion of his submyssion, my Lord Leonard, and my Lord Buttler, shuld for ever lose their credight in Irlond; wiche wer pite, for they may do gode service. Another is, that sewerly the Irishe men shall never after put them selffes in to none Inglishe man his handes; wiche if they do not, (consideryng that dayle, for dyvers causis, many of them shall offend) His Grace shalbe inforced incontynent to procede to the generall conquest of the

[1] Lord Thomas Fitzgerald.

lond;

lond; for onles they do parle for attemptates done, eyther the Deputie most procéde to a war with all suche personnys, or suffer the Kynges trew subjectes to be distroyed. One other cause, what thoppynions of many may be, that be disposed rather to speke ill, then well, if he shuld, opon his suche submyssion, be shortly put to deth, I report me to your high wisdome. And, as I thynk, ther is but one of these 3 ways to be taken; eyther execusion shortly, or pardon of lyff, or commyttyng to sewer pryson for a tyme. To the furst I have shewed myn oppinion. To the second I thynk in no wise to be done; for it wer the worst insample that ever was, and specially for these ongracious people of Irlond. To the 3th I have in like wise before shewde my poure opinion. And thus, as God doth know, I have declared to you my fantesy, without respect to any thyng but only for the best for my maisters proffight. And Our Lord send you, goode Mr. Secretary, that your jantle hert doth most desire. Scribbled at my poure lodge of Kenynghale, this Thursday, at 11 o clok, the 9th of September, with the ill hande of

Your assewred lovyng Frend,

(*Signed*) T. Norfolk.

(*Superscribed*)
To Master Secretary.

CV. Brabazon *to* Crumwell.

My moost bound duetie to your honorable Maistership remembred. It may please the same to be advertised, that seth the departure of the rebell, Thomas Fitzgerald, owte of this the Kinges roialme, all his folowers and adherentes be repaired into ther owne dwellyng places, and so be all his unclez; who I wold were in England, for as long as thei here remayn, thei will never be obedient. There hertes be so sturdie, if ever the seid traytor doo repayre hereunto eny more, the Kinges Grace haith wasted all this labor and coste. My poore advise shalbe to discharge this land of all the secte of them; then shall this cuntrey be in quietnes, or elles not. Examinacion wold he had of the seid traytor, where his evidences and bookes doo remeyn, so that they might be had. My Lord Deputie intendeth to repaire towerdes the castell of Dungarvan, for the takyng therof; and before hym is gone the Lord Thesaurer, my Lord Leonard's cumpeny, and Sir John Seyntlaw with his retynue, who entend to be there on Munday at night next, and to make a rennyng assaulte to the castell, to kepe them from vittaylers, unto the cummyng of my Lord Deputie with thordinaunce. As I here say, Sir John Seyntloo is sent for into England.

The

The Kinges Grace might evill spare hym here, seyng he is well amendyd. It were more for his profitt to be in Englond, then here, for I thynck ye right well knowe he is the smallyst gaynor of all the capteyns here. Mete it is, that my Lord Leonard might repaire with spede for the good orderyng of the army.

The Chief Justice and I ride aboute the Kinges landes, which, of all other, be now the worste, and moost wasted; but, God willyng, it will amend. Iff it now stond with the Kinges pleasure, the land of Irlond may be at comaundement, as His Grace will have, if it be quyckle handled; and, in especiall, to banisshe the Tooles, the Burnes, and the Cavenaghs, which, with Mc Margho and his secte, which is easie to be done, and to procede further into other parties. If the Kinges Deputies of this land heretofore had bene true, and willyng the Kinges advauncement, as thei have tendered their own lucre, the Kinges Grace had never to have bene at eny such greit charge, as he now is at.

My Lord Deputie, that now is, is a verie good man of warre, but he is not quyck inogh for this cuntrey, and sumwhat covetous. Therfore my poore advise shalbe to your Maistership, that he may repaire into Englond, seying he haith don well, and consyderyng his aege and sekenez, which is not mete for the werres here. A good Deputie, that is quyck, and not covetous, which will see justice egallie ministered to the Kinges subjectes, sone shall order this part of Ireland, so that it shalbe in asmuche quietnes as eny part of Englond.

My Lord Chauncelour of Ireland, who is now with yowre Maistership, by the Kinges commaunde, as I thynck, is not mete to be the Kinges Chaunceler here; and in Ireland is non so mete for that office, for the Kinges honor, and for the Englisshe order to be kept, as is the Lord of Kilmenen, after whoez deth, be myne assent shuld never be Lord ther more, but the King. There be diverz Abbottes and Priors in Englond, that have gret revenuez of spiritualtiez here[1], which were requesite to be put to howsez of religion here, and the Kinges Grace to have temperall landes for them. I desire your Maistership to remember the temperalties of the Bisshop of Dublyn, that the Kinges Grace may have theme, and he to have spirituell landes for them; and if it thus be, the Kinges Grace shall have, what by thatteyndors that have bene and shalbe, and by this meane, 4000 markes yerelie more, then His Grace haith had heretofore. And if it be not thus, the Kinges Grace shall have but small profitt, as I thynck the poore cominaltie here be verie true people, and confirmable to

[1] The Abbeys of Llantony, Furnes, Osney, St. Augustin near Bristol, Tintern, Bath, and Keynsham, the Priory of Cartmel, and the Hospital of St. Thomas of Acon in London, appear, by Brabazon's accounts, to have had more or less property in Ireland.

all

all good order; and the destruccion of this land is hoolie by the extorcion of the lordes and gentilmen of the cuntrey. As I am enformed, my Lord Deputie intendeth to hynder the Chief Justice and the Maister of the Rolles of Ireland by his writing to his frendes in Englond, which wer pitie, seyng what peynes thei dailie take in the Kinges affaierz here, and never idle, but alweys occupied in the Kinges causez, and for the good order of this land. Whereas your Maistership did write, that here shuld be 500 kern at the Kinges charges, according to my peticion, for the Kinges better affairez, I trust it is not nedefull; howbeit for a season I reteyned 500 kern or better, which never did him grete good, but that I thought thei shuld not be our enemyes. The capteyns all be in good helth, thankes be to God, notwithstanding the plage reyneth thorogh all the countrey verie sore. As I am enformed, my Ladie of Kildare hath a booke of the landes, latelie thErle of Kildares. If she have eny suche, it were requisite your Maistership had the same, to thentent it might be sent hether. Thus committyng the Kyng, our moost drad Soverayne Lord, your honorable Maistership, with all the Kinges moost honorable Councell, into the custodie of the Holie Trinitie. Dated this 10th day of September,

By your humble Servaunt,

(*Signed*) WILLM BRABASON.

(*Superscribed*)
To his Right Honorable Maister,
Maister Secretorie to the Kinges Highnes.

CVI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* SKEFFYNGTON.

RIGHT trustie and welbelovid, We great you well. And have aswell perceyved by the tenor of your letters, as by thadvertisementes from our Counsaill, the maner of the apprehension of Thomas Fitz Gerald, in your last jorney intended agaynst hym and Ochonor; the doyng wherof, albeit We accepte it thankfully, yet if he had beene apprehended after suche sorte as was convenable to his deservynges, the same had been moche more thankfull, and better to our contentacion. Nevertheles, for your industrie, paynes, and diligens used therin, We geve you our harty thankes, assuryng you that We accepte and exteme that and other your good service, mynystred unto Us ther and elleswher, in suche sort, as besides the laude and prayse worthie therunto, moche to your fame and commendacion, We woll have the same in our remembraunce, to your comfort and condigne reward and advauncement. And consequently, according our estimacion incident towardes you, in this behalfe, and in consideracion of the same,

same, We be not so moved with your age, sickenes, and debilite, which no doubte be no small ympeche unto you, and let of advauncement of our causes, as We woll yet, in respecte therof, remove you from the roume, honor, and auctoritie, whiche We have commytted unto you within that lande; but for your comfort bee contented to tollerate your sayde sikenes and debilitie, permyttyng you to contynue therin: not doubting but ye, havyng deepe respecte to this our benygnytie towardes you, woll devise, studie, and practise to gratefie the same with all your good devoyrs, force, meanes and policie, for the conducyng of all our affayres commyttid unto you to the desired ende, good effect, and purpose, so as We may see effectuall commoditie and profite to grow unto Us daylly by your procedynges, accordyng thexpectacion and trust whiche We have had in you, in this behalfe. And amonges other thynges, our desire is, that our Parliament ther be summoned, with all convenyent diligence, and that ye use suche meanes, industrie, and polecie, that the causes to be moved there for Us may take effect, accordyng our former advertisementes unto you, aswell by our other letters, as by the relacion of our Thesaurer of Warres, our Chief Justice, and the Maister of our Rolles.

CVII. Ap Parry *to* Crumwell.

Ryght werschypfull, my dewte rememberyd. Plesythe yt yower Masterschyp to be advertysed, that apone my Lord my masters[1] departyng with Thomas Fygh Garret, owght off Ierlond in too Ynglond, he comandyd me, beyng captyn of a hunderythe of hys men, that I schold take my company, and too go in too my Lorde of Osserys cunterey, with my Lorde Jams Butlere, and too be at hys poyntment, too gooe apon the Kynges enymes, wher hys plesuer was to apoynte us, tyl my Lorde my masters cummyng bake agayn. And apone the enterey of my Lorde of Osserys cunterey, at Leklyn Brege[2], we were apoyntyd to ly ther that nyghte; and so were we very well handelyd, and the people were glade off us. The morow after, we dyd ryde unto a towne calyd Callayn, and ther dyd remayn a seyneyght and 2 dayes; and ther they bee after ane Ynglysche faschyon, money of them, and were very glade of us.

[1] Lord Leonard Gray, in whose service Ap Parry was.
[2] Leighlin Bridge in Carlow, over the Barrow.

And then we were comandyd too goo too a towyn ys callyd Clonmel, and ther remayned 3 dayes and 3 nyghts, and ther we were wel handelyd, and after a good faschyon, and wel entertayned. And ther came too us one Thomas Buteler, brother ilaw un too my Lord Jams, now Sir Thomas Buteler, Knyght[1], made at the castel Dungarvyn; and so dyd cunductt us over the mountayns to Dungarvyn warde. And by the way met with us ane other brother ilaw of my Lord Jams ys, callyd Garret Makschane[2], the which is a mane that cane speke never a word of Ynglysche, and was very glade offe me and my cumpany, and made us very chere after the gentylyst faschyon, that could be, and ys a very strong mane in hys cunterey, and now ys sworne too bee the Kyngs servand, and hathe put in hys plegys too abydde what soe ever the Kyng, and hys Cownsell, wyll admytt hyme to doo. And Sir Thomas Butler ys a strong mane in hys counterey, and a mane that cane speke very good Ynglysch, and that handelyd me and my cumpany after a gentyl faschyon.

Plesythe yt yower Masterschep, as fore the wennyng of Dungarvyn, that of trowythe my Lorde Jamys, percevyng and havyng knowlege that the men with in the castell were but wreches to the cumparyson off men, and were not dysposyd too yeld yt up, persevyng the chargys, that the Kyngs Grace schold be at the betyng dowyn the howse, and the makyng of the howse a gayn, and the losses of Ynglysche men besyyde, ore that the wrechys mowght be hade; that then my Lorde Jamys, with hys wyte and hys polesy, fownde the means too sett in 2 gentylmen of hys ene, to be plegys for the cunstable, and the cunstable to cume and to spek with hyme; and soo he handelyd hyme with hys wysdom and gentylnes, and with rough faschyon with all, that he was very wel content with all to yeld yt up. Thys ys of trowthe; therfore yt were pety that enny other schold drowne the servys of my Lorde Jamys. And so my Lord Jamys plesyr was, that I schold prepare my self in a redynes to goo with hyme, to comen with a yowng gentylman, chalengys to be Yerle of Desmond[3], and with Cormak Oge, and with meyne other, and to se OBreyns cunterey. And, by no meyns, that my Lorde of Osserey, nor my Lord Jamys, ore I, culd doo, my Lorde Depute wold nat let us too have one off the bateryng peces with us. And yf that my Lorde Jamys myght have hade one of them with hyme, he wold have done syche servys to the Kyngs Grace, that no

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[1] Thomas Butler, of Cahir; who married Eleanor, daughter of Lord Ossory, and was in 1543 created Lord Cahir.

[2] Gerald Mc Gerald Mc Shane, of Decies; who married Alice, another daughter of Lord Ossory.

[3] James, the 13th Earl, who married Cormok Oge's daughter. See pp. 160, 238.

mane

mane dyd thys vyage, beyng forthe as he was, thys hunderythe yere; as yower Masterschyp schal wel know here in. The fyrst nyght frome Dungarvyn we went onward ower jurney to a towne callyd Yowghhol, wher we had very good cher, and onestly recevyd; and ther they dyd sell a galond of Gasgoyn wyne for 4d sterlyng. The second nyght, we campyd by a castell, the wyche ys calyd Cahermon [1], and ther my Lorde Jamys musteryd hys ost, the wyche schold onward with hyme that juerney, and ther he had with hyme 200 horsmen and 2, and 300 galoglasys and 12, and 200 and 4 kernes, besyyed foloors, as the faschyon of the cunterey ys; and soo hade I 3 skore and 18 spermen, and 24 long boys, and 5 hand gonns, and every mane well horsyd. And soo, forthe on the next day to Corke. And apon a hyll, halff a myll a thys syyde Corke, ther my Lorde Jamys comandyd me to put my men in too aray, and he lykwyse comandyd all hys captyns too put ther men in too a ray. And apon a hyl, halffe a myle ore more, Cormak Oge was with hys ost, and soo downe came Cormak Oge in to the valey with a certeyn, and my Lorde Jamys with a certyn with hyme, as ther was apoynted. And soo they met too gether, and fyl to parlyng. And after they had parlyd, my Lorde Jamys went in to the towyn with all hys ost, and the Mere of the towyn ther dyd receve hym, with hys bretherne, in ther skarlet gowns, and ther typetts of velvett, after the Ynglysche faschyon, and was very glad of us Ynglyschemen, and mad us the beste chere, that ever we had in ower lyves. And on the morow came Cormak Oge un to the towyn end, to my Lord Jamys, and browght with hyme the ywng gentylman the wyche chalengys to be the Yerle of Desmond; and so thys ywng mane spekes very good Ynglysche, and kepthe hys here and cap, after the Ynglysche faschyon, upone hys hede, and wolde be, as far as I can perceve, after the Ynglysche faschyon. And hys seyng was as thys, that he never ofendyd the Kynges Grace, and that londs that he hade, ore schold have of ryght, came by the Kynges yeft, and that he was a trew Ynglysche mane borne, and wold be content with all hys hert, yf Syr Jhon a Desmond, hys uncyl [2], wold cume and submyt hyme self un too the Kyng, and hys Cownsell, and to open hys tytyll, as he wold doo, then he wold be content to cume in too Ynglond, and ther too abyyde the jugment of the Kyng, and hys Cownsell; and yff that hys uncyll wyl nat cume, he ys very well content to goo in too Ynglond, ore in too Yerlond; or wher so ever the Kyng, or hys Cownsel, wyl apoynt hyme, he ys very well content with all. And as for Cormak Oge, he ys very well content that he schold soo doo.

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[1] Near Middleton, between Youghal and Cork.

[2] The 14th Earl of Desmond.

More over ther came in to my Lorde Jamys, one, the wyche ys callyd my Lorde Barrow[1], that cane speke very good Ynglysche, the wyche ys a very yowng man, not past a 17 or 18 yere of age, that ys a gret enherytor, and yff he had ryght; and leyd very sore too Cormak Oge, and to one Makerte Ryaghe[2], the wyche ys sone ilaw to Cormak Oge, and ys my Lorde off Kyldars syster sone. And soo the awnsware of Cormak Oge was thys, that he wold be sworen too doo the Kyng trewe servys, and too put in hys plegys too abyde the jugment of the Depute of Ierlond, or the Cownsel of Yerlond, betwen hyme and eny man in Yerlond, that can ley to hys charge that he hathe done hyme eny wrong in londs or goods. Macarte Ryagh came in apon a saff cundewte, and hys awnswar was, that he wold not be sworene unto the Kyng, nor put in no plegys for to doo eny man eny ryght, that he had don wrong to; for that, that he hathe won with hys sworde, he wyl hold yt with hys sworde. And then my Lord Jamys, beyng sore movyd at hyme, sayng untoo hyme, yt schold bee un to hys payn; he makyng awnswar, he wold abyyd ytt, with a prowd cowntenance, lyke the Garadyns, as ever I saw. My Lorde Jamys wold marvylyosly fayn have bene in hand with hys cunterey, but he cowld nat medle with no man, unto syche tyme he had browght in the Desmonds and Cormak Oge, too have bond of them, accordyng to ther promys.

And soo we remevyd from Corke to a place ys callyd Malaghe[3], and ther campyd by a rever syde, and one the morow we went too a towne ys calyd Kylmalok[4], and lay ther that nyght, and ytt was a very pore towne; and the next day to Lemeryk. And of treuthe OBreyn was cum downe, and lay with in 3 myl of Lemeryk, and, as the sayng was, with a gret ost; and had hurlyd down the wodes in the way, as we schold have gone in too hys counterey, and had forsakyn 2 off hys castels, herd by Lemeryk; and herd that we wer so ny, he went in to the mowntayns from us, for fere of ordynance: and when that he herd tell that we had no ordynance, then he restoryd hys men in to hys castels agayn with suche ordynance, as he hade of hys owyn. And withowzt ordenance to bett the one pyll, we cowld never enter well in to hys cunterey. Therfore my Lorde Jamys thowght best to recoyll bake agayn, and to bryng the Desemontes, and Cormak Oge with hys cumpany, to a stay, ore that hee wold pase eny further. And so in Lemeryk we had very good cher, but nat nothyng lyke the cher that we hade in Corke.

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[1] Lord Barry.

[2] The elder Mc Carthy Reagh married Kildare's sister, Eleanor, and by her had a son, Mc Carthy Reagh the younger, who married a daughter of Cormok Oge.

[3] Mallow, on the Blackwater.

[4] In the county of Limerick.

And

And soo we departyd ane 8 myle of, too a place of relygyon[1], the wyche ys after the Order off Grenwyche, and my Lorde of Kyldare was the founder of yt, for he hathe a castell and londes evyn ther fast by; and ther mett with my Lorde Jamys hys brother ilaw, wyche ys OBrens sone[2]. And hys seyng ys thys to my Lorde Jamys: "I have marryd your syster; and for bycawys that "I have marryd your syster, I have forsakyn my father, myn unkyll, and all "my frendes, and my cunterey, to cume too yow to helpe too doo the Kyng "servys. I have ben sore wonded, and I have no rewarde, nor nothyng to "leve apon. What wold ye have me do? Yff that yt wold plesse the Kynges "Grace to take me unto hys servys, and that yow wyll cum in to the cunterey, "and bryng with yow a pece of ordynance to wyn a castell, the wyche castell "ys namyd Carygoguyllyn[3], and Hys Grace to geve me that, the wyche "never was non Ynglysche manes thes 200 yere, and I wyll desyer the Kyng "noo help, nor ayde of no mane, but thys Ynglysche captyn, with hys "honderythe and od of Ynglysche men, to goe with me apon my father and "myn uncyll, the wyche are the Kynges enemys, and apon the Yrysche men, "that never Ynglysche mane were amonges; and yff that I do hurt or harme, "or that ther be eny mystrust, I wyl put in plegys, as good as ye schall "requyer, that I schall hurt no Ynglysche mane, but apon the wyld Iresche "men that are the Kynges enymes. And for all syche lond, as I schall "conquyer, yt schall be att the Kynges pleser to sett Ynglyschemen in yt, "to be holden of the Kyng, as hys pleser schall be; and I too reffewys "all syche Yrysche faschyons, and to order my self after the Ynglysche "lawes, and all that I cane make, ore conquer. Off thys I desyer a "nawnsware."

Thys day came in Sir Jhon a Desmond, and he ys a very old mane, and cane spek very good Ynglysche; and, as far as I can perceve, hee hathe bene full of myscheff, and ys yett at thys ower; and ys awnswer ys thys: "What "schold I do in Ynglond, to met a boy ther? Let me have that Iresche "horson, Cormak Oge, and I wyll goo in too Inglond before the Kyng." But he conclewdyd, at thys day fortnyght too be at Yowgholl, and ther too be the yowng gentylman, that chalengys to be the Yerle of Desmond, and Cormak Oge, and ther they to parle, and to put in ther plegys too my Lorde Jamys, and to other that schall be ther of the Cownsell; the wyche are apoyntyd.

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[1] Probably Monasternenagh.

[2] Donough, son of Conochor, and nephew of Murrough, OBrien.

[3] Carrigogunnell on the Shannon, west of Limerick.

And

And thys nyght we came to a towyn, the wyche ys callyd Kylmalok, and the next day to a towyn, the wyche ys callyd Casschell, and soo forthe to Clonmell, and ther to leve my cumpany, and I for to ryde in all the hast for Master Tresorer, and the Cheff Justys, to cume too my Lorde of Ossery, and to my Lorde Jamys, to set ther hedes to gether, at that day that they be apoyntyd to parle in. Sertyfyyng yower Masterschep, that all thys jurney, frome Dungarvyn forthe, ther ys none alyve, that ever cane remember that ever Ynglysche mane of war was ever in that partys. Sume day we rode 16 myle of wast land, the wyche was Ynglysche mens grownd, yet saw I never so goodly wodes, so goodly medowes, soo goodly pastures, and soo goodly reverse, and so goodly grownd to bere corne; and wher the regys were, that hathe borne corne, to my thynkyng ther was no beste dyd ett yt, not thys 12 yere; and that ytt was the moste part syche wast all ower jurney.

I ame bold too sertyfy yower Masterschyp of thys jurney, that I have bene forthe with my Lorde Jamys; besechyng yower Masterschyp, for the oner of God, as we that be poer men, beyng my Lord servantes, may pray for yow, that yow wyl geve my Lorde Jamys thankes for the kyndnes that he hathe schoyd untoo us; for ther was never noo noble mane in the world that cowld handell us more gentyler, then he hathe don; and dare boldly aferme, that yf the Kynges Grace wold let hyme have sum bateryng peces, and sum ayd of men, he schall doo Hys Grace beter servys in that partys, then eny man, by reson he ys so calyd by the maryage of hys systers[1], and by my lady hys wyffe[1], that other by fere ore love, he ys lyke to do the servys, and put the Kyng to less charge, then eny alyve. And yff any man of malyce wyl sey the contrary to the truth of thys my letter, whyche comprehendethe nothyng else, but what I have ernestly sene and herd, let me be uterly reprovyd and punysched, yf I prove not the same to be trew, frome poynt to poynt, as I have wretton. And thus Our Lord God preserve yower Mastership in honour. From Waterford, the 6th day of October.

Your poer Bedisman,

(*Signed*) STEVYN AP PARRY.[2]

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[1] See pp. 161, 171, 282.

[2] This letter, and the preceding, are quoted by Coxe.

CVIII. OBrien *to* King Henry VIII.[1]

Moste noble, excellent, high, and mighty Prince, and my most redubted Soveraigne High Lord, in the humblest manner that I can or may, I recomend me unto Your Majestie; I, Conoghoure OBryen, called Prince of Thomon in your land of Ireland. Advertyseing, that I received your most dread letters by your servant, Edmond Sexton, now Mayor of your citty of Lymericke, the 20th day of September, in your most noble Raigne the 26th, dated at your Mannor of Langlee, where I perceived partly your minde, in especiall, that I should give firme evidence to your said servant. This is to advertise Your Majesty of trowth that I was credible enformed, that the said letters were counterfeit, by my Lord of Ossery, and by my Lord his sonne, and by your said servant; which was the principall cause, that I did not receive such rewards as your said servant profered me and my brother, and that I did not write to Your Highness according to my duty; and that was the cause, that I did not follow the councell of your said servant in your behalfe, till this tyme: humbly beseeching Your Majesty to pardon me of my negligence in that behalfe.

And as for the receiveing of Thomas Fitz Gerald into my contrey; I insure you, that I never sent for him, privy nor apperte, into my contrey, but I could not, for very shame, refuse him of meat and drinke; for it hath been of old custom amongs Irish men to give meat and drinke, and such litle goods as we have. And as well I insure Your Grace that I never went, nor none of mine, to aid the said Thomas against Your Grace is subjects; and if I would have holpen him with my power, I insure Your Highnesse he would not have come in this tolmont, at the least.

And as for to certifie yow of the goeing of James Delahide towardes the Emperour, I insure Your Grace that it was never by my will; and to prove the trowth of the same, I insure Your Grace, that ever hé come, with power or without power, and it be in my power, I shall take or banish him to thuttermost of my power: also beseeching Your Grace to pardon me of my negligence in that behalfe.

Furthermore advertising Your Grace, that I have received your most dread letters, dated at your mannor of Westmester, the 10th day of September in your Raigne the 27th year, by the hands of your servant, Edmond Sexten, wherein I perceive Your Grace is jealous and displeasor with me, and as well

[1] Printed from a copy in the State Paper Office (where the original is not now found), in the handwriting of a clerk of Sir Joseph Williamson.

Your

Your Grace will me to give ferme credence to your said servant. I insure Your Grace, that, and if I had the consaill of your servant, and of oon Master Doghtoure Nyellane, Thomas Young, and John Arthur Fitz Nicholas, Aldermen of your said citty, at the first time, as I am informed by them now of Your Grace, and of your power and bountie, I had never done nothing prejudiciall to Your Grace is pleasure; but I was counselled by light people, wherof now I am rightsome. But now, seeing that all thinges is done and passed for lacke of experience, I humbly beseech Your Grace to take me to your mercy. And Your Grace has good cause soe to take me, for I insure that all mine ancestors, and I my selfe, hath done right good service to Your Graces Deputies here in this land of Ireland. Therefore I humbly beseech Your Grace, as lowly as any subject can or may, to pardon me of all the premisses; and I, and all that I have in the world, is and shall be at your comandment.

And as well if it would please Your Grace to be soe good and gracious to this poore land, and to use your poor subjectes, as to send some noble man to govern uss; and, in especiall, if it would please Your Highnesse to send your sonne, the Duke of Richmond, to this poor contrey, I insure Your Grace that I, and my brother, and all my kinsmen, with all my friends, shall doe him as lowly service, and as trew, as any man liveing; and I, my kinsmen, and all my friends, shall right gladly receive him to our forster sonne, after the custom of Ireland, and shall live and dye in his right and service for ever, and binde us to the same, after your pleasure known, by writeing to us by your servant Edmond Sexten, to whom wee remitt all the rest of our mindes to Your Grace. As the Holly Trinity knoweth, who have Your Majesty in His most tender tuycion, to your hartes desire. Written at my mannor of Clone Rawde[1], the 13th day of October.

CONOHWYR OBRYEN
PRINCE OF TWOMONE.

CIX. SKEFFYNGTON *to* KING HENRY VIII.

YTT may please Your most Excellent Highnes to be advertized of the affayres of this your power lande, sethen my last rude wryttyng unto Your Grace. According your high commaundement, I have bene at your castell of Dungarvan, in the company of thErle of Ossery, the Lorde Thesaurer, Sir John Sayntlow, and other capytaynes of Your Grace armye here; and beseghed and invyroned

[1] Ennis, in the County of Clare, anciently called Inis Cluan Ruada.

the

the castell rounde, as well by water as by land, by reyson of fyshermen of Devenshire and Cornwall being there at that tyme, so that they coulde nether have more strength of men, ne victeylles, then was wythin the castell at our commynge. Att which tyme I sende the capitayne of the castell a letter, whate was the cause and intent of my commyng, where of I have sende the copy unto your Chefe Secretory. And there unto the sayd capitayne of the castell made answere, and sayde; he had the kepyng thereof for his maister, and would doo the best he coulde for the defence of the same, for he knewe well, that I would soo doo for my maister, that I came froo. And upon the Sonday before Saynt Mathewis Day, I, and Your Grace Maister of your Ordenaunce[1] here, after mas, vewed from whate place we shoulde best make our battry, and so determyned, and that night brought our battry peaces to the same place, so that by fyve of the clocke in the mornynge begane our shott; and by 11 of the clocke of the same day, there was so hott shott, and suche battry, that Sir John Sayntlowe came to me, and desired me to be soo good unto hym, that he and his company myght have the saute, and was in full redines to have entered, which was of high courage, and mych to his preyes. To satisfy his apetyde, as good reyson was, I promysed hym his desire, and that my company sholde geve thadventure with his, whene I thought yt sautable; but I shewed hym I perceyved at the battry the top of a barryar, soo that by the same I knewe there was rampere made: and whene the hows was delyvered, yt apered so, of trougth. And by fower of the clocke the same day the capitayne yelded the hows to me, to your use, commyng forth as presoner to my hand. And on the morowe the hole company of his retynnewe came to me, and suche of Your Highnes Counsaill as there was, wyth there bage and bagages, accordyng to the apoyntment; reservyng all ordenaunce and victeyll to remayne in the same castell: and the sayd capitayne, with his company, in the Church of Our Lady there, were sworne Your Grace subjectes, and to follow the succession of Your most Royall Majesty, and of the excelent Quene your wyfe, Quene Anne; and so departed. Thereupon I delyvered the sayd castell, wyth the appertenaunce and revenues to the same, to thErle of Ossery, and the Lord Thesaurer, to Your Grace use, which is named to be of the grettest valewe of any lordship that Your Highnes hath in this your land; and most men of worship houlde by service of the same. This fynished and done, I, by the advise of your Counsayle, derected commyshions to the Lord Thesaurer and others of that country to execute the succession of Your Highnes, and of your most excellent Quene, and delyvered for every cetiy, borow, townes, and countryse in those partyse; as Galway, Lymerike, Corcke, Kynsale,

[1] Bernardine de Wallys.

Youghyll, Clommell, Waterforde, Roos, Waxforde, the counteyse of Typerary, Ossery, Kylkenny, and Carlaugh, and so thorowly to the countey of Kyldare. And the sayd Sir John Sayntlowe demeyned hym selfe in such fashion, and was wyth all men in such estimacion, both for his fydelite, diligent, and paynfull service, as also for the power of his retynnewe, that I made hym Comyshioner and chefe of the Corum in all those partise, at the request of Your Grace Counsayll in that country. And undoubtedly his broder aplyeth hym selfe dilligently, and takyth grete paynis to have his retynnewe allweyse in redines to doo all affaires, that may lye in hym, consernyng Your Grace honor. And nowe have apoynted your Counsayll to mete with me for the full accomplishment of Your Grace sayd succession, in all your fower obedyaunt shires[1]; soo that in that, and all other Your Highnes affaires here, I shall of my parte indevor myselfe, God willing, to the uttermost of my power, to folowe the same, to Your Grace honor, and the welth of this your power land. As knowith the Blessed Trenyte, to whom I daylly praye for the preservacion of Your most excellent Highnes in helth long to endure. Wretton at Your Grace castell and manor of Maynoth, the 16th day of October.

Your humble and most obediaunt Subject,

(*Superscribed*) To my moste dread Sovereigne Lorde, the Kinges Highnes.

(*Signed*) Willm̃ Skeffyngton.

CX. Lord Butler *to* Crumwell.[2]

Pleas it your goodness to be advertised, that I have, of late, adressid myn other letters unto you, contaynyng my procedinges in the west partes of this land, immediatly after the wynnyng of Dongarvan; to which my journay, if the Lord Deputie had spared me one of the batry pieces (God being my ledar) undoubtidly such sarvice moght have bene done with so litell charge, that the Kinges Highnes shold have bene therwith plesid, and wele contentid. But as it chaunssid, with such company, as I then had of myn awn, with the good assistaunce of Stephen Aparry, captain of one hundred speris, I rode forth to Youghell, Cork, and Lymeryk, and had of the yong pretensid Erll of Desmound such resonable offers, at his commyng in, that I suppose thies many dayes the lordes and captains of that countre were not so tretable to good order; like as more amply aperith in my former letters. Sir, of trouth the said Lorde Deputie, mynding to have his service and procedinges the better avaunsed,

[1] See p. 65.

[2] From the Chapter House, Bag marked "Ireland."

and

and blowen out, by the reapoorte of my Lorde my fader and me, instantly deasired us to put our handes to a letter, devised by him silf, in his recommendacion; which letter I suppose is sent forth by hym unto the Kinges Grace. And albeit that my Lord my fader is sarvice, or myn, was never mych recomendid by his avertisment, yet partly of curtesy, and also trusting he wold then with better will have lent me one of the said batry pieces, I put to my hand, and so did my Lorde my father, at his retorn to Waterford, trusting also to have had the said piece to sarve the King again the Breenys. I rekon it no grete wisdome, nor yet mater of honour, where any man procureth an other to be his heraude. And, for my part, God and the King knowith my tru hart, to whom I humbly comytt the construccion of my poer servyce. And sith that now repaireth unto His Grace Sir John Saintlau, who never spared, for pain cost and charge, to do his master acceptable good servyce, worthy of remuneration, I commytt unto his brest the report of my procedinges, and shall most hartilly desire you to thanke hym for the loving approved kindnes I have alway found in hym towardes my Lorde my fader, and me. The Kinges Grace, and he hym silf, being so pleasid, my desire is that he may retorn hither again, sith I have at ful percevid his diligent servyce to be such, as, if he retourn not, I shal have grete lac of hym. As knowith God, who ever preserve you. At Waterford, the 17 day of October.

Your assured Kynnesman,

(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Right Honorable Cousin, and moste loving Freind, Master Cromwel, the Kinges Secretary.

CXI. KING HENRY VIII. *to* SKEFFYNGTON.

RIGHT trusty and welbeloved, We grete you well. And havyng ben advertised, to our no litle displeasure, that aswell the musters of our armye have not ben taken monethlie, as at such tyme as view thereof hath ben had, so as not onely dyvers and many defaultes, both in lacke of nomber and otherwise, hathe ben perceyved and noted, but also dyvers other abuses comenly practised among the capitaynes of our armye, in gyvyng passeportes by their owne auctoryte, fulfilling of nombres, and receyving of souldeours into wages, contrary to our pleasure, robbing and ryffling our subjectes, with suche other misbehaveors to long here to be expressed, whiche hitherto hath not ben redressed, ne duely corrected; We let you wete, that mynding the reformacion thereof, We have

appoynted our right trustie and welbeloved Counsaillours, the Lorde Leonard Grey, Chief Marshall of our Armye there, our trustie and right welbeloved Sir John Sentlowe, Knight, Willyam Brabazon, Thesaurer of our Warres, and John Alen, Master of our Rolles, or 3 or 2 of them at the leste, both for the 2 monethes last past, at this present tyme, and at all othir seasons fromhensforth monethly, before payment of any wages, to take a view of muster of our sayde armye: wherein We woll they shall use such circumspection, that non be allowed to take wages, but suche as be able persons; that is to saye, every horseman with an able horse, and otherwise furnisshed, as apperteyneth to a horseman, and every foteman, as to him belongeth; and uppon the dethe, or departure of any souldeor by auctoryte of any passeport, to be graunted upon causes and consideracions to you and them, or three or 2 of them at the lest, approved, non other to be accepted in his place, before he be admytted by them, or three or two of them; but also uppon the offence, contempt, or myshaveor of any capitayn or other of our armye, they, 3 or 2 of them, makyng relacyon thereof to you, to ponysshe and amende the same indelayedlie, according to justice. Wherein We woll ye shall not onely assiste them at all tymes, but also advertise the capitaynes and armye of our pleasure, aswell in this behalf, as declare unto them that percase they, or any of them, shall contempne to folowe the same, they shalbe assured of our high displeasure and indignacyon.

And where, heretofore, ye have accustomed, for the more parte, in your letters and advertisementes unto Us of the successes of our affaires, to wryte singulerly by your self, without making those that be of our Secrete Counsaile pryvey thereunto; and parte of them, on the other side, have semblablye, at dyvers tymes, written unto Us; both which conferrid togither, We have noted in them some discrepance and confusion of matier, to our no litle mervaile: our pleasure is, that fromhensfourth, aswell in all our causes and affaires, ye folow thadvise of our Pryvey Counsaile, inespecyally the counsaile and advertisementes of our saide Counsaillors, the Lorde Leonarde, the Thesaurer of our Warres, and our Chief Justice, in all your procedinges, as ye, togyther with our saide Pryvey Counsaile, and specyally, at the least, with the same Thesaurer of our Warres, our Chief Justice, and the most parte of our Pryvey Counsaile, by your wrytinges, joyntly, advertise Us, from tyme to tyme, of the successe of our affaires there, and non otherwise.

Ye shall also understonde that We, thinking you to be a man of actyvyte, grete knowlege, and experience, do consider not onely the grete charges, which We have susteyned, by your counsaile and persuasion, for the repressing of the Geraldynes, being the lette, as ye sayd, of our strength, proffites, and commodyties

commodyties within that land; but also, Thomas Fitzgarralde being now absent out of the lande, it is not necessary to have fotemen there at our charges, specyally all this wynter season, being no tyme propice for them to travaile; woll that, percase ye, and our Pryvey Counsaile, consulting togither, shall consider no gret cause of necessite to reteyn them there for all this wynter, ye discharge them all, or asmany of them as by you, and our Pryvey Counsaile there, shalbe thought requysite, out of wages; assuring you, that if ye, and our saide Pryvey Counsaile, shall thinke necessary and expedyent to have them, or a more nomber, to repayre thither for executing of any exployttes the next somer, they shalbe appoynted to arrive at suche portes and places, as ye shall advertise Us, by the 20 day of May at the ferthest: willing you, with all celeryte, not onely to be vigylant and industrious, with thadvise of our saide Pryvey Counsaile, aswell in takyng the hostages of suche Irish men and rebelles of the north of Irelande, and other borderers to our subjectes, as hitherto delyvered non to you: not a litle mervailing that ye have omytted heretofore to take pledges of such, as ye have parled and pacted with; whose pactes and promises ye knowe to be of no force without pleges, which, nevertheles, We remytte to your and our saide Pryvey Counsailes discrecion; but also, specyallie, to exclude Neile Mor out of our shire of Uryell; who, as We be infourmed, is the untrewest man towardes Us within those partes: using ferther all your industrie, travaile and diligence, as poletiquely as ye can, for the more spedy apprehension of such traytours, as this berer, the Master of our Rolles, shall prescribe unto you[1]; and setting order, redresse, and refourmacyon in the

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[1] In the State Paper Office is the following list, in the handwriting of Alen, which probably contains the names of those whom, according to the above letter, he was to prescribe.

Theis to be taken.	Sir James Fitz Geralde -	Bredern to the late Erle of Kildare.
	Sir John Fitz Geralde -	
	Richard Fitz Gerald - -	
	Oliver Fitz Geralde - -	
	Walter Fitz Geralde - -	
	James Fitz Geralde - -	And asmany other of the basterde Geraldines, as the Chief Justice and other of the Cunsaile shall thinke convenient.
	Geralde Fitz Geralde - -	
	William Fitz Geralde, called W. Naasy - - -	
	Richard Fitz Edmunde, his broder - - - -	
	The Lord of Dunsany -	To be attainted, with soch others as be named in a memoriall delivered to the Chief Justice and me, at our last being here, togeder with thois which can be proved to be principall offenders.
	Delahide - - - -	
	Dillon - - - -	
	Lynche - - - -	
	Felde of Payneston - -	
	Certen of the Walshmen -	
	Certen of the Haroldes -	
	Garlon of Garlonyston -	

marches

marches of our Inglishrye, and other our subjectes there, as the Thesaurer of our Warres, and Chief Justice, with the moste parte of our Pryvey Counsaile, shall advertise you; togyther with the advauncement of our causes in our Parliament, with that diligence and dexteryte, as We may see the successe to folowe of your frutes and doinges, that We daylie expecte, in and about theffectuall increase of our strength, jurisdiction, revenues, and proffyttes there, according to your many persuasions and wrytinges unto Us.

Wylling you, also, that ye, the Thesaurer of our Warres, our Chief Justice, and Master of our Rolles, with thadvise of suche other of our Counsaile as shalbe present with you, shall advertise Us, with all celeryte, of suche manours and landes, as eyther the late Erle of Kyldare, or any other traytors atteynted, had, and of all other our revenues there, with the true value of the same, without conceilement; dyvers parcelles whereof, upon consideracions, to Us and our Counsaile furst certefied, and duely declared, We shall thereupon be contented to graunte from Us, upon reservacion of reasonable rentes, to certen persons being our subjectes, suche as We shall, by thadvise of our Counsaile, thinke good and expedient; to thintent that they, having the same, shalbe the more able to defende our frontieres foranenst the rebellious Irisshrye; by reason whereof, we shalbe the lesse charged in resisting the spoyles and robberyes of the Irish rebells hereafter.

Letting you ferther to understonde, that having assigned our trustie and right welbelovid the saide Lord Leonard Grey[1] to repayre thither agayn, at this season, in the same rowme and auctoryte that he had there before, for the leding and ordering of our armye, We have willed and commaunded him to demeane himself in due reverence and obedience towardes you, as to thonor and auctoryte of your rowme, wherein ye represente our astate, doth aperteyn. Nevertheles, We thinke it shalbe your parte, on thother side, to consider his nobylite, being of our bloode, and use him and enterteyn him both according to the same, and our auctoryte and trust commytted unto him there. Willing and commaunding you, ferther, that for the due punycyon of suche, as shall rather inclyne to the disordering of our armye, in robbing and spoyling of our subjectes, with suche other misdemeanures, then to the conservacion of any

[1] On the 3d of October 1535, the King, by letters under the Privy Seal, commanded the Lord Chancellor of Ireland to create Lord Leonard Gray, Viscount Grane, and James Lord Butler, Viscount Thurles; and their patents, accordingly, passed on the 2d of January 1536. But neither of them seems ever to have assumed those titles, either in their signatures, or in the style by which they were addressed. The Viscounty is sometimes given to Lord L. Gray in formal instruments, as in the treaty with Phelim Roo ONeil, of the 1st May 1536.

good

good rule and quyetnes in the same, ye do, from tyme to tyme, be assistent to the Marshal of our said armye, unto whom We have commytted the order and direction thereof, as aperteyneth to a Mersshall; adding therto our power, your industrie and devoyres, for the indelayed execucion of suche malefactors and offendors, after suche sorte, as justice may take place, and our subjectes lyve in good conformyte and quyetnes accordinglye.

CXII. Aylmer *and* Alen *to* Crumwell.[1]

Oure humble duetye remembrid. Pleas it your honourable Maistership to bee advertysid, that, accordyng our bounden duetie towardes you, and your will, pleasure, and commaundement to us and Maister Theauserer of the Werrys, have evyr, to this tyme, yoyned in oon mynde and conformytie, consultyng at all tymes in whate maner our Soveraigne Lord the King moght bee moost best and faithfully servid, for His Gracis honour and profyte. For sithens the commyng of the armye into Ireland, too this tyme, we have, for the more parte, evyr kept company with other, from place to place, in doyng our Souveraine Lord servyce; soo as, thankes be to God, the Kynges causes hathe takin effecte and furtheraunce, beyonde thexpectacion of many. And, God willing, yf we bee not severed by false meanes, greatter thinges shall bee done. For sithens the furst conquest, Iryshe men was nevyr in suche feare, as they bee at this instant tyme. And nowe the Kynges sessions been kept in fyve sheres more then was wont to bee; theves, robbers, and malefactours, many and dyvers, taken and hanged; and specially in the countie of Kildare, for at the last sessions there were 18 hanged, and parte of theym quarterid, soo as now the pore erthtillers there, and many wheris els, doo peasably occupie the erth, and feare not too complayne uppon theym by whom they bee hurtid.

I, Geralde Aylmer, have of late received, by the Maister of the Rollis, your moost comfortable letter, wherin ye have willid the said Maister of the Rollis, and me, too persevere in our olde amytie with M^r^. Theauserer, and too joyne in oon conformytie to serve our Souverain Lord the Kyng, in all

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 90.

causes

causes faithfully, soo as noo defaulte coulde bee assigned in us, before the recepte of your said letter, but accordyng our dueties to the Kyng, and for the speciall love and service whiche wee bear to your good Maistership. And accordyng your pleasure and commaundement, we have, at all tymes, resortid unto the said Maister Theauserer, giveing our attendaunce upon him, noo les, in maner, then it had been to your silfe; shewing him all wayes our best advyse and counsaile in all causes, wherwithe to this tyme he was contentid, and followed the same. Nevyr the les, now of late, reaporte have bee made, that wee shuld not have been frendly disposed towardes him, and that we shuld wryte letters to your Maistership, that he did not the Kinges Grace suche service, as he might have done, and that we shulde also have made labors to put him from his office of Underthesaurer; whiche to have attemptid (yf we had borne him suche displeasure) had not procedid of discretion, considering that we knewe he hathe the same office during his lyfe. Albeit your good Maistership well knowith, that we were nevyr of suche mynde towarde him, neither hathe he desarvyd the disprayse of us, or any others; for he hath done the Kyng highe serwyce. Whiche informacions and sedicion, as we certaintly instructid, hath been specially ministred by M^r^. Agarde; who hath procurid the said Maister Thesaurer, by secrete practyse and divise, to be in displeasure with us. Wee moost humbly beseche your honorable good Maistership, with all our harte submytting our silfes unto you, that it wolde pleas you too persevere and contynue in your goodnes towardes us, noo wours then ye have been in tymes past, and noo les then our herttis shall bee truely too serve the Kyng, withowte gyving credite to any thing moevid by the occasion of any untrue surmyse in the premysses; whiche we doubte my Lord Deputie, upon olde displeasure towarde us, woll styrre, procure, and contynue; and that ye wold write too Maister Thesaurer, whate ye know by us touching him, soo as he shall not any more regarde soche light reaportis. For we woll not faile to contynue towardes him as we did hidtherto, and shall be alway redy our lyfes during; as we be bounden to doo, and observe your will, mynde, and pleasure, in all thinges. And for as moche as, at our departure from Dublin to thees parties, we knew not by whom theis said imagynacions of discencion shuld bee moevid, but sethens have been instructid, that Maister Agarde shuld be the chief grounde and occasion of the same; we have writtin a letter to him therof, whiche yf he woll shewe you, your Maistership shall perceyve the further trouth therin. And till your pleasure bee knowen, ther shall be noo defaulte founde in us, but we woll doo as ye have knowen wee have usid our silfe in tyme past. And thus the Hooly Trinitie have your honourable

honourable wisedome in His moost tender and blessid tuycion. Writtin at Kilkenny, the last day of Decembre, by your bounden,

(*Signed*) Gerald Aylm[r] Justice.
(*Signed*) John Alen, M[r]. of the Rolle.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable Maister Crumwell,
Princypall Secretarie to the Kynges moost excellent Highnes.

CXIII. Lord Ossory, &c. *to* Crumwell.

Ower duties remembred, as apperteineth, commende us moste hartelie unto you. And where we, at this season auctorised by the Kingis commission under his Grete Seale, assembled togeder in theis parties, not oonlie for hearing and determyneng of the Kingis subjectes causes and greves within the shires of Carlagh, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Waxford, but also aswell for inquiring of the Kingis landis, revenues, and profightes, as to be present at thelection of the burgesses and knightes of the shires ther for the Parliament, to thintent that soche persons of gravitie and discrecion may be elected, as of likeliode, of wilfulnes, of sensualitie, contrary to equitie or reason, shuld not sticke in the Kingis causes; and furder to common and practise with Irishemen in theis parties of Leynster, wherin we use more diligence, than for any other countries; considering that the Byrnes, Tholes, and Kavenaghes, which inhabitenge within the same betwixt Dublin and Waterford, requiren of all others first and principall reformation, and onles the same be attempted, and achived effectually, the Kingis Majestie shall never be at any stay or likeliode of reformacion of this lande, or yit in securitie of keping of the same without continuall charges: in thabsence of my Lord Deputy[1] and M[r]. Thesaurer, we have thought good to advertise your honorable Mastership of our procedingis and opinions in this behalf; having considered that the said nacions of Birnes, Tholes, and Kavenaghes, parte of whom the Lord Leonarde hathe latelie depredate, invaded, and persecuted, have, in effecte, the rule and domynyon

[1] Skeffyngton died at Kilmainham on the 31st of December 1535, and the Council at Dublin, on the following day, elected Lord Leonard Gray, Lord Justice of Ireland; but these facts appear to have been unknown, at the date of this letter, to those members of the Council who were on the commission in Munster. No despatch communicating these events to the King has been discovered.

betwixte Dublin and Waterforde by the sea coste, which been the oonlie lett, that the Kinge hathe not a pale entier, but dividid by quarters, neither hathe an hoole and entier strength, but diminished and severed by reason of them, neither that his subjectes can traivaile, ne joine togeders in oon conformitie, for the disturbance and rebellion suscitate by the said persons, and ther foloers. No doubt theis men may be banished; but the doing therof will aske a protracte of tyme; a grete power, not for prosecuteng of them oonlie, but for defence of others in the meane tyme, which, perceiveng the enterprise therof, and fearing the like, woll make insurreccion to lett the doing of the same, and shall require no litle charges; and yet, before the attempteng of that interprise, inhabitauntes must be provided, and what persons they shalbe, and how the land shalbe divided to them, it woll require good deliberacion, and no litle circumstance. Therfor we thinke good to take this way to begynne, to buylde and reedifie some piles and fortresses amonge them, and having wardis in them. The same, with soche excurses, divises, practises, and policies as may be used against them, shall cause them to summitte them selves to be ordred under the Kinges obedience; and having parte of the landis, which they have now in possession, given to them and their heires males, and the name of the superioritie and capitenship of McMorgho and Obirne renunced, and extincte for ever, no doubt they wilbe glad to graunte the Kinge rent, and other imposicions, trusteng to be in no wors caas than other the Kingis subjectes within the countie of Dublin, and ellis where. Of the possibilitie or likeliode wherof, my Lorde of Norfolke knoweth moche, by his experience he had here.

We signifie also unto you, les the prosperus succeding of the Kingis affaires shuld be letted, impaired, or vainelie pretermitted, to no litle consumpcion of his treasur, that it is expedient, and gretelie requisite, that His Majestie advertise his Deputie not oonlie to permitte soche interprises, as shalbe considered by His Gracis Privay Counsaile here necessary to be advaunced, to be executed according as the said Counsaile shall thinke good: for we suppose the Kingis Highnes, graciusly considering the age of his Deputie, and though he had as good youthe, and as grete agilitie as mought be divised, he can be but in oon place at oones; and we know His Grace may be highly served in diverse placis, yea, and at oon instant, and that many tymes: but also that he, and the said Counsaile, directe all ther intentes, myndes, and willes first to atteyne the hostagis of the Geraldynes, and others in Mounster, breking of Obreenes Bridge, and soche like thingis in the borders of thInglishrie; and that doon, ernestelie to ensue the reformacion of the said Irishmen of Leynster, wherby bothe grete subjeccion and profight shall folowe to the Kinge and his heires; and, not omitteng the grete benefite therof, to divise all his warres and

and practises against Manus Odonell[1], who, no doubt, is a naughtie lewde person, combyned with the Geraldines, purposeng to mary a suster of thErle of Kildares; which shalbe letted, God willing, albeit he is distant from Dublin above 120^{ti} miles, so as by makeng a jornay thider, which can be no les than with 8 weakes vittels, the next somer, all thingis considered, shalbe in effect loste, withoute any profighte achived for the King, or any reformacion of the lande. Ye must consider, that Odonell is of the wilde Irishe, also a man lame and impotent, farr from our socor or aide, induceng my Lorde Deputie to diverse thingis, with persuacions of writeng, wherunto litle or no credite is to be had; and being brought into that perplexitie, by reason of the continuall warr betwixt him and his said son, that he forcethe not, though the Kinge consume his treasur to serve his purpoos, pretermitteng the reformacion of his awne subjectes, and the increscе of his revenues and profightes. Wherfor we advertise you, according our duties to the Kinge, that neither by any his feyned surmises and promises, neither for any my Lorde Deputies persuacions on his behalf, to take non other credite, but the same procedethe to serve his awne purpoos oonlie. So as though his son, being never so fals and evell, as many others be within this land, yit it is not meate utterlie to sett aparte all the furtherance of the Kingis causes for persecuteng of him. Nevertheles, if it shall please my Lorde Deputie somewhat to ensue our advises, we shall do our devours to take some aggreament betwixt them, so as the same be no hinderance to the Kingis purpoos and profight. And semblably, that the Kingis Majestie advertise the said Deputie immediatelie to take pledgis of the borderers of thInglishrie, and especiallie of Orayley, and soche others in thois quarters; and to cause Neile More to departe owte of the shire of Uriell: wherof the Master of the Rolles advertised him, by vertue of his credence on His Gracis behalf, albeit hitherto he hathe not performed the same. But if it shall please the Kingis Highnes to remitte thorder of thois matters to M^{r}. Thesaurer and us, the same shall not long be delaid from thaccomplishment; and besides that, to advertise the said Deputie, that he, by the Counsailes advise, furnishe the Lorde Leonarde with ordenaunce, and parte of the Kingis gunners, at all tymes requisite. Beseching your good Mastership, that of the Kingis finall pleasur in the premisses we may be asserteyned by this berer, to thintent we may order ourselves accordinglie.

And also, where the Kinge heretofor hathe been advertised of the wast and decay of the manor and parke of Maynoth, the Lord Leonarde, trusting to do

[1] He was the eldest son of Odo Odonel, chief Captain of Tyrconnell, and in the course of the year 1537, succeeded to the chieftainship on the death of his father, and married Lady Eleanor Fitzgerald, widow of McCarthy Reagh, having had for his first wife a sister of ONeil.

the Kinge good service in reduceng the same to the oolde astate and condicion, is contented to take the hooll manor by lesse, and to paie yerelie therfor asmoche rent as was perceived therof by thErle of Kildare, who was the gretest improver of his landis in this land, and also to enclose the parke agayne at his awne chargis; which we thinke is a good bargayne for the Kinge, and shalbe a grete ease and reformacion for the country theraboutes. Of your mynde wherin, it may please you to advertise M^r^. Thesaurer, withoute knowlege wherof neither he, nor we, woll put my Lorde Deputie from the useng of the same at his plesur. And thus the Hoolie Trinitie preserve your honorable Mastership. Beseching you to retorne aunswer by this berer, your servaunte Marten Pellis. From Clomell, departing to Yogill, the seconde daie of January.

Your dayly Orators,

(*Signed*) P. Oss'.
(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM[illegible], Justice.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, M^r^. of the Rolles.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our singuler good Master, Master Secretary.

CXIV. OSSORY, &c. *to* CRUMWELL.

IT may please your honorable Mastership furder to be advertised, that some seditius persons have intymated to M^r^. Thesaurer of the Warres, that we, Gerald Ailmer, and John Alen, shuld not beare good will to him, having reported or wrighten unto you diverse thingis to his reproche and hinderance. Among which he is informed, as he saithe, that John Alen, at my last ther being, shuld have practised to put him from his office of Underthesaurer. We thinke your Mastership dothe knowe the truthe therof; and being contrary, do trust ye woll take no credite to any motion, which by occasion of the same mought be made unto you, but regarde soche persons, whiche wold invente or continue soche seditius practises amongis the Kingis Counsaile, as they be worthy. Beseching you to advertise Master Thesaurer of your mynde and plesur, for the declaracion in that behalf.

(*Signed*) P. Oss'.
(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM[illegible], Justice.
(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY. (*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, M^r^. of the Rolles.

CXV. THE COUNCIL *of* IRELAND *to* KING HENRY VIII.[1]

PLEASE it Your most excellent Majestie to be advertysed, that aswele before tharrivall of Your Gracis Deputie and army within this your lande, your lovyng and faithful subjectis, thErle of Ossory, and the Lorde Butler his son, Your Highnes servaunte, in their moste assured loyall facion, did not alloonly, to their uttermost powers, make resistence, excurses, and roodis against your disloyall traictour, Thomas Fitz Geralde, but also in all thextremytie of his said rebellion, they allonly, and noon other, kepte their allegiaunce and fidelitie to Your Grace; as after the arrivall of your said Deputie and army, did semblably, by all wais and meanes to theme possible, practise the exile and aprehending of the said Thomas Fitz Geralde, with their moste ayde, force, and pollicye, making sundry excurses and roodis for the enfebling, annoyaunce, and destruction of him, to the great conforte, aide, and assistence of your Deputie, and all other your lovyng subjectes within this lande; and further, at all seasons requysite, reasortid hither to your Deputie and Counsaile, for the consultyng and debating with theme upon the politicque ordering and advauncement of Your Gracis causes and affayres. Likewise, as at this tyme, upon the dethe of Your Graces late Deputie[2], they did repaire hither, to assemble with others of Your Gracis Counsaile, for thelection of a Governour of this lande, and the staying of the Iryshe borderers from annoyaunce of your subjectis, wherin, noo doubte, right effectuelly they have endevored theme selfes. And not that oonly, but also by all their meanes and policies, thei practise with us to allure many of the Irishrie into an ordenary obedyence, and to constytute tenours, and a senyorie to Your Highnes, with a yokke of your lawes, otherwise then ever hitherto hathe bene attemptid, yf it may succede according their intentes and devours; whiche is an evident demonstration of their sinceritie and loialtie to You, and your succession. Semblably, certayn of us, auctorysed of late by Your Gracis comyssion to execute your lawes within the counties of Kylkeny, Tipperary, and other placis undre their rule, were obediently assisted by theme; and the inhabitauntes there, under their rule, obeide unto Your Highnes auctoritie, as did apperteyne. Having founde the said Erle of Ossorye and Lorde Butler, at that tyme, and at all other seasons, veray willing to have Your Highnes power, jurisdiction, auctoritie, and prouficte furtherid and avaunsed to the uttermust of their powers;

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[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. xi., leaf 393.

[2] See note to p. 297.

Of

of which their naturall zelis and inclynation, with their right herty effectuall services, we can noo lesse doo, then ascertain Your Highnes, according as they have and doo right wele deserve; trusting that Your noble Majestie woll have the same in suche consideration and gracius remembraunce, as may be to the cumforte, weale, and advauncement of theme, and their posteritie. Wherunto we moste humbly beseche Your Highnes the rather, at this oure obedyent intercession; and we shall daily pray to God for the preservation of your moste Royall estate longe to endure. From your Citie of Dublin, the 22 day of Januarye.

Your Graces most humble Subjectes,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) J. BARNEWALL, the Kyngꝭ Grace is Chᵃunceler.
(*Signed*) R. B. of DELVYN.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P̃o of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLMR, Justice.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, Mr. of the Rollꝭ.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.[1]
(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOUTH[2], Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To oure Souveraine Lorde the Kinges moost excellent Majestie.

CXVI. LADY SKEFFYNGTON *to* QUEEN ANNE BOLEYN.[3]

YTT may please Your most excellent Highnes to be advertized, that the last day of December yt pleased Almyghti God to call to his infinite merci Sir William Skeffyngton, my late husband, the Kinges Grace Deputie of this his land of Ireland; whose soule Jhesu pardon. Where fore, onles that Your

[1] He was reappointed Chief Baron in 1535. [2] Otherwise called St. Lawrence.

[3] From Letters to the King and Council in the Chapter House, Vol. 5, No. 72. On the same day, Lady Skeffyngton wrote a letter to Crumwell (which is preserved among his correspondence in the Chapter House, bundle S,) to the same effect as the above, and inclosing a petition, in which she particularized her claims: 1. For all fees and stipends due to Sir William, both in England and Ireland: 2. For four teams of cart-horses, with their carts, draughts, and harness, without which the King's ordnance could not have been drawn in Ireland: 3. For the expences of her transport home,

Grace

Grace, of your most haboundaunt goodnes and pety, in this my greate necessite, left here comfortles, be my good and gracius Lady, to move for me unto the Kinges Highnes, that in recompence of some parte of my said late husbandes good service to His Highnes, doo shoo aswell his marcifull favours unto me, as also of his most noble liberalite be my favorable Lorde, in all suche my power requestes and peticion, as on my behalfe shalbe uttered and showed unto His Grace Counsaillour and Chefe Secretory, Maister Thomas Crumwell, suerly I none other wyse accompt my selfe, and all my power childern, but cleerly undone by my said husbandes servyce; which I humble beseche your most royall estate to move unto the Kinges Highnes to have in his gracius rememberaunce the longe contynuaunce of the same my sayd husbandes faythfull, trewe, and diligent harte and service all weyse unto His Grace, to the uttermest of his lytyll power. And I, and all myne, shall dailly pray to the Blessed Trenyte for the preservacion of your most high excellent estate, long to endure. Wretton at the Kynges Grace Cetty of Dublyn, the 26^{ti} day of Jenuarij.

Your humble and most obediaunt daylly Oratryx and Bedwoman,

(*Superscribed*) ANNE SKEFFYNGTON.[1]

To the Quinis Most excellent Highnes.

CXVII. OSSORY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

MY moste humble duetie premysed, to Your Most excellent Majestie, it may please the same to be advertysid, that I procurid Your Gracis late Deputie to have leyde siege to Your Gracis castell of Dungarvan, for the contynuaunce of the same to Your Gracis possession; whose aunswere and conclusion then was, that he had determyned to goo into the northe parties with Your Gracis armye in ayde of ODownyll, to suppres Manus ODownyll, and was content

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and for part of Sir William's servants, at the King's wages, to accompany her: 4. To be discharged of the cost of carts and carriages, taken up by Sir William for hostings and journies, and of stuff for the reparation of ordnance and artillery, the former to be levied (as accustomed) upon the country, and the latter to be paid by the Treasurer: 5. Not to be vexed for any matters of old, before the last coming of Sir William into Ireland: 6. For licence to carry over the sea, without interruption, all the late Deputy's horses, and all her moveable goods.

[1] This signature, and all others of Lady Skeffyngton, are in the same hand as the body of her letters, probably that of an amanuensis.

that

that I shulde have two great peses of batry to procede to that enterprise. And when I had preparid my retynue and victailes, setting forwardis with such of Your Gracis armye as then lay at Waterforde, then suddeynly your said late Deputie, with certain horsmen, came to the said siege. And after the taking and warding therof, to my charge, I deasired the said late Deputie to have set forwardis to the Brenes Bridge, whiche then was not distansing therethense above 24^{ti} myles[1]; which he refusid to doo, or yit to suffre me to have oon of the said great peesis, wherwith I wold have adventuryd to have brokyn the said bridge, and dyvers castelles and garysons uppon the Brenes, which will not be so easily perfectid, as it then might have been doon, yf my advyse had bene ensuyd. Beseching Your Highnes that I may have the benefaict and effect of your moste gracious graunt geven to me, and my son James, by Your Gracis moste honorable letters patentes, uppon thoffice of Seneshall and Constable of Dungarvan, with the fees specyfied in the same graunte, in consideracion that the same was gevyn in lieue of a reward, to mayntene my name of dignytie, and that I have bene at great coste and charge in wynnyng of the said castell, not oonly at this last tyme, but sundry tymes before, in making assaultis, roodis, and obsydeallis to wynne the same, and have repayred and made up the wallis prosteratid with the ordenaunce at the last wynnyng therof. Whiche knowith Almighty God, who have Your Most Royall Majestie in His most tendre tuycion, many prosperouse yeres to reigne in felicitie, with triumph and victory. Writtin at Your Gracis Citie of Dublin, the 28th day of January.

Your most bounden and humble Subjecte,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) P. Oss'.

To Our Soverain Lorde, the Kingis Moste excellent Majestie.

CXVIII. The Council *of* Ireland *to* Crumwell.[2]

Our dueties remembrid, as appertayneth, commende us moste hartly unto your good Maistershipp. Please it you to be advertised, that thErle of Kildaris

[1] The Irish mile exceeded the English by nearly one fourth; but after making this allowance, this distance appears to be shorter than the real distance of OBrien's Bridge from either Waterford or Dungarvan.

[2] A despatch, with the same intelligence, was addressed by the Irish Council to the King.

five

five bretherne[1], by the Lorde Leonarde, High Justice and Governour of this your lande, being apprehendid, he and we have sent to the Kingis Majestie, at this tyme, by the Maister of His Gracis Rolles and Chief Justice; whiche, in oure opinion, is the best dede that ever was doon for the weale of the Kingis pore subjectes of this lande: assuring your Maistershipp, that the said Lorde Justice, the Thesaurer of the Kingis Warris, and suche others as His Grace put in truste in this behalf, have highly deserved his moste gracious thankes for the pollitique and secrete conveing of this matier, whiche was noo les beyonde thexpectacion of all men here, than it was joyfull to all the Kingis subjectis to see the same brought to suche a perfeccion. And, noo doubte, thei be noo more glad and confortable therof, than they wolde be in dispaire, if either Thomas Fitz Geralde, or any of them, shulde reasorte hither agayne, after any other sorte, than to receyve according their demerities.

And as concernyng all other occurrantes, we referr to the relacion of the said Maister of the Rolles, and Chief Justice, who hitherto travailling in all the Kinges affaires, and knowing his gracious pleasure about the procedingis of the same, can advertise your wisedome accordingly; beseching your Maistershipp, that by theme we may be eftesones not oonly advertised of His Gracis pleasure, but also that it wolde please you, of your goodnes, noo les than ye have hitherto doon, to sollicite and animate the Kingis Majestie to ensue the reformacion of this lande, which hath not bene sene to be at suche a likeliode as it is nowe, yf it be effectually followid; as the said berers can advertise you. And thus Jesu preserve your good Maistershipp prosperously. Written at the Kingis Citie of Dublin, the 14th daie of Februarie.

Yours at commaundement,

(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S LUTTELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOWTH, Justice.
(*Signed*) WALT KERDYFF, Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To our singuler good Maister, Maister Thomas Crumwell, Principall Secretarie to Our Soverain Lorde the King.

[1] Sir James, Oliver, Richard, Sir John, and Walter, Fitzgerald.

CXIX. Lord Deputy Gray *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your Regalle Majestie to be advertised, that by Thomas Alen, the Master of your Rolles broder, I have received aswell your mooste gracious and confortable letters missive, as two patentes, oon of the rowme of Deputie, and thother for the holding of your Parliament: wiche your gracious goodnes towerdis me was mor comforte and rejoyse unto me, then any other worldely thing coulde have been not; for that I accompted my self mete or able to suche truste and auctoritie, but, contrary wise, knowing my self unworthy and unmete to furnyshe the same, that yet it pleased Your Grace to enable me therunto; for the wiche I moste humbly, and with all my hert, thanke Your Highnes, having nothing to recompence or rendre you for the same, but that thing only, whiche ye ever have had, and duryng my lyff shall have, wiche is my por hert and service; wherof you ever have and shalbe assured, as of any pore subgiet lyvyng. And albeit that I am neither worthy, ne apte, to execute and furnyshe suche a rowme, as it hathe pleased Your Highnes to commytte unto me, I shall, nevertheles, God wylling, not fayle, with all my hert, wille, and mynde, to endevor my self effectually to do Your Grace the service therin, that shalbe in me possible. Beseching Your Grace, that, from tyme to tyme, I may be furnysshed with money and artillarye for your armye, without wiche I cannot execute suche exploites and service, as shalbe necessarye. In defaulte wherof, at this season, after I have borowed all that I may, and can no furder be trusted, I am constrayned to lye stylle, wiche is no smalle grief to me, as these berers, your Chief Justice, and Maister of your Rolles, can advertise Your Highnes, to whom it may please Your Grace bothe to geve credite in all your causes of this land, and, at this my humble peticion, to rendre theym your most gracious thankes for ther contynuall acceptable service, wiche, for theyr sakes, I wold Your Grace did knowe, as I doo. And thus committing Your Majestie to the blessed tuicion of God, to whom, as I am bound, I dayly praye for your preservacion prousperiously. From Trymme, the 23th daye of Februarye.

By your most humble and lowly Subgiet,

(*Signed*) Leonard Gray.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Royall Majestie.

CXX. HERBERT *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

My humbyll duttey remembryt, as appartaynythe, I humbylly commend me onto your good Mastersep. Plessyth your Mastersep to be advertissyd, that sens the departtyng of Sir Jamis Feis Gerrot and hes brethyrn, thes parttes of the land is in good quyettnes and pes; wherof laud prays and honnor be on to God, and on to ower most nobyll Prynse. For the kyppyng of Hes Grases arme here, es that makes the pes so well to be kypt; for, and the Iyrres men had straynthe a gaynxe ows, ther wer no truste in ther prommes, when they mytht se adwantayge. My Lord Deputtey haythe spoken thes last wyke with OMor, and with Mac Morro, at a hous of the Kyngges, nammyt Kylka, and I was on that was with hes Lordsep ther, and I coud not parsew by them, bout that they be dessyrrous to hawe pes. Whowbehet, as the report was, and I souppos was of trouthe, that OKonnore, OMore, M^c^Morro, ODowyn, OMolmoye, and alle the hother Hyrres men of thes parttes, dyd confetter to gyddyr, alle to take on part agaynxe ows, when that Sir Jamys and hes brethern was taken. Whowbehet that they have not styrt nothyng, for they dar not. Allso ther cam and met with my Lord, at the same hous, my Lord Tressurrer, and my Lord hes father, and they teylt my Lord Deputtey and the Counssaylle, that OBren entendis to move ware agaynxe my Lord of Osre, and hes contre; wyche I dowt, that wye shall hawe ware with hem thes sommer. Thes OBren es the grettis Eyrres man, and the strongyst man of power, that es here. He es the chyf capten of all Eyrres men. Yef he were soubdueyt, and hes pryd betten down, and he to be mad know hes Pryns es power, het would cawxe all the Eyrres men of Irland to quaylle, and to enclyn to ther Prynses plessur and commandment. I trust in God my Lord Deputtey wyll do on to the Kynge es Gras good serwes, for he es bouthe wallyent, and quyke, and forwarddes in doyng of his serwes, and paynphulle. And as for Mr Tressurrer, would God that the Kynges es Gras had here suche hother thyre, as he es; for he es the most ernest and the most dyllygent in the Kynge es cauxses, of anney man that ewer I sawe here. Wherfor I adsur your Maistersip the Kynge es Gras hays on hem a hey tressur in thes hes land. He hays with the arme gret paynes, for lake of monney; and I adsur your Maistersep the lackynge of monney, that the arme hays, hendrys gretly the warres, for the sowyddyours maye not ryd abrod in the borddyours for lake of monney, for radder they do stell, then

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602, leaf 94.

 hotherweys,

hotherweys, many of them. Allso, and ples your Maistersep, tne gentyllmen of the counte of Kyldare ar the most sorryst afrayyt men in the world; for thei thynkkes, that thei shalbe taken, on after a nother of them, as Sir Jamys Fis Gerrot was, and hes brethyrn. The contre is moyche wast and woyd of enabytans; for her es no fermorres, that es abyll to enabyt; wyche es the grettes dekaye nowe of thes countre. But would God, that het would ples the Kynge es Hythenes to send Eyngglys men for to enabyt here; then I would not dowt, bout Hes Gras chould hawe here a good countre, and allso on to Hes Gras a proffyt, for on to that, there es no waye to the reformassyon of thes land. As God knowith, who most hawe your Maistersep in Hes tuissyon, with in cres of honnor. At Dublyng, the 21 daye of Marche.

Your daylly Orratur,

(*Signed*) FRAUNCES HARBART.[1]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Rytht Honorabyll Mr. Tomas Cromwell,
Chyf Secrytorre to Ower Sowerayn Lord
the Kynges Hythnes.

CXXI. FOKES *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

PLEASE it your honour, and moste discrete wysdom, to be advertysed, that Sir John off Dessemond hase in his possession and governawnce almoste the hole contrey belongyng to the Erledome, by the ayde off the Obrenes, and other grete lordes; whiche is greate pite that he schulde rule so moche, onlesse his truthe to the Kynges Mageste be more greter then here yt ys thowght he is, or wilbe off. He hase fowre sonnes, whyche yf he dystrybute them in the contrey, as the sayyng ys he will, wythe owte the Kynges greate power, they wyll not be obedyent to Hys Graces lawes. Of truthe he hase bandyd hym with the hole strengthes of this partes, and the rulers of thes contrey be of soche dyssposycyon, that they wyll in maner to dye, rather then eny awctoryte or power sholde be had from them. Thus the Blessid Trynyte long preserve your lyffe yn honor to encrease. From Waterfforde, the 22th day of Marche, by youre humble servaunt and bownden true Bedman,

THOMAS FOKE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and my good Master,
Master Secretory to the Kynges Grace.

[1] Francis Herbert was captain of 20 horsemen, an alderman of Dublin, knighted in 1534, and made a Privy Councillor of Ireland in 1546.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Bundle F.

CXXII. King Henry VIII. *to* the Town of Galway.

(*Stamped*[1]) Henry R. By the King

Welbelovid, We grete you well. Signyfieng unto you, that We, willing of our tendre and zele we bere unto you, to the furtheryng of your weale, proffit, and commodyte, and the exturpacion of all abusions hitherto usid or accostomyd amongist you, woll and require you, and natheles straytly charge and commaunde you, that ye fermely and unfaynydly observe the devyses and articles ensuing, perpetually.

Item, that no merchaunt man, or anny other man, or mans sarvaunt, or sarvauntes, within our Towne of Galwey, or suburbis of the same, goo with no manner of marchandice or vitayle in the contry, within 20^{ti} myles compas of our saide towne, save only to our market townys; but suffre the inhabitauntes of the contry to resorte to the market of our sayde towne to sell their warys and cattellys in our sayd market, accordyng to the purporte of our chartors gyvyn by Us, and our noble progenitors of famous memory, to you the inhabitauntes of our towne.

Item, that every inhabitaunt, as well within the sayde towne, as the suburbis of the same, doo shave their over lippes, callyd crompeaulis; and suffer the here of their heddys to grow, tyll it cover their earys; and that every of theym were Englyshe cappys.[2]

Item, that no man, nor man child, do were no mantyls in the stretes, but clokes or gownys, cootys, dublettes, and hose, shapyn after the Englyshe facion, of the contry cloth, or anny other cloth, shall please theym to by.[2]

Item, that no man, woman, or child, do were in theyr shurtes or smockys, or anny other garmentes, no sauffron, ne have anny more cloth in theyr shurtes or smockes, but fyve standart elles of that contry cloth.[2]

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[1] See note 2 to Vol. 1. p. 628.

[2] By the Irish Act, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 15., "for the English order, habit, and language," these prohibitions (which are referred to by Cox) were further enforced; it being provided that no one should be shorn or shaven above the ears, or use the wearing of hair upon their heads like unto long locks, called glibbes; or have or use any hair growing upon their upper lips, called a crommeal; or use or wear any shirt, smock, kercher, bendel, neck-kerchour, mocket, or linen cap, coloured or died with saffron; or use or wear in their shirts or smocks above seven yards of cloth. The women were also prohibited from wearing any kirtle or coat tucked up, or embroidered, or garnished with silk, or couched or laid with usker, after the Irish fashion. And all were prohibited from wearing any mantle, coat, or hood, made after the Irish fashion.

There was a previous Act against having a beard on the upper lip, 25 Hen. VI. c. 4.

Item,

Item, that every man provyde, with all spede, long bowys and Englyshe arrowys, and haunt shotyng, and specially every holy day; and to leve all other unlawful gamys.

Item, that every inhabitaunt within the saide towne indevor theym selfe to speke Englyshe, and to use theym selffe after the Englyshe facion; and specyally that you, and every of you, do put forth your childe to scole, to lerne to speke Englyshe, and that you fayll nott to fulfill theys oure commaundementys, as you tendre oure favor, and woll avoyde our indygnacion and highe dyspleasure.

Furthermore, where We be credybly informyd, that, contrary the effecte of your pryvyleges and jurisdiccions, grauntyd unto you by Us, and our noble progenitours, of long memory, to hould before the Mayor, and his bayllyffys there, allmanner plees and accions, and to be judgis of the same, ceteigne yong commoners, of obstinaci, presume to have their voyces in suche processes and judgementes, inclynyng inordynate affeccion to ther adherentes and frendes, to the reysyng of sysme and contraversy amongyst you, and the disturbyng of admynystracion of justice: We, therfore, wyllyng due redresse in that party, in avoydyng all inconvenyencys, woll that the Mayor and Baylyffes there, callyng to theym foure of the Aldermen, do mynyster justice in all causys betwyn partye and partye; and yf anny parson fynd hym grevyd for lacke of indyfferencie, to complayne to oure Deputy and Counsayll in Irlande; and yff anny commoner doo rebuke the Mayoure and his assystentys, or repugne to obey theyr decrees or judgementys, that it be lefull for the Mayor to put theym to warde, and puynyshe theym accordyng to theyr dymerytys.

Also, where We be further informyd, that malefactours commyttyng robryes and spoylys be succouryd and mayntaynyd with the Freers Mynours, and others nere that our towne, who take upon theym to have privilegys, as a sayntuary for all suche malefactours, and woll not suffre anny of theim to be attachyd, or to be justified by our lawes; We woll and commaund you, that ye do not allow anny suche pryvyleges or sayntuaries, but attache and bryng to ther purgacion, before our judges, all suche malefactours, whersoever ye may apprehende theym, aswell in anny howse of freers, or other religion, as in other prophane placys; and theis our letters shalbe your sufficient waraunt and dyscharge in that behalf. And in case anny freers woll make resystence agaynste you in executyng the premyssis, that you take suche freers, and theym bryng before our judgis, to be punysshid accordyng their deservynges; and rede this clause to the freers.

Moreover, yf OBrene, or anny other Irysheman, be at warre with our Deputie, or our subgietes of our Citie of Lymrycke, that in no wyse, by anny coloure

coloure, practyse, or covyne, ye suffre no vytayls, iron, sault, or other commodite to passe from you to theym, duryng the tyme of theire contencion, tyll they shalbe perfytly reconsylyd, upon payne of youre allegeaunces; and always that ye obsarve the artyclys before writton, specially concernyng the kepyng of markettes, and that none of you resorte with anny marchaundyce amongyst Iryshemen, at anny tyme.

And where We be infourmyd, that at suche seasons, as estraungers repayre within the havyn of Lymrycke, certeigne of you forstall the market of our sayde citie, aluryng and procuryng the stranger marchauntes to repayre oute of the havyn of Lymrycke to you, offeryng theym avauntage above the proffre of the sayd citie, to their grete dysadvauntage and commodite, and ynhaunsyng the price of forayne and alyen marchaundyses, to the proffyt of alyens: We, therfore, woll and commaunde you, that you do not alure and provoke anny marchaundyse aryvyng in the sayde havyn of Lymrycke to you; ne they to procure anny marchaundyse aryvyng in theyr havyn from you to theym. See that We here no further complaynte in this behaulfe, or in anny of the premysses, upon you, as you intend our favors, and avoydyng of the contrary. Gyvyn at our Manor of Grenewyche, the 28^{ti} day of Apryll, in the 28^{ti} yere of our Reign.

CXXIII. W. Cowley *to* R. Cowley.

My good Father, I am no less joyous of your good expedicion and procedinges ther, then to your awne selff appertayneth to bee, for the comodite, avauncement, and proffyt, that to you is like to acrwe therby.

My Lord of Ossorye willed me to write to you, that Sir John of Dessmond never cessith with the Brenis perusing Mownster, and now he is goon uppon Cormok Ogg, and the McCarthies; and, by reason of this Parliament, which shall begin this next Monday, my said Lord, nether my Lord Tresurer, can not attend to brek this banding, but they ar assurrid, within short time, to bee inforcid to brek upp and prorog the Parliament, whiche, as I think, shalbe to Lymeryk; where they most have a great power with wictailles, and, or they attempt the same, woll putt in a suer stay all the bordurers adyoyning to the Englishe pall, that might otherwis in the meane time comit noyance.

[1] From the Chapter House, Bag "Ireland." Holograph.

Owt

Owt of dowbt this Sir John is ewne oon the worst, that ever grew of that blode, as ye know your selff. His procedinges hitherto requirith semblable oppinion in hym. He pratith, and is so proude, with the litle sodain overflowen power that is shede to hym, that he can not fayll to perish himself in the pyry, and lakith every whyt the necessary takling that might save and preserve hym; for he hath nether faith ne obediency to his Soverain Lord, and saith oppenly that it is not like medling with hym, as with Thomas Fitz Gerald, as who say he had so bandid and allied him silf, hable to wrastil in the cace; afferming that he woll never submit him in any obedient facion. What will ye more of hym? There can no good subject bee of so moche presumpcion, as to make declaracion unabaishyd, of the corupt impoysonid stomake, the disloyall procedinges, the crafty inobedient devises, nether of the rank treason bred and so glwyd to hym, that the fear of God, drede, nether love of his Soverain lege Lord, daunger and perel of lossis, can not dissolve or disaude the same from his person, being so unnaturaly congilid and gatherid in hym. And non other ramedy or medecin can profyt, help, ne cure the same, but veray extremite, til suche time as he bee overthrowen in his torne.

Assuridly he sendith dayly to my Lord of Ossorye, after veray loving maner, to bee as oon with hym, and desyrith byssyly, for himsilff, or his son and heyr, in mariadg my Lady Katerin[1]. And, yf he had indiffesibill tittle to thErldom, and the gretist power that ever Erll had in Irland, my said Lord, nether my Lord Tresurer, can never fynd in ther hartes to love, ne favour, nether to have intellygens with hym from hensforthe, and yet hertofor they have moche aydid hym; not for affeccion, but oonly for the purpos to kep the Geraldins of Mownster in devision, without joyning togither.

Sir, it shalbe right necessary and expedient, standing with the Kinges pleasure, that this yong gentilman, James of Dessmond, bee retornid home, with letters of justice in his favours; and that the armi, and my Lord of Ossory, bee willid to prosecute his quarell and causes; whiche shall allure others likwis to flexibilite, and terrour, drede, and discouradg to all others herafter, to bee of obstinate procedinges, or proditorious intencions.

My Lord of Ossorye, in ther awne causes, is indifferent betwene theym, except it were for that he thinketh himself bounden moche more to love and favour the obedient, and torn hate to the inhobedient. Yet have the same James bound to thre especiall poyntes; the furst, to appere at Parliamentes,

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[1] Lady Catharine Butler married, first, Richard Lord Poer, and, secondly, James, son of John of Desmond, who became 15th Earl of Desmond.

and

and all other times, as the Kinges Deputie shall will hym; the secund, that the Kinges Justices officers preceptes, and process, bee obeyed over his dominion; and the third, that the King bee restorid to any landes, wherunto His Highnes is lawfully intittlid, as to thErll of Kildaris landes in the countie of Lymeryk, and other parcelles, now in pocession with the Geraldins.

Forasmoche as my Lord of Ossorye knowith best, and is moost skilfull, in the affayres and wares of this land, fering moche that my Lord Deputie sumetimes woll reis nedeles warres, and peradventur in so many quarters at oones, that great perel of over byssy work may follow, wherin I think my said Lord Deputie woll not willingly slyde, oonles it were for lak of sufficient experiens, ingnorantly; that therfor he bee willid to avoyd that inconveniencye; and for my said Lord of Ossories assurid experiens, his advis, devises, and conclusions, be herd, debatid uppon, and insuyd.

Mr. William Seintlo was this Ester with my Lord of Ossorie; and ar takin, and shall suffer, that offended his men pass any justification; for execution shalbe done with extremite, whiche my Lord of Ossorye woll do, yf he never willid therto. We ar at a good point, and all is well, and shalbe better surely; and he and his retinue ar byssy, thogh they lake money; for they ofte have scourgid the McMorrowes and Kevanaghes, and ar nowe in ayde of the countie of Wexford. Show your matters to Sir John Seintlo, who woll further them.

My Lord of Ossorye hath writtin to you, to giv ferme credens to my writinges, at this time, whiche ye may shew to my maister, Mr. Secretorye[1]; and was by reason that, at my departing from hym, he intended forthwith toward Dublin, and I came hither to Waterford, to overtake this passadg, that I might writ to you; so that His Lordship had no time himself to tary the writing of the premisses, by whos comaundement I do ascertain you of every mater, cause, and article befor expressid.

This last wek Sir John of Dessmond came to Yowghill, and was kept owt, but he manassith with moche peopill to noye theym; and yf he so attempt, as he saith he woll, Mr. William Seintlo, with my Lord Tresurer, is determinid to resort to ther socours.

Mr. Brabason, ewne lately, hath overriddin McMorrowes[2] contre, and made many great prayes, who is the principall to the warfull affaires, and as mete for the Counsell, as in maner the oonly setter forth and avauncer of the Kinges causes and profyt; and thogh ofte he hath moche to do for the same, yet he shinkith not.

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[1] Lord Ossory himself wrote a letter on the 1st of March by Robert Cowley to Crumwell, which is in a Miscellaneous Bundle A $\frac{6}{1}$ in the Chapter House. It was accompanied by a present.

[2] Cahir McYncrosse Cavanagh, alias McMurgho, made peace with Gray on the 12th of May 1536. A copy of the indenture is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 603. leaf 78.

Shew this letter to my said maister, Maister Secretory, for the maters therin comprisid so requirith; and with the moost humble hart that any pore man can, I beseche you to have me remembrid to his maystership, whom Almighti God preserve in long honourable lif and good helth. Writtin at Waterford, bound streight to Dublin, this 29 day of Aprel.

Your awne moost humble Son,

WALTIER COWLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my good Father, Maister Robert Cowley,
with all diligens.

CXXIV. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

IN my right hertie maner I recommend me unto your Mastership, advertising the same, that the Parliament began here the laste Mondaye; and suche matters as yet hathe ben preferred for our Souverain Lord the King gothe forwerd without any stop, and I doubte not but all the reste concernyng His Grace shall have like expedicion. Howbeit, according your mind to me, ther bee dyvers thinges deferred, waytyng the commyng of the Chief Justice, and M^r^. of the Rolles.

Sir, M^r^. Treasourer, and I, bothe ar credibly enformed, at this writinge, that ther bee many Scottes landed in the north parties of Ireland, and a grete nombre more in a redynes to comme thider. What ther purpose and entent is, we have no worde. Oneyl doth write unto me, and the Counsaill, as good letters, as may be devised, with as fayr promises for the contynuaunce of his trouthe towerdes our seid Souverain Lord, and his keping of peax. Nevertheles as the Counsaill, and I, be credibly enformed, the seid Oneyl hathe lately made bandes wyth dyvers of the wylde Irisshe in those quarters, wiche the Counsaill, and I, do recon the same not to be for any good purpose. If it shall please your Mastership, it is thought good by M^r^. Treasourer, me, and others of the Pryve Counsaill here, that I shuld furnisshe furth my ship, to repayr into the seid quarters of the north, ther to lye in wayte of the Scottes, and to take them and ther galeys, considering it can be reconed ther commyng thider to be for any good entent. And for that, that in thes parties ther be no good maryners, neither good men of warre for the see, I have send over this berer, my servaunt Mathew King, unto your Mastership; desyryng the same that the seid Mathew may have a commission to take up, for our seid Souverain Lordes wages, suche maryners and souldiors as he shall thinke mete, for the furnisshing furthe of the seid ship for the purpose aforeseid.

Moreover

Moreover, it is comme to my knowledge, aswell by my servaunt Stephen A Parry, as others, that ther hathe ben of late dyvers thinges surmysed againste me unto your Mastership[1]; wherunto I most entierliest desyr your Mastership, as he, next God, and my seid Souverain Lord, that I am moost bounden unto of any in this worlde, that ye wyll not geve credence unto any suche untrue surmises; for I truste in God, myn actes shall trye me in every poynt; and I assure your Mastership, I shall never forget, as long as I lyve, your moost holsome counsaill, as well gyven me by you, at my last departing, as syns that tyme sent unto me by you, in writing; wiche folowing the same, as, by the helpe of God, I wyll not fayle, my truste is, I shall have lytle nede to fear the setting furth of false tonges. Moreover, I do assure your Mastership, I am handled her with somme not after the best sorte, wiche I shall forbeyr, till I speke with your Mastership. And thus as hertely fare ye well, as I wold the hert in my bodye, wiche, next my Master, is, and shalbe assuredly yours during my lyf. At Dublin, this present Sondaye the 7th day of May.

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Pour Leonard Gray.

To my singuler good frend,
Maister Secretorye.

CXXV. Brabazon *to* Crumwell.[2]

Pleasith it your honourable Maistership to be advertised, that thiez Actes subsequent be passed the Commen House; the Act of Atteynder[3]; the Act of the Kinges Succession[4]; thAct of the First Fruites; thAct of the Supreme Hed; thAct of Sclaunder[5]; thAct of Appelles; an Act of the Landes of the Duke of Norfolk, my Lord of Wilsshire, my Lord of Shrowesbury, and other, with the possessions, aswell of the spiritualtiez as the temporaltiez of suche

[1] In Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 98., is a letter to Crumwell from Antony Colley, who married one of Skeffyngton's daughters, complaining of Gray's violence and rigour, and imputing to him the hastening of Skeffyngton's death. It is dated from Dublin, 13th February 1536. And on the 18th of the same month, a complaint against Gray was addressed to Crumwell by Lady Skeffyngton, which is among Crumwell's Correspondence, in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

[2] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 44.

[3] The persons attainted were, Gerald, late Earl of Kildare; Thomas Fitzgerald, his son and heir; Sir John and Oliver Fitzgerald, uncles of Thomas; James, son and heir of Sir Walter Delahyde; and John and Edward, sons of Sir Walter; John Burnel; Richard Walsh, Parson of Loughsewdie; Chale Mac Gravyll, otherwise called Charles Reynold, late Archdeacon of Kells; James Gernon; Christopher Parese; Piers, Robert, and Maurice Walsh; and Edward Rowkes.

[4] For securing the Succession to the issue of Anne Boleyn.

[5] Making it treason to slander the title of the King and his heirs.

religious housez in Englond, as had eny possessions, tithez, or other hereditamentes here; the Repelyng of Ponynges Act[1]; an Act for the Erle of Ossery. The Proctours of the Spiritueltie sumwhat doo stick in diverz of thiez Actes[2], and lothe thei ar, that the Kinges Grace shuld be the Suppreme Hed of the Church. Diverz of thies Actes ar passed the Higher House, and lack nothyng but the Roiall Assent, which hath bene deferred, because of the cummyng of the Maister of the Rollez and the Chief Justice; but their abode is so long, that my Lord now intendeth that the Roiall Assent shall passe. The Commen House is merveilous good for the Kinges causez, and all the lerned men within the same be verie good; so that I thynck all causez concernyng the Kinges Grace will take good effect. In breif tyme your honourable Maistership shalbe certefied of all suche causez as here doo passe. Thus committyng your honourable Maistership in to the custodie of the Trinitie. Yeven this 17th day of May.

Your humble Servaunt,

(*Signed*) Willm Brabason.

(*Superscribed*)
To his Right Honorable Maister,
Mr. Secretorye to the Kinges Highnez.

CXXVI. Gray *to* Crumwell.

In my right hertie and loving maner I recommende me unto you, advertising you, that upon relacion made unto me, that the same Spanysshe shippe, wiche conveyd that arraunte traytours, James de la Hyde, Parson Welche[3], and their servauntes, into Spayn, was freight to retorne backe to Galwey by the merchauntes of the seid towne; wherupon, supposing that the seid traytours wold have sent backe somme of their servauntes, for the compassing and

[1] Though styled a repeal, it merely validated the proceedings of the present Parliament, notwithstanding its being held contrary to Poyning's Act, 10 Hen. VII.

[2] The recital of the Act, afterwards passed, "against Proctors to be any member of the Parliament," shews that two proctors from every diocese used to be summoned to the Parliament, as councillors and assistants, but having no voice or suffrage; and that those proctors, "of their ambitious mindes "and presumption inordinately desiring to have authoritie, and to intermeddle with every cause "or matter, without any just ground or cause reasonable to the same, doe temerariously presume, "and usurpitly take upon themselves to be parcel of the body; in maner claiming, that, without "their assents, nothing can be enacted at any Parliament within this land." It was then enacted, that the proctors were no members of the body of Parliament, &c.

[3] Two of the attainted Geraldines. Ware states Delahide to have escaped to Scotland, instead or Spain.

setting

setting furthe of their mooste ungracious and sinistre purpose, I sent thider espyall, to that intent that if any suche had landed at Galwey, or in any other where in those quarters, that they shuld have been taken, and the seid ship likewise. In the mean tyme a servaunt of the seid James de la Hides, called John Dyrram, wiche was his taylour in Spayne, landed the 12th daye of this moneth at Drogheda, and there was incontynent taken by the Mayer, and sent unto me, who was examyned before me, and the Kinges Counsaile here, wiche examynacion I send unto you herin closed[1], to advertise His Highnes therof; and the seid John, according His Graces lawes, is putto execution.

Moreover the Lord Treasourer, and Baron of Delven, make grete labours to have lycence of me to repayr unto the Kinges Grace, for their own causes; wiche thing is thought by me, and other of the Kinges Counsaile here, to be no smalle hynderaunce in the setting furthe of his mooste gracious purpose, and affaires of this his land; for wiche cause I have utterly denyed them. Howbeit, they thynke to attayne the Kinges mooste gracious licence for there repayre to His Excellencie; wherin I truste ye woll have respecte for ther lette, consydering that they bee the best and polytyke capitains of the Englisherye of this His Graces land, excepte the Erle of Osserey, who cannot take suche paynes as they can.

Moreover I shall desyre your Mastership, that if any complaint be made unto our seid Soverain, for lacke of justice in any cause here determynable, so to shewe your contynuall goodnes therin unto me, and in suche wise, that no suche complainte take place, unto the tyme your Mastership send to the

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[1] Dyrram states, that "he departed from James Delahyde at Malaga in Andolesia, and the said "James departed by land to Naples, at Lammas last past, leaving Parson Walche behind, willing "him to retourne home, and shifte for himself, and syns he never sawe the seid James, but herd "that he was sycke at Naples, and went in a russet jakett." He further states, that "Parson "Welche departed from Sent Marys Pount in Spayne, towerdes Ireland, in a ship of Portingale, in "the company of 2 merchauntes of Galwey, named Piers Kyrewan and John Halowen, on New "Years even last, and syns he never herd of him." He adds, that "oon Gregory Fagan of "Lymbryk shewed him, in Kaeles, where he was wourking, that the seid James, and oon Atkins or "Watkins, the King our Masters servaunt, were together face to face before thEmperour, and that "thEmperour wold James shuld remayne in Naples, for a season." He further states, that "in "Biskaie there was in redynes 7000 men, with ships arrested for theym, and 1600 thousand byskatt, "and 3000 ton of wyne prepayred in Syves and Malaga, he knewe not for whom." He also enumerates several articles of plate delivered by Lord Thomas Fitzgerald, before his departure, to Melyour Faye, and to the White Friars of Kildare, and a large quantity left with OBrien; and deposes, that Lord Thomas delivered to the Lady Sislie (Cecily Fitzgerald, his sister) all the hangings of Maynooth, and the late Earl of Kildare's parliament robes. The same paper also gives (apparently on Dyrram's authority) an inventory of other articles left with OBrien, consisting of apparel of the Earl, of his Countess, and of Lord Thomas; and artillery and ordnance of the King, left at the castles of Lee (see p. 232), of Carlagh, and Kysshavan, and mentions two pieces of ordnance left with Garold McGarold.

Counsayle

Counsayle here, truly to advertise you of the trouthe of any suche matter; and then I truste ye shall not fynde fawte in me: for ye may be sure your holsome exhortation, geven unto me at my departing, and syns by writing, shall never be forgotten of my parte; but, as nere as God gyvyth me grace, I shall folowe the same with effecte. I do assure you that the lacke of money dothe grete hynderaunce, in suche purposes as bee now requisite; for in any thing I have to doo, I cannot gette noon of the armye, excepte M^r^. Treasourers retynewe, and a fewe mor of myn own company. For the trouthe is, they have not wherewith, and ther horse and harnes lye in gage of ther meyte and drynke, and some sold out right.

The procedinges of the Parliament goth forwerd in suche wise, as our seid Souverain Lordes pleasure is, so that dyvers Actes be paste to the Royall Assent, and the same wer stayed, waytyng the commyng of the Chief Justice, and M^r^. of the Rolles; and by reason of ther long taryeng, it is thought good by me, and the Counsaile here, that they shall passe. And thus Allmighty Jhesu have you in His most tender governaunce, even as I wold my self. From Dublin, the 21th daye of Maye.

Assuredly yours,

(Signed) Pour Leonard Gray.

CXXVII. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* Crumwell.

Our duties remembrede, as appartayneth, commende us moste hartely unto you. Theise shalbe to advertise your Maystership, that the Cheef Justice, and Mayster of the Rolles of this lande, arrived here on Saturday last paste, by whome we have receyved the Kinges mooste graciouse letters, and have aswell peruside the same, as diligently hard theire credence, concerning His Gracis pleasure aboutes thorder of all his affaires here, which we shall endevoure our selfes to folow accordingly. And amonges other thinges, where we perceyve that His Highnes hath appoynted but the som of seven thowsande powndes sterling to be conveied hither for the payment of the armie, which is nat yet come; Sir, we do right well remember and considre the good mynde ye bere to the releve of this poure lande, and that ye have ben, under the Kinges Highnes, a singuler patrone and preferrer of the causes of the same, which causith us to be bolde to declare our necessities unto you, and to be playne as the treught ys. For we assure you, we cannot almoste

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expresse unto you the hynderance that hath ensued to the Kinges affaires, and whate greate troble and extreme impoverishement His Graces poure subjectes hath suffered and borne, especially this deare yere, for lack of money, after the late robbing and spoyling. The saide som of 7000£ is nat sufficient to satisfie theym, but they shalbe behinde aboutes three monethes wages, so as, in defaulte of money, we be in such case, that, unleste it may please your Maisterschip to move the Kinges Highnes, with all celeritie, to advaunce sufficiente money for theire contentacion, the Parliament, and all other the good intended purposes for His Graces honor, the subjugacion of his enemyes, and the tranquilitie of this poure lande, ben at a stay, whereby this somar shalbe passide over to small effecte. For, where Sir John of Desmonde, who hath attayned into his possession the hole Erledom of Desmonde, and all the poure of the Inglishrie of Mounster, is combyned with Obrene, and others the Kinges auncient enymies, intending, by theire aides, forciblie to retayne the same ayenst the Kinges will and pleasure, dayly consoulting togethers, preparing theymselfes to abide playne batell ayenste the Kinges poure, yf they may make theire parties good, which confederacions they shulde never have brought to such passe and conclusion, if we had ben fornyshed with money for the releef of the armie to have travaled into those quarters; and trusting now, at the beginnyng of somer, to have had money sufficient for the contentacion of theym, determined to have adjorned the Parliament, and advaunced the armye, immediately after this Feast of Penthecost, in to those parties; and so, having the somar before us, had good esperance to have asuaged the malices of the saide Sir John, Obrene, and theire adherantes, which now, in defaulte of money, we can in no wise insue: but expecting the commyng thereof, have adjorned the Parliament to Kilkenny, ayenst the 25th day of July, and so from thens to passe with the armie, and all the strenght of theise quarters, to the citie of Lymerik, for the withstanding and repressing of the saide Sir John of Desmonde, Obreene, and others, in theire rebellius attemptates. It may please your Maysterschip, of your goodnes, to remember that for lacke of money, of necessitie we be constrained to deferr all affaires, especially for Mounster, to the laste eynde of the somar. Wherfore we beseche your good Maysterschip, that, with all possible diligence, no les money may be sent hither, then shall suffice for the contentacion of tharmye untill the Feaste of All Sayntes, at the leaste; for without the same, the saide jornay can take none effecte, neither can tharmye advaunce into those parties, neither to any mayne jorney in theise quarters; the incommodities and losses whereof to the King, and the publique weale of this poure lande, your Maisterschip can right well considre.

Theire

Theire be passide in the Parliament theise Actes[1]; the Acte of Succession; the Acte of Declaracion of Treasons; the Acte of Attainder of thErle of Kildare and others; the Acte of Supreme Hed; the Repele of Ponynges acte; an Acte for thErle of Ossory[2]; the Acte for the Furste Frutes; the Acte of Resumpcion of the Duke of Norfolkes, thErle of Shresburies landes, and possessions, and others, as ye know; the Acte of Appelles; the Acte of Subsidie; the Acte of resumpcion of Leislepe.

May it please your good Maisterschip ferther to understande, that in effecte all the inhabitantes of theise 4 shires within this lande, in the laste commocion and rebellion of that traditor and rebell, Thomas Fitzgerolde, for the more parte by compulsion, adhered unto hym: by reason whereof, the moste of theym, being indicted of high treason, remayne in souche feare, as by occasion thereof we be in doubte to truste to theire aides or socors, especially of the basterd Geraldines, and other marchars; but, standing in this extreme doubt, feare less they wolde do the contrary, yf, by the sight and dreade of the presence of this armie, they were nat repressed. Wherfore, and considering the loving mynde of the Comons in this Parliament towarde the King, which have lovingly and willingly, without grudge, assented to every thing tending to the Kinges profecte, we think yt necessarie and expedient that furthwith His Highnes direct hither a commyssion under his Greate Seale, auctorisyng his Deputie, and such others as to His Grace shalbe thought meate, to pardon theym, and every of theym, som uppon resonable fynes, and others without fynes, according the qualities of theire offences, as shalbe

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[1] A Miscellaneous Bundle in the Chapter House, $A\frac{6}{1}$, contains the following receipt of Alen, the Master of the Rolls:

"This Bill indented, made the tenth daie of October, in the 27th yere of the reigne of our Sovereyne Lord King Henry VIIIth, Witnesseth, that I, John Alen, Master of the Rolles in Irland, have received of the right honourable Mr. Thomas Crumwell, Principall Secretarie to our said Sovereyne Lorde, two Patentes, oon of Creation for Thomas Ewstace, annother like to Sir Richard Power, of Barons of Parliament in Irland; a commission, for holding of a Parliament within the same land, with certen scedules therunto annexed, of causes and considerations of Actes to be passed in the said Parliament; that is to say, an Article for thattainder of thErle of Kildare and others; for the First Fruites; for the graunting of the Subsidie; to make the King Supreme Hedd of the Churche there; for the Kinges succession; the Acte for declaration of Treasons; annother for taking away tributes, censes, dispensations, and all other jurisdictions from the Bishop of Rome; for pursueng of Appelles into Ingland, and not to the Bishop of Rome; a Resumption of certain possessions to the King; a Repelle of Poynenges Acte, &c. An Acte of my Lord of Ossorie for repelle of thActe of legitimation of his basterd brederne. (*Signed*) JOHN ALEN."

If this list of Bills be compared with that contained in Audeley's letter of 14th August 1535, (Vol. 1. p. 439—441.) and with that in Brabazon's letter (p. 315.), and with that in the text, and with the Irish Statute Book, they will be all found to differ.

[2] This must be the Act alluded to by Audeley, Vol. 1. p. 441, and mentioned in Alen's receipt.

sene

sene good to the discrecions of the same Commissioners. For considering that, in defaulte of inhabitantes, divers of the late Erle of Kildares maners and landes, and suche others as were attaneted, being in the Kinges handes, ben waste, and also many of the Inglish tenauntes, for feare of the forsaide causes, departe in to Englande, and divers others flee dayly in to thIrishrie, there making theire inhabitacions; whereby dyvers landes, boathe of the Kinges and other lordes and gentilmen, ben likewise waste; and for that Thomas Fitzgerolde, and his uncles, ben there at the Kinges pleasure, and dyvers others have ben alredy executed: we think good that His Grace forbere the rigore of his lawes ayenst the residue of his subjectes; whereby elles more desolacion and waste shall ensue; but rather provide for thenhabitacion of those landes, which His Grace hath alredie: fer undoubtedlie he can lacke no lande, if he coulde inhabite theym. Wherein we shall ferther advertise you hereafter. But, for the love of God, help this money to us, and ye shall se us do our partes, on suche wise as we trust the King shall have good cause to be wel pleaside, and otherwise we feare the contrary successe. And among other thinges, we beseche you to have especiall regarde that none of the Geraldines, which ye have there, never be suffered to cum here agayne, but rather dispatche theym betymes, for the poure people here be in feare of theire retorne. So knowith God, who ever preserve you in long liff, with increase of moche honor. From the Citie of Dublin, the furste day of June.[1]

Your Oratours,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) JHON BARNEWALL, Chaunceler.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM, Justice.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, Mr. of the Rolles.
(*Signed*) THOMS LUTTELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) THOMS HOUTH, Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To our good Maister,
Maister Secretarye.

[1] On the same day a similar letter, but not stating their reasons quite so fully, was written to the King. It was signed by the same Members of the Council, except Justice Howth. It is in the State Paper Office.

CXXVIII. THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* CRUMWELL.

OUR dueties remembred, as aperteignith, we commende us moost hertely unto you. And forasmoche as, sythens the tyme the Lord Leonerd was appointed to the governaunce of this lande, he did never hitherto desire us to write unto you of his demeanor and acquitall in the Kinges service; thinking it to be our duetie to declare the trouthe therof, les the same either shulde be kepte from the knowledge of the Kinges Highnes, and you of his mooste honorable Counsaill, or, by some sinistre reporte, the honestie and fame of his good doinges drowned, hindred, or diminisshed, we assertayne your Mastership, that upon our faithes, honesties, and the truthe we owe to the King our Maister, that we note him for as active, towerde, and paynefull a gentleman, as ever we see here in the Kinges service; alweys forward and redye to sett furthe and advaunce to every exploite and feate, that to us, and other of the Counsaill, have been thought convenient and mete. And having also understonde that, nevertheles, it hath been reaported, that he shulde rule of his owne swynge, so as noon of us durste advise him to the contrary, and that he shulde of malice invent matiers to the Lady Skeffington, upon grudge and displeasur, using her, and suche as wer towerde her, rigorusly, contrary to good order and justice, we semblably signifie unto your Mastership, that the same is untrue; beseching your wisdome, bothe to suspend your credite from suche thinges, and to ponysshe suche persons, as either woll write or declare the same. For althoughe it hathe been reported and brewted, that division is amonge us of the Counsaill here, we assure your Mastership there is no suche mater, ner yet, by the grace of God, shall noon bee; but that we ar, and shalbe, in oon conformitie abowte every of the Kinges affaires, as dothe becomme us. And thus Our Lorde have you in His moost tender tuition. From the Cite of Dublin, the furst day of June.

Your Orators,

(*Signed*) JOHN BARNEWALL, Lord Chũnceler.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALDE AYLMR, Justice.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, Mr. of the Rolles.
(*Signed*) THOMAS LUTTELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOUTH, Justice.

(*Superscribed*)
To our singuler good Maister,
Mr. Secretary.

CXXIX. R. Cowley *to* Crumwell.

To the right honorable and my singuler good Maister, Maister Thomas Crumwell, Principall Secretary, and Counseillor to the Kinges most excellent Highnes.

I intend to make a litell treatise, or declaracion, to your goodnes, concernyng the readopting of the Kinges dominion in Irland, and to attain the further possessions hitherto never had; and also my pore mynde and moste simple conceite, aswele how to retayne the same, as also to enhabite; not doubting but the same cannot be of so sklendre reason, ne effect, but that the excellencye of your wisdom shall pike, gather, and lease out, som ground or matier worthy condigne execucion accordingly. And one thyng givith me occasion to entreprise the same, considering how prone your goodnes is, to accept in gree like matier of eche person, not only having them in the better estymacion and credite, but also besily seasith not to preferre them, according to their merites; whiche putteth me, emongest divers others, in a lust and apitite to strayne my self, by all weyes and meanes to me possible, to open suche thinges, as shalbe honorable to the Kinges Highnes, the weale, commoditie, and suretie of all His Graces true subgettes, and moste profitable for His Magestye. And being also so wele assured that your wisdom, to whom I am somoche bounden, will not reject the same, all though it be no better worthy, it giveth my hert and full mynde to perceyver therin.

Suche as ar within the harte of the Englissh pale, and wilfully did confederate with the traitor, that extremitie of the Kinges comen lawes be executed against them; wherby they shall not allonly have their desert, and the King also intittlid to their large possessions, but shalbe terror and ensample forever herafter to committ like rebellion. First, Burnell of Balgriffin, Talbot of Dardestow, Fele of Paynstow, Delahid of Moyclare, Boys of the Calcagh, Leyns of the Cnok, Garland in Uriell, Thomas Dillon, and Richard Dillon, and a great nombre besides, whiche shall comme to light in haste, be now attaintid by Parliament[1]; and percace there be any grace shewed therafter,

[1] That must be by the English Act, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 25., which extended to the Earl of Kildare's comforters, abettors, partakers, confederates, and adherents, without naming them; for of the nine persons above named as being attainted, the first and fourth only were included in the Irish Act of Attainder, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 1. The English Act of the same year, c. 18., for the attainder of Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles, included their accessaries, in the same words as the prior Act. It also styles Thomas Fitzgerald Earl of Kildare, as he in truth was.

that to be in the Kinges dispociscion, and to qualifye the same, as His Grace shall se cause; but first to be thus intitlid &c. Surely there ar merveilous labours daily made to suche of the Kinges Counseill there, as ar in credite, in helpe many now in daungier, but I doubt not but that your wisdome woll accept the same, as shall appertayn.

That others, dwelling in the merchies, have somme better favors shewed, but yet to smert, so as they shall not joye in their evill doing.

It hath been a commen oppinion alwey, that the King shuld first refourme his Englissh subgiettes in that land, that arn, or aught to be, his true subjectes. And bicause there hath been so moche spoken therin alredy, somthing shall I adde therto; and that done, shall open therafter reasons to the contrary, herd to be defeated, in my pore mynde; whiche seen and peysid, I am wele assurid that your wisdome will accept the better and moste commendable.

Now, as I last said, to touche how to refourme the Englissh subjectes consisteth in twoo pointes; the one is, to expell coyne and lyveray, and like unlaufull exaccions; and the other is, to have the lawes duely executed emongest them. But first the lawes must be executed, whiche shalbe a scourge sufficient to expell the same extorcions, and unlaufull exaccions. And to put the same in effect, let the Kinges recordes be sought up in the Treasoury there; and therupon the Kinges manors, lordshippes, and revenues, within and emongest all his Englissh subjectes, be reseised into his handes, wherby they shall perceyve, that His Highnes intendeth not by wrongfull meanes, ne in maner of conquest, to ground hym self, but to comme by every thing by laufull title.

That done, the Deputie and Counceill there to depute, in every shire, justices and commissioners, that by bill, for a season, shall determyn all variaunces; for otherwise, by other dilatory processe being newly begon, it shuld be the very meane to empoverissh and wery them, and rather wold stond to their losses, than to make sute in other maner.

Then to joyne and lynke togithers all the same subjectes in one trayne, ordre, and conformitie, so that every of them shall ayde and assiste the other, and to appointe musters every moneth in every shire; and that suche as stondith in marche places, joining with the Irisshery, be provided strongly for to resist them, and that all the countrey about do bere charges, and maynteigne the capitayne and company in every suche place of daungier.

Now shall appiere my reason to contrary that devise, to begyn to refourme clierly the Englissh subgettes. It is well knowen that the Irisshery usith at libertie to charge their countreis with coyne and lyverey, and other like exaccions, wherby they have great nombre of men daily at their leading, hable

to

to committe greavaunce and distruccions to the Kinges said Ynglissh subjectes joyning to them; so that of fyne force, the same subjectes have none other remodye, but to make their tenauntes and countre to be likewise contributaries to like exaccions, and therby have nombre of men hable to resist the Irisshery. So that neither coyne ne lyverey emongest the Ynglissh marchers cannot be expelled, without the Irisshery be first enfebled, brought to like passe, or exiled; and onles suche exaccions be expellid, the lawes can take but litell effect. These extremities must be qualified, as to bring and allure the same Ynglissh subgiettes to better conformitie, then hitherto; and that to be done in a meane wey, for a season, till suche tyme as extremitie be executed ageinst the Irisshery; for otherwise it were frustrate to goo about to bring the Irisshery to good conformitie, leaving the Englisshery so farre out of good ordre, as they have been to this tyme.

Then putting the holle Englisshery into suche a maner of obedience and good ordre, whiche the armye there may doo, consequently, with the same armye, and Englissh subgiectes, to buylde a three or foure holdes, or piles, in OConors countre. And they shall not stond the King in 300£, for the Englissh pale will give the cariage of stones and tymbre, and werkmen to caste and make trenches and dyches.

And that this army there have only in charge to bring the Englissh subgiectes to suche an ordre, as I spake of before; bringing to good peace the Irissh borderers, and to make their greatest warre upon OConor; for thrugh this cuntrey ever hitherto the Irisshery have noyed the Englissh pale, for the Irisshery calleth hym their key. Yet before this be openly publisshed, that the Deputie have the sure hostages of all the Irisshery joyning to the said OConor, as OKarroil, Mc Gilpatrik, OMulmoy, ODoyn, and OMelaughlyn; and asfor OMorres hostages, and Makmorrois[1], they ar in all redy.

Now this brought to that passe, or yet percace if the Irisshery togithers wold take one part, rather then OConor shuld be clerely subdued, then must be devised, how better force shall take effect, and what nombre shuld be meete to attempte and execute the same. And in my simple conceite of nil opynion, ther must be severall armyes, as shall appiere herafter. And that the armye in Irland alredy be in the Englissh pale, and they joyning togither with the Kinges subgiectes, make their warre, and begyn their entreprise and conquest upon OByrn. And first, to repaire strongly the Kinges castell of Wyclo, whiche stondith in OByrns countrey, and hath a propre haven. And bicause

[1] See p. 313.

I wold

I wold move howe to enhabite, as they shall procede, the towne of Wyclo is, with a litell reparacions, defencible ynough; and to enhabite the same with a fourescore Englissh housholders, and the residue to be of the Englyssh pale, and that every of the same 80 have a hundreth acres of the landes next about the towne, paying for every acre yerely to the King 2d., whiche shalbe a good lyving for them, profitable for the King, and surety for all the countree.

O Byrn hath a strong pile in the myddes of his countree; and that had, whiche is sone done, then to wall that towne in likewise, and to make a great nombre of like burgeises; bynding them to watche and defence, till the holle warres be ended.

The castelles and piles for defence to be made upon the pacis and streytes of the countrey, and gentilmen to have them for certein service to be borne and done for them; then the hert of the countrey to be set to profite, and enhabited with a convenyent nombre, and the first 2 yeres the nombre must be the more, till they were out the Irisshery in exile.

That Arclo, whiche have also a good havon, and but 10 myles from Wyclo, be also likewise walled and enhabited.

Then to take the strong castell of Fernys, and to wall that towne, and enhabite likewise.

Therupon to make a pile in Tymolyn[1], wherin now enhabiteth divers of Macmorois kynnesfolkes, and to walle that towne, and enhabite accordingly; and that in the myddes of the Fasagh of Bentree, a wallid towne be lykewise buylded and enhabited.

The countree of ODron[2] then likewise wonne, the piles warded, then to have the towne of Leghlyn wallid and enhabited.

Then shall all Leynester be clier Englissh, without any of the Irisshery amongest them.

Another army of a thowsand men must be, all that meane season, likewise occupied in Wllester, having the power of the countie of Uriell with them; and they must begyn to repaire the Kinges castell of Carlyngford, and to wall that towne, where is a good havon, and enhabite, as is before devised.

Therupon to enhabite the baronny or hundreth of Coley[3], whiche is now waste.

Then to buylde and enhabite in Ardglasse[4], in likewise.

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[1] Timolin, in the south part of Kildare.

[2] Odrone or Idrone, in Carlow.

[3] The peninsula between the bays of Dundalk and Carlingford.

[4] On the coast of Lecale.

Therupon

Therupon to repaire the Kinges castell of Knockferregose[1], and reedifye the walles, and enhabite accordingly; which towne hath a good havon.

Then Sleego won, likewise to buylde the walles of that towne, and enhabite.

In Ardmagh to make a stronge holde and borowe towne, wallid and enhabited as is aforesaid; and twoo other like borowes to be made in likewise in Onelles countree, with pyles in other meete places there.

The Baron of Delvyn, and his son, to have 600 men during that meane season, and they to be occupied first in the wynning of the Kinges castell and towne of Alone[2], and to repaire and enhabite as is beforesaid; and to do in likewise ageinst OMelaghlyn[3], McGogheghan[3], OMolmoy[3], ODoyne[4], and OFerayll[5], whiche ar no great men of strength.

Then a thowsand to aryve at Lymyrik, and the Erle of Ossery, and his son, and power to joyne with them, and first to wyn the pyles and castelles from ODwyre[4], and next that, to wyn the castell and towne of the Enagh[6], and to buylde and enhabite the towne, and so to peruse all the Irisshery in this side of the water of Shenyn, and to wyn OBrynes Bridge, that stondith upon the same water.

Then to peruse all Clancollan[7], in OBrynes countree, and to wyn the pyles and holdes, and specially a strong castell called Bon Raytte[8], 8 myles from Lymyrik, upon the ryver of Lymeryk.

Consequently to make a strong holde at Clare, and to enhabite accordingly; and to make 2 other like borow townes in the myddes of OBrenes countrey.

There are piles inough in that countrey alredy, so that there nedith no more but to enhabite.

Then from OBrenes countree to the Kinges towne of Galwey, is but 12 myles, and therin enhabiteth MakWilliam[9], and the Bowrkes of Clanricard[9], strong herdy men, and of high stature, and nameth them selfes of the Kynges blode, and were Ynglish, and berith hate to the Irisshery; so that, so long as they will acquite them well, it were good to accept them; bynding them not alonly to withdrawe from the mainteynaunce or soukeryng of the Brenes, but also to do their uttermost ageinst them, and all others of the Irisshery; whiche I thinke veryly they will performe.

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[1] Carrickfergus. [2] Athlone. [3] See p. 5.
[4] See p. 2. [5] See p. 4. [6] Nenagh, in Tipperary.
[7] The antient Barony of Clancullen was situated between Limerick and Killaloe, now forming part of the Barony of Tullagh.
[8] Bunratty, in Clare. [9] See p. 7.

There

There are of the Irisshery, in that parties, OKelly[1], and OMaddeyn[1], to whom these Borkes berith mortall grudge. That therfore the same armye, with the said Erle, and Borkes, exile them, buylde, and enhabite accordingly.

There are another sect of the Borkes, and divers of the Irisshery, towardes Slygoo, beyond Galwey, in like hate with the same MacWilliam of Clanricard, and the said other Bowrkes. That like entreprise be executed ageinst them.

That all the Englisshery in Mownester do kepe warre, this meane season, to Cormok Ogg[2], Mc Carthy More[2], Mc Carthy Reogh[2], and OConer of Kery[2], who are of alliaunce to OBrene.

The greatest nombre of this army must be archeors on horsbak, and northern spere men, for they ar moste meete for Yrland, specially at chases and skarmusshes.

OKarrell[2] and OMore[3] ar both the hardiest capitaynes in that land of the Irysshery; that therfore somme meane way be taken with them, to thentent that they may be leaders ageinst all the rest of the Irisshery; who may do high stede and service therin.

These countreys shall not nede to be all enhibited with Englisshmen, but may be myxt with divers borne in the Ynglyssh pale, in cities and borow townes, and in the Erle of Ossories countrey.

These devises to be begon this next Marche, and so to be through out contynued all that yere next folowing; and then the Kinges Highnes, with certein of his Counceill, to comme the next somer therafter, with no great power, and so establissh for ever contynuall lawdable ordre, according to the lawes of God, and of this his Realme.

And thus concluding, the Blissed Trinitie have your wisdome, principall avauncer, deviser, and imagyner of the puplique weale, in moste tendre tuicion, with encreace of moche honour and felicitie.

To my right honorable good Maister, the Kinges Principall Secretary, and Counseillor to His Highnes.

In myn other boke, whiche I last delivered to your wisdom, I omitted certein articles herafter ensuyng.

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[1] See p. 4. [2] See p. 3. [3] See p. 2.

There

There be divers other facions, how to enhabite that land, whiche I touched not before. And as I have herd say, the north countrey of Englond ar accustumed, and exerciseth amongest them the best wey for their defence, and to encreace strength of people in a redynes, without charges to the King, the countrey, or to them selfes, that can be imagyned or devised: for every maner of fermor, according to the rate of his ferme, shalbe bound, upon the lease dimised to hym therof, to have a geldyng for hym self alwey in a redinesse, with his weapon; so that the fermors and tenauntes, by reason therof, ar a great nombre in a redynesse without charges: whiche is otherwise in Irland; for the fermors and tenauntes there, in effect, ar no men of warre, but only berith men of warre at their charges, whiche causith them to be the lesse in nombre, and lesse hardy; for no man woll stik so well to prosecute his owne cause, hurtes, and distruction, as hym self will do; ne any other will daungier hym self in saving another, as the very partie hym self wold. That therfor it be substauncially debatid upon, howe that they in Irland, upon their enhabiting therof, may take light at the north countree of Englond, and to enhabite in likewise, specially in marches and places of moste daungier.

If any of thIrishery, as I thinke many of them wolle, make large offers to becomme in a thorough order of subjeccion to the Kinges Highnes, that suche, apon suche a conquest as I spake of in myn other boke enterprised, be accepted in this wise: the King, within the verey myddes of the Englissh pale, where as moste assured obeysaunce is, to appoint to suche a capitayne or capitaynes, with certein of his or their sequell, landes, to live therupon in good order accordingly; but in any wise the King to enhabite their countreys.

The verey lyving of the Irishery doth clierly consist in twoo thinges; and take awey the same from them, and they are past for ever to recover, or yet noy any subject in Irland. Take first from them their cornes, and as moche as can not be husbanded, and had into the handes of suche as shall dwell and enhabite in their landes and countree, to brenne and distroye the same, so as the Irisshery shall not lyve therupon; then to have their cataill and beastes, whiche shuld be moste hardiest to com by, for they shalbe in woddes, and yet, with guydes and policy, they be ofte had and taken in Irland this day; and agein, by the reason that the severall armies, as I devised in my said other boke, shuld procede at ones, it is not possible for the same Irishery to put or flee their cataill from one countree into an other, but that one of the armyes, with their guydes and assistors, by happe, policy, espiall, or som other meane, shall comme therby; and amyttyng the impossibilitie, that their cataill were saved, yet, in contynuaunce of one yere, the same cataill shalbe deade, distroyed, stolen, strayed, and eaten; for by the reason of

the contynuall removing of them, going from one woode to another, as they shalbe forced to do, their lying out all the wynter, and narowe pastures, they shalbe stolen, loste, strayed, and deade: and, moste of all, when all the great nombre of the Irisshery, so being in exile, being togider with ther tenauntes and sequell, takking their corne and other vitaile, shall have no maner sustenaunce, but alonly the residue of the same catell, if there shalbe any, wherby ther said catell must, in short tyme, be consumed, and then they shalbe without corne, vitaill, or cateill, and therof shall ensue the putting in effect of all these warres ageinst them.

And forasmoche as OConor his he that now moste begynneth newly to tangle ageinst the army, that, of all hondes, the warres be sharpeley folowed ageinst hym; and to send letters to OMore to do his devor, promising hym, that if Oconor be exiled and dryven from his londes and possessions, that he shall have yerely the same wages of the King there, that OConor hath had hitherto there, for his service: and, out of doubt, OMore can do asmoche ageinst OConor, as any man in Irland; and none so moche, who berith hym mortall hate.

CXXX. Crumwell *to* the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland.[1]

In my right harty maner I commende me unto youe, lating youe wit that the Kinges Highnes, having seen the letters writen from youe, Maister Brabazon, unto me, conteyning a recytal of suche Actes, as have been in this session of that Parliament passed the Nether and Higher Houses there, and rest only uppon the Royall Assent, doth accept in very good parte your labours, paynes, and travailes in the conducyng of the same to their desired purpose, and giveth therfor unto youe all, his moost harty thankes. Albeit, his pleasure is, that in cace thActe for the Succession be not passed thoroughly, ye shall staye the same, tyl further knowleage of His Graces pleasure, which shalbe shortly signified unto youe in that behaulf; until the signification wherof, his pleasure also is, ye shal contynue the Parliament, with suche other matiers as ye shall thinke mete to be treated on and remembred in the meane tyme.

[1] The whole of this letter is in Wriothesley's hand, except the compliment preceding the signature. The hiatus arise from damp.

And

And forasmoche as His Majestie hath lately writen unto youe, and to the Lordes and Commens there assembled, to devise howe the chargies, that His Grace hath susteyned, may be partely recompensed, and the like born of the revenues there, uppon the ministration of semblable occasion, as hathe lately chaunced by the rebellion of Thomas Fitzgarrat, and his complices[1]; His Highnes, mynding to knowe certainly, howe ye have proceded in that matier, hath, at this tyme, destinated and sent unto you this berer, my servaunt William Bodye, with whom, like as His Graces pleasure is, ye shall communicate all that ye have doon therin, with the inclynations of all parties to the same; soo ye shall give unto him full and undoubted credence, in suche thinges as he shall declare touching that matier, who hath been sufficiently instructed and enformed for the declaration of his mynde touching that purpose; proceding with him soo spedily therin, as he may again return with diligence.

Ye shall also understande that, forasmoche as the Kinges Majestie hathe given unto thArchbisshop of Dublyn the hole revenue due of his Archebisshopreche sythens Michelmas last passed[2], his pleasure is, that youe, Maister Brabazon, shall eyther delyver the same to the said Bodye, or elles, in cace it be employed in the Kinges affayres there, signifie the certain some therof, to thintent it maye be deducted of suche [*summe, as*] shall shortly be sent thither. For ye shall undrestande that his chargies here [*hathe ben*] greate, by reason wherof he is moche [*indebted*], and must discharge the same of the [*revenue*], which is appointed of the said Bisshopricke unto him. For whom, in the meane tyme, [*I*] have undertaken with all his creditours; and therfore desire and praye youe to take suche ordre, as he maye, eyther from thens, or [*otherwise,*] by your lymitation, receyve his dieuty accordingly.

Your Lordshippis, and other of the
Kynges Pryvey Counsaill, assuryd Freend,
(*Signed*) THOMS̃ CRUMWELL.

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[1] Body's instructions (of which Wriothesley's minute remains in the State Paper Office) state that the Geraldine rebellion had cost the King above £40000 sterling.

[2] In Brabazon's account, he debits himself with £623 5*s.* 8*d.* received from the Archbishoprick of Dublin, to Michaelmas 1535.

CXXXI. W. Cowley *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honorable and my singuler good Maister. May it please the same, that lately I did writt to your wisdome, at large, by oon Sonnyng, parson of Wykloo, of sundry thinges in my poore mynd veray materiall, trusting that the same, by this, is cummen to your Maisterships handes, wherwith I woll not eftsones incumber the same. Maister Tresurer, for this 3 wykes, wolbe here, occupied in the making upp of his bokkes of accumpt, and for like byssynes, and then most follo the Parliament into Mownster; and, that mayn journay oones well endid, for all this next wynter to disminish this armi, till the next Marche, or at other time thoght propice and mete for the thoro owt generall reformacion, whiche was never so nigh to take full effect, yf God contynue the King in that purpos, and your Maistership avauncer therof, as your wisdome have done hitherto; and suche as ar in auctorite here to apply ther polycy, hartes, and coradges therto, and not to worke in inward grudges, studyng to hurt or prejudice other; wherin your ofte exhortacions shall moche bote. Yf every of theym aply ther awne charg, it shalbe most convenient; as, the Deputie to follo the warres, and debate alway with the Counsell for the bringing of the Kinges affairis to good pass; the Tresurer to attend his office, and to survey the Kinges landes and proffites, and yet next that, forasmoche as he is ewne the best capitain and fortnattist in the armi, withowt comparison with the Deputie, in places of great stede, when his absens elswher may bee sparid, his presens shall surely do moche good, and the armi woll not bee, in conclusion, by non here so moche ruled as by him, next my Lord Deputie. William Seyntlos 300 fotemen shall do little stede this wynter; wherfor, that he have 100 horsmen, discharging the fotemen. M^r. Tresurer to have an other 100 horsmen at his leding; and my Lord Tresurer 100 horsmen, wherof 50 to bee Englishmen, and the other 50 of this cuntre, and that 300 to bee resident in the countie of Wexford, and in the castel of Fernis, now in pocescion with my Lord Tresurer; wherin they shall do suche stede, to sett and survey the countie of Wexford, nowe the Kinges, to wyn the castels, holdes, and catail of the Kewanaghes and Brines, whiche lieth betwen Dublin, thEnglishe pale, and thErl of Ossorye, the Butlers, and the said countie; and folowyng sharply to the next Marche that purpos, it shalbe desolate of Irishry, and made to the hand for to inhabyt, whiche were the playn way to lynk in oon power togither all thEnglishry in Leynster and Mownster, whiche contayneth the 3 partes of the 5 partes of

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 92. Holograph.

Irland. Oon thing I perceve by Maister Tresurer, that ther shold bee nothing more grevous to hym, then to trowble your Maistership with any overthwartnes, or suche brabling. How be it, I trust all shalbe reformid betwen theim selffes; yet that your wisdome wold will both my Lord Deputie and others, that they do not winche again the setting and lessing of the Kinges revenues, for that they can not have all theimsilffes. And what so ever any person here writeth to your Maistership, me thinketh it do not well to stop theym; for yf peopill bee restraynid from that libertie, your wisdome shall not percace cume to the knowledg of thinges, being undisclosid, that moche daunger may follow. And yet, yf any person do ascertain your Maistership of untrew matter, wherof, on the other syde, perel might hap to follo, pittie it were oonles the same were punished. But that to bee weyed by your goodnes.

200 horsmen shalbe sufficient with my Lord Deputie, resident in the English pale, with ayd of the lordes and inhabitauntes there; forseen that the other 300, befor expressid, bee in a reddines, at convenient times, for execucion of the Kynges affayres, to accumpany also my Lord Deputie. Whiche 300 may aswell, at times, peruse Mownster as Leynester. Oon great cause, that stirreth me therto, is, that it were nothing mete that my Lord Deputie, and the hole armi, shalbe resident in the English pale, but so part of theym alway to be so occupied to step further, and not to trust to that ground they stand on alloonly.

Assuridly my Lord of Ossorie both is a great stay here, and also do further moche thes devises; and considering also his ernest service as is incumparable here, your goodnes, as ye alway have done, wold further the same. Sir John of Dessmond[1] is dede, Cormok Oge, and Mac William[2]; and this same day my Lord of Ossorye hath sent to my Lord Deputie and the Counsell, that this new Mac William[3], who is son to the Mac William that was in my Lord of Norfolkes daies, and was son in law to my said Lord of Ossorie[4], woll serve the King, and follo suche order as my Lord Depute woll have him. Writtin in great hast, this 19 day of Juin.

Your Wisdoms moost humble servaunt,

(*Signed*) WALTIER COWLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Maister, Maister Secretory to the Kinges Highnes.

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[1] John, who, after the death of Thomas the 12th Earl, in 1534, disputed the succession with his grand nephew, James Fitz Maurice, and is erroneously supposed to have become, in 1535, 14th Earl of Desmond. See p. 354.

[2] Richard Bourke.

[3] Ulick, nephew of Richard.

[4] Mc William, the father, was also named Ulick, and is stated by Lodge, in his Peerage, to have married Margaret, daughter of Piers Earl of Ossory. The same author, under the title of Ormond, states this Margaret to have married, 1. Thomas of Desmond, and, 2. Mc Gilpatrick, and gives the husbands of Ossory's five other daughters, without naming Mc William at all. Mc Gilpatrick's wife was living at this time. See p. 346.

CXXXII. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

IN my moost hartie maner I commende me unto you, and at the arryvall of Thomas Agard with the money, I was in the borders of Ulster, comonyng wyth ONeile, whom I found very tractable in wordes[1], but I coulde get no

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[1] In a despatch to the King, of the same date (in the State Paper Office), he states, that he has made peace with ONeil, "by poynt of Endenture," of which he encloses a copy:

Forma Tractatus Pacis et Concordie inter, et facta infra franchasiam opidi sive ville Dundalck, 15mo die Junij, anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi vicesimo octavo, inter prepotentem et nobilem virum, Leonardum Grey, Dominum Grey, Vicecomitem Grane, Domini Regis in Hibernia Deputatum, parte ex una, et spectabilem virum, Dominum Conatium Oneyll, Principalem Capitaneum sue Nacionis, in hunc sequitur modum. In primis, dictus Conacius Oneyll, super Sacris Sancti Dei Evangelijs juratus, firmiter in virtute sui dicti juramenti promisit, et se obligavit, fideliter Regie Magestati deservire, ac ejus Locumtenentibus et Deputatis pro tempore existentibus, omni tempore quo vocatus erit, et contra quoscunque Domini Regis rebelles et inimicos, suis totis fortitudine et potestate exurgat et pugnet contra omnes homines mundi. Item, preterea dictus Conacius Oneyll se obligavit, presencium tenore, quod quandocunque res sic contigerit, aliquos Domini Regis subditos vel subjectos in partibus Ultonie malifacere, transgredere, rebellere, aut aliqua mala agere contra Regem, vel suos subditos, aut amicos, in illis partibus, ipsos vel eorum aliquem nocendo, prejudicando, vel aliqua alia dampna eis inferendo, precipue ipsi qui Scotos de Insulis, vulgariter Red Shankes, introducunt, fovent, auxiliant, aut nutriunt, eos et eorum quemlibet sic facientes, idem Conacius Oneyll, pro posse suo, destruet, deponet, subjugabit, et punet, ad placitum Deputati pro tempore existente, ea punitione qua ipse voluit Deputatus; et si ad hoc habilis parte non existit, hinc Deputatus, pro tempore existens, eum coadjuvabit, et hoc dictus Conacius Oneyll faciet sine fraude vel dolo. Concordatum est insuper, ex utraque parte, quod omnes articuli et clausule indenturarum nuperime factarum inter Dominum Willielmum Skevington, dudum Domini Regis sue terre Hibernie Deputatum, et eundem Conacium Oneyll, observabuntur, et firmiter custodientur imposterum, tam ex parte Domini Deputati jam existente, et pro tempore existente, quam pro parte dicti Conacij; quemadmodum Dominus Deputatus observabit, et observari promittet, et firmiter custodiet Domino Oneyll ea, que specificantur quo ad tributum et ad antiqua sua consueta levanda et exegenda, pro se et suis successoribus, modo et forma que continentur in eisdem indenturis; sicut idem Deputatus, et Deputati pro tempore existente, exigent et levabunt pro Domino Rege de adherentibus, cognatis, atque ceteris quibuscunque de pace Domini Oneyll existentibus, redditus, revensiones, et cetera tributa Regie Magestati spectantia, debita, sive imposterum debenda, absque pacis ruptione; et ad hoc idem Conacius Oneyll Deputatum pro tempore existentem manutenebit, pro posse suo, sine diminutione dominij sui. Item concordatum est, quod prefatus Conacius Oneyle exurget in omni itenere, et magno viagio, vulgariter nuncupato hostinges, tanto hominum numero bellicorum, equestrium et pedestrium, quo licitum faceret, peteret, et mittere, pro posse suo, cum capitaneo et vexillis eis congruis, suis proprijs sumptibus; et ita sic faciens, Dominus Deputatus erit sibi favorabilis; et ipsum, tanquam subditum Domini Regis, defendet, auxiliabit, et manutenebit. In cujus rei testimonium sigillum consuetum Domini Oneyll presentibus, remanentibus Domino Deputato, est appensum, mense, die, anno, et loco supradictis.

Gray's letter to the King is to the same effect with the first paragraph of the letter in the text; and for the rest, he refers to a letter from himself and the Council to Crumwell. Cox states, (erroneously, as it appears,) that it was Sir William Brereton, who was sent to the confines of Ulster, to parley with ONeil.

pledges

pledges of him, excepte I shuld have fallen out with hym; wherunto tyme servyth not, considering the commocion and confederacie that is betwixt the Breenes and the Garaldynes of Mounster, with whom OChonor is pryvely in amitie, and OMore with hym. Nevertheles, the policie is found, that M^c^Gyll Patryk is at warre with OMore, making grete parties on either syde. Nevertheles, the matier is so handled, that they bothe sue to me to receyve ther pledges, and take up the matter betwixte them, wiche I woll not yet do, for whiles they twayne be at this discencion, with thadvise of the Counsail, vytailles, cariage, lyme, masons, and other necessaries bee provyded; and we intend to reedifie and fortyfye the castle and bridge of Athye, and the manor of Woodstocke. And to morue, the Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolles with me, I begyn my voyage, not as thoughe I intended any suche purpose, but make my jorney to parle with OChonor, and from thens suddenly I woll departe on Thursday to my intended purpose, wiche I woll perfecte, God willing; and by the tyme that bee doon, I must departe to Kylkenne, to sitt in the Parliament, and from thens passe furthe in the grete jorney into Mounster, if we may be furnisshed wyth money, according as I, and the Counsaile, advertised you heretofor: otherwise we assure you all wolbe at a staye for this yer; wherby the Kinges rebelles woll take suche a courage, that what wyll folowe therof I cannot tell.

Syr, I thank you moost hartely of your goodnes and gentlenes alweys shewed unto me, knowing certenly, that, undre the King, I have not a like frend, whose holsome advertisementes I have and woll folowe, God willing, thoughe my qualities extend not to the excercising of so highe a rowme, yet my good wylle shall never lacke. Albeit I have not omitted, to all my possible power, to serve my Master as well as I coude; orelles Thomas Fytzgarette, and his uncles, had not been wher they be now: and yet had I never thanke, by word, ne writing, for thapprehending of the same his uncles. Howbeit, if my Maister remembr it in his hert, it is sufficient for me; but what so ever my wytte bee, I thinke ye knowe I have as good a wylle to serve my Maister, as any pore subject hathe lyvyng, being well assured, that as symple as my discrecion is, I do nothing of importaunce, but by thadvise of the Counsalle; and yet am I roiled at, and sclaundered with light knaves, on suche wise, as, if I remembred not the rowme I am in, and your advertisement, I wold not suffer it: and especially ther is oon Pole here, the Provost Marshall, wiche handleth me aftre that sort, as, if I wer not Deputie, he mought bee well assured I wold not take it of hym. He hathe reported unto me, aftre the worste sort that ever I herde, of William Brabazon the Tresourer, the Master of the Rolles, and the Chief Justice, and specially of

of the Tresourer, and Master of the Rolles, to put them and me at discord; and was oon of the furst persons that ever was a berer of tales amongste us, as far as I coude perceyve, to put us at varyaunce: but at last we have espied him; beseching you to regarde him accordingly. I wold ponysshe hym; but I forbere it, by thadvise of the Counsaill, bicause he is Provost Marshall; and also if I shuld so do, putting another in his rowme, peradventur it wold be thought I did it of displeasur, to preferre some of myn own therto; and, moost especially, I forbeyr the same to knowe your ferther pleasur. Ye shall also understand, that having respecte to the manyfold invencions and seditions, wiche hathe bene ministred here amongst us by tytyvyllies, and consequently preferred to you by report and writing, wherby ye have ben inquieted; and being pryvely informed that the Lady Skevyngton, and Colly, had devysed certen letters[1] thider, conteynyng no mater of trouthe, the same being brought unto me, I disclosed them; among wiche ther was oon directed to your Mastership; trusting that ye woll take no displeasur with me, that I was so bold to see your letter, for that I entended no hurt, but that toguedre with the same, ye mought be advertysed of the trouthe, beseching you to accepte me therein, no wors then I mente, but aftre a frindely sorte helping me to represse these makers of bate, and lyars: for thoughe I, and the Counsaill, wold studye to represse them, excepte your Mastership punysshe or rebuke suche as preferre suche fals and slanderous matters to you, neyther ye, ne we, shall never be at rest. It is the kyllyng of a gentleman, or an honest mans hert, to perceyve that light felowes shuld be suffered to say or write upon them ther pleasur untruly. And thus Our Lorde preserve you. From Kylmaynan, the 24th day of June.

Youre awne assured,

(*Signed*) Pour Leonard Gray.

(*Superscribed*)
To my assured good Freende,
Maister Secretarie.

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[1] See p. 315, note 1.

A letter, written to Crumwell, on this 24th of June, by the Irish Council, and signed by the Chancellor, the Bishop of Meath, the Prior of Kilmainham, the Vice Treasurer, the Master of the Rolls, the two Chief Justices, the Chief Baron, and Justice Howth, enters into a minute vindication of Gray from the charges preferred by Colley, who appears to have acted in co-operation with Lady Skeffyngton and others. It is in the State Paper Office.

CXXXIII. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.

May yt please Your Regall Majestie to be advertised, that according our mooste bounden duties, studying and traivailing in your causes and affaires, from tyme to tyme, and at this season assembling and consoulting togethers, we have resolved and conceived in our myndes, not onely the situacion, fertylitie and condicion of this your lande, with the maner and fourme boath of the furste atteyning and wynnyng of yt in to the possession and obedience of your mooste noble progenitors, and the inhabitacion after of the same; but also the ruine, decay, and desolacion of it, with the causes thereof, and now, at laste, especiallie of the conspiracy of thErle of Kildare, his sonne Thomas Fitzgeralde, and theire allies, who by theire proditorious divises and practises stirred, procured, and executed such insurrections and rebellions, as, if Your Highnes had nate indilately by your poure repressed the same, they falsely intended to have excluded Your Highnes from your rightfull and auncient inheritance of this your said lande and domynion; the subduing and reducing whereof in to that state and soarte, as Your Majestie hath nat onely obteyned in to your owne handes the bodies of the saide Thomas Fitzgeralde, and his uncles, to be ordered at your owne will and pleasure, but also aswell had many others, which were adherers unto them, executed by your lawes according theire desertes, and others banisshede, as readopted to your dicion and possession, the same inheritaunce and right that ye had before, and recovered, together with the same, all theire manors, lordeschipes and landes in our opynions and judgementes, and, as we think, in the sight, reputacion, and judgemente of the worlde, now presente and hereafter to com, is more fame, victory, honor, praise, renowne, and glory to Your Majestie and your posteritie, than the charges, in and aboutes the same susteyned, may be comparable or estimable. Yet, as your humble loving subjectes, and as to the truste committed to our charge doth apparteyne, we have thought yt our duties to advise Your Grace, that after this enterprise, so well and so breflie achived, in the repressing of this outragious rebellion, (whereby such oportunytie, meanes, and waies for coquesting, subduying, and reformyng of your hole domynion, or any place within the same, be opened unto Your Grace, as the like hath nat ben seen theise hunderith yeres past, and God knowith whether the like shall ever be seen agayne in our daies without a ferther greate charge,) Your Majestie do take sum assured meanes and provision for the keping and defending

the same in tyme commyng, with as litle charge as may be. Thinking it, in our opinyons, necessarie, especiallie at leaste to provide for the inhabitacion, sureguarde, and keping of theise landes, which Your Highnes hath now in possession, which is the nexte meane to exonerate you of your greate charges; for, at this season, a greate parte of such manors and landes within the counties of Dublin, Kildare, Carlagh, Westmithe, and elles where, which appartayned to the late Erle of Kildare, and others, being now in Your Graces handes, by reason of theise warres being wasted, remayne voide, nat occupied ne manured; and also, at this Parliament, the hole countie of Wexforde, and divers other possessions, be resumed to Your Grace; and many other thinges we truste shall com unto your possession, so as none of Your Highnes most noble progenitors had nott the like theise hunderith yeres. And no doubte Your Majestie, as the case standith now, if yt be your gracious pleasure to ensue the good begon purpose, may have as greate obedience and possession, as any King had here theise many yeres; forseing that ye provide for the inhabiting of theym, as they shall com to your possession.

Your Highnes muste understande, that the Inglish blodde, of the Ynglish conqueste, ys in maner worne out of this lande, and at all seasons, in maner, without any restauracion, ys disminished and infeabled, some by attayndors, others by persecucion and murdering of Irishmen, and som by departure from hens in to your Realme of Inglande. And contrary wise, the Irish bloode ever more and more, without such decaies, encreasith; so as fermors cannot be had to manure landes under your obedience here, after the rate as may be had in your Realme of Inglande, being of one conformitie, and under the obedience of one Monarchy. Neither your noble progenitors, which conquested this lande, kepte in theire owne handes all that they attayned, but did yeve the same to others uppon reservacions of rentes and services; by reason whereof they inhabited the same, which many of theym, untill this day, have defended ayenste all your enymies: and those landes, which were nat so graunted and inhabited, hath ben wonne agayne, for the more parte, by Irishmen. Wherfore our simple advises shalbe unto Your Grace, principally and above all thinges, and that immediatlie, to provide for the inhabiting of your saide possessions, so as thois, to whome the same shalbe appoynted, may provide for the manuring, defence, and keping of theym againste your Irish rebelles; orelles either muste ye kepe an armie here, contynually, to defende the same, which wilbe a farre greater charge than the profectes, that myght growe thereby, shall surmounte unto; otherwise, undoubtedlie your said rebelles, fynding the same without defence, woll breke and prostrate the fortresses and conqueste the same, converting yt to suche a wilde facion, that

that with no reasonable charge yt can be reduced and inhabited agayne to your obedience, and especiallie to any profecte, for a long season after. But yet we, remembring the bountifull benivolence and goodnes, which Your Majestie hath shewed to your poure subjectes of this lande, and the greate charges, which ye have susteyned for the releef thereof, thereunto have also respecte, and diligent eye to the honor boath of Your Majestie and your posteritie, and the securitie of the contynuance of your jurisdiction, profecte, and obedience in this your lande. May it please Your Highnes to call unto your gracious memory, how ofte and many tymes, and for the more parte contynually, we have advertized Your Grace and your Counsaile, that Your Highnes, ne your heiers, shulde be at any assured stay to have your domynion defended from Irishmen, without your greate charges to be sustayned a new, ever within few yeres, onleste ye ded conqueste M^c^murho, Omurho, Obyrne, Othole, and theire kinsmen, which inhabite bytwene Dublin and Waxforde, inhabiting the same with Inglishmen, or, at the leaste, subdue and refourme the saide parsons to a due obedience. Theise men inhabite bytwene your subjectes of the counties of Kilkeny, Karlogh, Kildare, Dublin, and the sees side, nexte to your Realme of Inglande; so as to our judgement, if they were ons subdued, they mought be so kepte that they shulde never prevaile agayne. And also yf your subjectes being assured of that lacke under your obedience, and at theire soker and assistance, wolde mych lesse exteme your Irish rebelles, but bordering unto theym; where as now, when they resoarte to the defence of the border, they be many tymes in more danger behinde theym. And considering that Your Grace never had, ne, as we think, shall have, like tyme in our daies for thutter achiving and atteyning thereof; and also in consideracion that besides the obedience of your owne subjectes, Irishmen ben, at this season, in such an extreme feare, by the example of the repressing of the Geraldines, as they never wer hitherto within any remembrance; expecting daily either that Your Grace will exile theym, or compell theym to a due obedience, as your other subjectes be; and if they sholde be suffred to passe over this feare, without your poure extended to any of theym for theire subduyng, ondoubtedlie they wolde take new corage unto theym; thinking that either Your Grace could nat endure the charge, orelles there were perceyved an impossibilitie in the wynnyng of any there landes: mooste humblie we beseche Your Grace ernestelie to sett to it, trusting that the mater being politiquely handeled, better and quicker successe shall folow thereof, than is thought. The saide Irish capitens and inhabitantes, within the said precincte, hath nat ben seen more feble, and les able to resiste, then they be now. Theirfore considering the tyme, the aptenes, and commoditie of this quarter for Your Graces honor,

profecte and securitie, above all other places in this lande, as Counselers we advise Your Highnes, and as your mooste humble subjectes, eftsones instantely and moste humblie, beseche the same, to attempte this enterprise; wherein Your Majestie shall highlie merite of God, and also besides thoner and fame of yt, obtayne a sewre stay for the preservacion of your domynyon and subjectes for ever. So knoweth God, to whome we dayly pray for the preservacion of Your moste Royall estate, longe to endure. Written at Your Graces Citie of Dublin, the 26th day of June.

Your moste humble Subjectes,

(*Signed*) POUR LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) JOHN BARNEWALL, Lord of Trymleteston, Your Grace is Chũncelor.
(*Signed*) EDWARD^{9} MIDEÑ.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P^{r} of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, M^{r}. of yor Rolles.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S LUTTELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.

(*Superscribed*)
To the King, our moste dread Soverain Lord.

CXXXIV. THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* CRUMWELL.

PLESE it your honourable Mastershepe to be advertised, that after the resceit of our Soveraign Lord the Kinges money, the northen men, having knolege that thei shuld not have bene fully payd, thei holy combyned to gather in such wise, that oneles thei had ther hole payment, thei wold not resceve one penny, and thus made thei determynat aunswer with one voyse, and manyshed the hole Counsaill, and specially the Tresorer and Cheff Justice, of ther lyves, and wer in such rage and fury, that thei wold not gyw faith to ther capitayns, nether to eny other, but onely relied that ther was money i now come for ther hole satisfaccion. The Tresorer offred them the sight of our said Soveraign Lordes letters, which in no wise thei wold loke on, or hyre red, but said precisly, if thei had not ther hole wages, thei wold do no service, and besydes that thei wold have bene at bord with the Counsaill at ther housys, in spite of ther hertes. The Lord Deputie, at this tyme, was ner the borders of Athy, aboutes the setting forth of the bildinges mencionned rather to your Mastershepe,

shepe; and if hit had not bene for the setting forth therof, and the further affayrs of our said Soveraign Lord, the Lord Deputie and we wold have takyn other order: but to have every thing to go forward, as at this tyme hit may, for the apesing of the said northen men, and partly to serve our said Soveraign Lordes purpose, hit is thoght goode, that the said northen men shuld be holy payd; and the retinue of the late Deputie ar entreted to forberr ther hole money tyll money come; unto which tyme, such, as our said Soveraign Lordes pleasur was that shuld have bene, at this tyme, discharged, most continue styll tyll then. And as for Sir John Sayntloos retinue, which continuyth at Waterford, and in those quarters, what thei wyll doo, when thei hyre of this, as yet we know not, but we trust thei wyll order them selffes discretly. Wherfor we thinke hit good, that sufficient of the Kinges treasor may be hyther sent with convenient spede, in eschewing lyke danger. And thus Our Lord have our honorable Mastershepe in His most tender governaunce, with the continuance of long days, most sarveing to his pleasure. From Dublin, the last day of June.[1]

Yours,

(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOUTH, Justice. THOM̃S LUTTELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) WALT̃ KERDYFF, Justice. PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable Master Secretori
unto the Kinges Magiste.

CXXXV. FITZWILLIAM *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MAISTER Secretarie. This shalbe to advertise you, that the Kinges Highnes shewed me that he had thought to have spoken with you yesterdaye in a matier; howbeit, at your departure, the same was oute of his remembraunce; which was, His Grace wold, forasmoch as he hath now made a new conquest of Irland, to his greate cost and charge, that ye shuld devise an Act of Parliament

[1] On the same day Brabazon wrote to Crumwell, to the same effect; and previously, on the 7th of June, Herbert wrote a letter (which is among Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House) complaining of much discontent in the army for want of their pay, and that he had expended £100 on his own company out of his private purse.

[2] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 85.

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to bee passed within the said lande, wherby His Highnes maye have all such landes, as any personne, spirituell or temperall, holdeth within the said lande of Irland; or elles that the said personnes soo having the said lande, shall becomme contributours and berers with His Grace, after the valure of their said lande, aswell for the charges His Highnes hath alredy been at aboutes the said conquest, as, yf any such like chaunce (which God defende) maye happyn hereafter. Nevertheles, in communication and devising upon this matier, His Highnes was in doubt, whedre he were or might better take the said landes by reason of his said conquest, or elles by Act of Parliament, as afore; and willed me to advertise you therof, and that his pleasure is, ye shall debate this matier with his lerned Counsaill, and such ordre as ye and they shall thinke may bee moost for his honour, prouffit, and suertie in that behalf, that ye shall take accordingly. And thus the Blessed Trinitie have you in His keping, and sende you as well to doo, as I wold doo myself. At Windesoure, this Wedynsday [1], the 7th day of July.

Yours aseured,

WYLLM̃ FYTZWYLLM̃.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable Maister Thomas Crumwell, Squier,
Chief Secretarie unto the Kinges Highnes.

CXXXVI. WISE *to* LORD CRUMWELL.[2]

I AM bold, upon the comfort of your moste gentill favour, to trouble you with thies rude markes of my pen, avertising your Maistership, that this instant day William Saintlo, captain of the retynu remaynyng here, broght from Dublin the Kinges mony for the payment of the souldeours wages, and repayment of sommes borowed here, which is to them all no smale comfort and refreshing, so that therby he, that was erst lame, now goth upright. The Lorde Deputie is about the castell of Fernes, in Mc Morow is countre, which is a veray strong castell, and necessary to be had for the King. Here is also corn, metely good plentye. We ar like to have som sporte, procul ab urbana luxuria, with the Desmondes and the Breenys, this harvest; or rather they thoght to put the

[1] This date would shew this letter to have been written in 1535; but Fitzwilliam was very careless in his dates, and it is impossible for the King to have considered, in July 1535, that he had "made a new conquest of Ireland."

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

Lord

Lord Tresorer to rebuke, being of late at a place callid Tiperary, nere the marches of ther countre, enterparlling togithers by a mediatour, thArchbusshop of Casshell: but my said Lorde, having knoledge of ther treason, set his men in aray, whom there enemyes estemyd to be of more nombre than they were in dede, and so reculed to ther woddes again. This was credibly reportid unto me. Also the pretensid Erle of Desmond, and the said Breenys, hath sent a diffiaunce to my Lorde of Ossory, so as al thies quarters preparith ther defence. He wold have Roche, Barry, Cormogog is son and heire, callid Teig, and Geralt Mc Shane, upon his peas. Som busynes hath bene of late, also, betuixt OMore[1] and Mc Gyllefadrike[1], which is pacifyed now by the commyng up of the Lord Deputie to Kilkenny. And thus the unquyetnes of this land hath yet none end. And fallible repoortes hinderth ofte the truth. And in merchandise, who byeth at the third hand, hath not most gaine. Wold our Lord God, such one, as you, were here in parson, to se at yy such thinges as ar eyther omyttid, or faintly reportid. A grete meny of us in this land (as I suppose) ar apter of nature to complain, and confess our mysery, than charitably and wisely to consult and provide for remedy of our harmes. God amend us.

Sir, as non other pleasure, than thies leish of faulcons, to be presentid unto your Mastership by this lad, my son, Harry Wise, I have not to send you; which, with moste humble recomendation, pleas it your goodnes taccept.

And albeit I am avertised, that labour is made to put me besides the sell of Saint Johns here, which was unyted unto the hous of Bath, in Ingland, being under the yerly value of 40 £ sterling, which, by your mean and entercession, the gracious distribution of the King my Master is favour was therin showed unto me, I can not therfor thinke, but I shall have annum probationis; after which tyme, if I excell not, God being my leader, al the sole priours or monkes, that of long tyme mysgoverned that sell, let the Kinges Grace then take it, with al the litill land I have in Irland[2]. And thus ye have my prayer and servyce. At Waterford, the 12th day of Julij.

Your humble Frend
and poer Lover,
(Signed) WILLIAM WYSE.

(Superscribed)
To his Right Honorable Maister Cromwell,
the Kinges Chieff Secretory[3].

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[1] See p. 2.

[2] It appears from Brabazon's Accounts, that Wise succeeded in obtaining this grant.

[3] Crumwell's promotion to the Peerage, and to the office of Lord Privy Seal, which took place on the 9th of July, was unknown to the writer.

CXXXVII. Countess of Kildare *to* Crumwell.[1]

Please it youer good Lordschep to be advertysyd, that at my commyng to Beaumanour[2], the 14 day of this present monthe, I fownd ther my son, Edward Vyzegaret, of the age of 8 yeres, whose bryngers thether be of non aquantans, nor no knowlege to non of myne, nor browght word wo sent hym, nor lefte tokyn, nor letter, wo he shuld be usyd. Wherefore I be syche youer good Lordshep, that I may know the pleasure of the Kynges Heynes, by Youer good Lordsheps advyce, wo he shuld be ordyryd; and if I durst be so bolde, I wolde desyer the custody of hym, becawse he is an inasent, to se hym browght up in vertu; and as it please youer good Lordshep to send me word, by youer wrytyng, by this berar, howe ye wyl have hym ordyryd, youer pleasur knowen, it shalbe done with all the dylygence that I may. As knowyth God, wo preserve you in long lyffe, with great incresse in honor. Writtyn at Beaw Manowere, the 16 day of July,

Be your Oratrice,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Elyzabeth Kyldare.

To the honorable Lord, my Lord Prevy Scelle,
this be gyvyn.

CXXXVIII. Body *to* Crumwell.[3]

After my bounden duetie, in moost humble wise remembred unto your good Lordshipp. Please it the same to be advertised, that I arryved att the citie of Dublyn (thankes be to God) the 15th daie of this presente moneth, and have delyvered not onlie your letters, but also the Kinges letters to my Lorde Deputie and the Counsell accordinglie, and as the oportunytie of the tyme dyd serve; and have declared unto theym the Kynges pleasure conteyned in my remembrances; who have debated with diligence seriouslie, houe the Kinges desire myght be accomplysshed in this behalfe. But for asmoche as the Parlya-

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[1] From Miscellaneous Letters, in the Chapter House, Vol. 9. leaf 67.

[2] In Leicestershire, the residence of Lord Leonard Gray, her brother, where the Countess resided, after her husband's death, with her second son, Edward; her eldest son, Gerald, having remained among the Geraldine party in Ireland.

[3] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

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mente is proroged to Kylkeny, aboute fyftie myles distante frome Dublyn, and from thens to Lymryk, distante from Dublyn aboute 120 myles, and that it is concluded that the same shalbe proroged ageyn from Lymryk to Dublyn, whiche is doon for lakk of leasure; and no grounded poynte yet concluded for the Kinges matier, because the greate hostynge doth marche furth with all expedicion possible to vaynquysshe Obryn, the Kinges rebellyon and mortall enemy, and the Geraldynes of Mounster: therfore I have addressed myselfe to accompany with my Lorde Deputie and the army, not onlie to se and vewe the obedience and faithfull service of the Kinges subjectes latelie, as I am enfourmed, brought in and subdued to the Kinges Highnes, but allso with convenyente diligence, frome tyme to tyme, to instance and move the Counseill to debate and conclude upon suche groundes, as maie be moost beneficiall for the Kinges cause to be preferred and accomplysshed. And ferther it may like your good Lordshipp to perceyve, that it is thought most convenyente, and so concluded by the Counsell, that my right hartie beloved freende, Maister Thesaurer, shall remayne aboute Dublyn for the defence of the contre there. Desiringe your Lordshipp, yf it shall so like you, to gyve thankes to my Lorde Deputie, and to Maister Thesaurer, for the gentill entreteynement of me for your good Lordeshippes sake. And thus I praie the Holie Trynytie preserve your Lordshipp. From Dublyn, the 17th daie of July.

Your humble and faithfull servaunte,

WILLM̃ BODY.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honourable and my singler good Lorde,
the Lorde Previe Seall.

CXXXIX. THOMAS ALEN *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

AFTER my most humble and bounden dutie remembred to your right honourable good Mastership, as apperteyneth. Like as by my last letters I advertised the same, soo my Lorde Deputie went, according the conclusion of the Counsaile, to the reedifyeng and fortifieng of the manour of Wudstocke, and the bridge of Athie, having in that his journaie, attendaunte upon his Lordship, the Cheif Justice, the Maister of the Rollis, his Lordships awne 100 horsmen and his 100 fotemen. At his comeng thider, expecting that certen others of

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 607. leaf 16. In the same Library, Vol. 601. leaf 16., is a copy, with Sir George Carewe's notes. Cox notices the expedition, described in this and the subsequent letters, but does not appear to have known the details.

tharmy, shuld have foloid, according thappointment for his defence in thexecuting of the said acte, and perceiveng that soche cumpany, as was appointed to folowe him, cam not, was inforced to patice with OMore, upon certen condicions, to sufferr the same to be builded, so as, the same finished, he shuld have the judgement of certen persons upon his demaunde therunto, which he claymed, bothe by the gift of the Baron of Reban [1], and of that traitour, Thomas Fitz Geralde. Albeit, he, having the possession of the said traytour, upon the atchiveng of Mainoth, prostrated the piles at the bridges end, the bridge all rased, and the doores, windowes, and bartilmentes of the said manour brake, thinking utterlie the Kinge wold have builded the same no moore; and that he therebie having the possession therof, never so litle, nor never so wrongefullie, yet woll count and kepe it for his awne, not surrendering nothing without the power of the swerde, as the nature of all Irishmen semblablie is to doo. Macgilphatric, and the said Omore, being at warre, thought it necessarie to take some order betwixt them, so as they bothe mought serve the Kinge in this journaie into Mounster; departed with the said Omore to the frontures of the said Mac Gilphatrickis countrie, refrainenge to do any hurte till his Lordship knew his aunswer; who desired that the Chief Justice, and the Maister of the Rollis, might speke with him, wherewith my Lorde was contente; and the next daie in the morning sent with the said Chief Justice and Maister of the Rollis, his wif, thErle of Osseries doughter [2], and he him self wold mete my Lorde at Kilkenny, and there to aggre with his Lordship. Wherupon my Lorde sente his footemen, ordenaunce, and victuals to the bridge of Athie, and there to tary till the same was spente; and that they then shuld goo to Kilkaa, distant from that 5 myles, and there to make aboode. His Lordship went to Kilkenny, where he met thErle of Osserie, and the said Mac Gilphatric, where he and Omore were contentid to remayne, and goo to Dublin with my Lord, and there to abide his and the Counsailes order, and to put in pledgis for performance therof, and to attende upon my Lord in this journaie. And from thens departed the Cheif Justice, and the Maiour of Limerick [3], to speke with OBrene and thErle of Desmonde, who been confethered togeder. And my Lord and the Maister of the Rollis, retourneng from thens towarde Dublin, sojourned at Leghlyn, from whens he sente Stephen Ap Harry to Kilkaa, to prepare his footemen, ordenaunce, and victuall, and with all celeritie to repaire to the castell of Fernes. My Lorde roode all that night, and was there erlie in the morning, and vewid it. The same was warded. My Lord demaunded, whether they

[1] The Baron of Reban is noted by Sir George Carewe to mean Sir Michael Fitzgerald. He is elsewhere called Sir Matthew de St. Michael.

[2] See p. 171.

[3] Edmond Sexton.

wold

wold surrender, and deliver the same to him, or not. They made plaine aunswer they wold not leave the same, useng very spitefull language. And so passing the daie in preparinge ginnes, instrumentes, and other necessaries for the obteyneng therof; bringing them nighe to the castell, to thintent they mought see my Lord wold not leave the same, as he promised them, till he had atteyned it; bestoweng his men in the diches and fastnes of that grounde, to watche the gate, les they shold evade; and caused parte of them to goo to the castell, and brake thutter gate, entering to the draw bridge. I, perambuleng abought the same, espied oon of the warde often to resorte to oon place, desired a servaunte of my brothers, a gunner, to resort privelie to a secrete place by the castell, and to bestowe him self; which he accomplished, and so killed him; and as it fortuned, the same person was he which was governour and gunner of the castell. Wherupon shortelie after they desired to speke with my Lorde; who shewed them that percaas they wold not delyver the castell unto him, befor his Lordship had bestowed his ordenaunce, which was comeng within a myle, that afterwarde if they wold have delivered the same, it shuld not be accepted of them; but man, woman, and childe shuld suffer for the same. Which all together, with the death of there capitaine, discomfected them; surrendered and yelded the same to my Lorde, who, for that night, put a capitayne and me in the same, and the next daie put a warde of Mac Morghos in the same. And Mc Morgho him self cam in hostage with my Lorde Deputie to Dublin, to aggre with his Lordship and M^r^. Thesaurer for the taking of the same, which was let verey late for 5 markis Irish, or ther aboughtis. Albeit, the same Mc Morgho hath delivered good ostages to surrender the same castell at the Kingis pleasure, or his Deputies, and to paie yerelie 80 markis Irish.[1] For he, that had the possession therof befor, was such a malefactour, that he robbed and wasted 20^tie^ myles, in effecte, aboute the same. And there all the nations and principallis of the Kavanaghis contented them selves to receive soche order and lawes, as the Deputy and Counsaill shall prescribe unto them, and non other. Assuren your right honourable good Mastership that the said castell is oon of the auncientis and strongest castells within this lande, and of thErle of Shewsburies, or the Duke of Norfolkis, oolde inheritaunce, being wurth sometyme 500 markis by the yere; situated nobly within ten myles to Weixforde and 12 miles to Arcloo. So as there dwelling, a good capitayn maie quiete, order, and rule all thoies parties. And from thens departed by sea side to Dublin, taking order

[1] A copy of the Indenture between Lord Leonard Gray and Cahir (Carolus) Mc Murgho, for the custody of the Castle of Fernes, is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 603. leaf 79. It is dated 14th July, 28 H. VIII. Mc Morough engaged to pay 80 marks Irish yearly, and to surrender the castle to the Lord Deputy on demand.

in the countrie as he went, camping in the feldes nightlie; which waie no Inglish Deputie cam theis 100 yeres, nor non like enterprise attemptated, ne atchived, theis 100 yeres, in so litle tyme, and with so litle charges; for I have sene 3 weakis victuals not so well spent with the riseng ought of the hooll Inglish pale. That knoweth God, to whom I do dailie praie, as I am most bounden, for the preservation of your right honourable good Mastership. From Dublin the 17 daie of July.

Your most humble and most bounden Oratour and servaunte,

(*Signed*) Thomas Alen.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Right Honourable good Master,
the Kingis Principall Secretarie.

CXL. Lady Skeffyngton *to* Crumwell.[1]

Jhesus.

Ryght honorable, my dewte premysyd, as aperteynythe. May ytt plese yower Maistershepe to be adwertessyd, that be yower Maistershep meynes and gwdnes[2], Mr. Wylliam Boddy hath cawssyd all my stwffe to be dellyweryd from my Lorde Deypwte, sawynge swmparte, weche he stelle holdythe, wyche I well nat complene me of, for I trwste lycke wysse, by the sayd Mr. Body, to hawe therof remedy. Newerthelles yt hathe nat ower meche plessyd the sayd Lorde Deypwte, the dellwerynge of my sayd stoffe; for immeydeatly after the order in that behalffe tackon, the sayd Lorde Deypwte with haste cassyd my serwand, weche kepte my sayd stwffe, to hawe yt owte of the castelle of Mynowthe, and wolde not suffere hym to hawe leysure to prowyd cartes for the carege of the same. Wherfore he was fene to ley it in a cherche, or elles yt mwste a bene in the strete. And after yt was in the sayd cherche, ther cam sertten men from the Lorde Deppwte, and arestyd the sayd stoffe, for sertten dewtes, wyche my sayd latte hwsebonde schold owe for the Kynges casses here; wyche shalbe payd, as sowne as I may resseve the wages of my sayd latte hwsband, weche ys as yette on payd. Wherfore I moste yowmly beseche yower Maistershepe, with effeckte swm wat sharppely, to wryte to Mr. Tresserer here,

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle S.

[2] The letter from Lady Skeffyngton, dated 18th February (before referred to, in p. 315.), in which she complains of hindrances and ill-treatment from Gray, and also of unfairness in Aylmer and Alen, probably produced the order here alluded to.

that

that he welle pay me the sayd wages, that I may content and pay the dettes of my sayd hwsbond; for elles I fere gretly, that I schalle be drewyn on with fayre wordes by hym, lycke as I hawe bene ewer sythe the deypartewer of my sayd hwsbond; weche well nat only cawsse me to laber from hence in wenter, bwt also lenger me here, to my grete coste and ondowyng: wyche, God knoythe, I hawe meche more nede of fwrtherance, then henderance, as yower Maistershepe schalle fwrther perseywe at my cwmyng in to Ynglond: at weche tyme, God wellyng, I shalle breng yower Maistershepe a tockon of Yrreche hobbys, weche at thes tym, for lack of monny, ys nat in fayre plyte to pressent yow with. Wherfor, in the meyne seysson, I beseche yower Maistershep so to wryte to M^r^. Tresserer here, that wat I shalle lacke, be syde my hwsbondes wages, to rede me owte of this cwntre, that I may boroyt here of hym, and to macke payment of the same to the Kynges Grace, or to yower Maistershepe in Ynglond. For yff I sholde be drewyn to selle here, for lacke of mony, seche howssold stwffe as I hawe, a grete delle therof wher wourthe bwt a lyttelle mony in this cwntre. Wherfore I be seche yow to be so gwd to me as to helpe me whome, for at whome I cowd better shefte, and eysselyer pay a pownde, then here to pay fortty pence. Also I beseche yower Maistershepe to mowe the Kynges Grace, that I may hawe of His Grace my passege, and carege of my stwffe from this cowntre whome, lycke as my hwsbond sholde hawe hade, yf God had gewyn hym lyffe, with seche of His Graces arme here to acwmpyne me whome, of ther wages for that seyson, so many as His Grace shalle plesse; and I shalle daylly pray to God for the preserwaschon of yower honor. From Dewllyng, the ferste day of Agwste.

Yower beydwhoman,

(*Signed*) Dame Anne Skeffengton, Wydoo.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Ryght Honorabble M^r^. Thomas Cromwelle,
Cheffe Secretory to the Kynges Heyghnes.

CXLI. The Council of Ireland *to* Lord Crumwell.

Our duties remembred to your good Lordship, as apperteyneth. It may please you to be advertized, that according our other writinge, the Kinges Deputie and we repayred with His Highnes armye, victeled for a monith, to Kilkeny, the 25th day of July, levyng the Thesaurer of the Warres in thInglishrye

thInglishrye behinde us, booth for the defence of the countre in our absence, and also for the reedifienge of Powerscourte, and the contynueng of the woorkes at the bridge of Athy and Woodstock. And considering that James of Desmond, son and heyer to John of Desmond, late deceased, who in his lyf tyme usurped both the name and possessions of thErldome of Desmonde, and all the Kinges landes in Mownster, which lately apperteyned to thErle of Kildare, had not oonly proclamed hymself Erle, usurping the same possessions and landes, but also had booth achived in effect the power and strength of all thEnglishrie of Mownster, and combyned with Obrene to be maynteyned agaynst the Kinges Majestie, in the receyvenge of the same; whois strengtheis joyned together is a great power: we thought that the maters of comon policy, to be intreated in the Parliament, culde not presently be debated, untill this force were repressed. Wherupon, of necessite deferring the same, the Deputy advaunced tharmye with the Kinges power, booth Irish and Inglishe, to the border of Casshell; and ther encampyng in the felde thre dayes, expectyng the cummyng unto us of the said James of Desmonde, according as he had promised to me, the Cheif Justice, and the Mayer of this cite of Lymerick; trustyng by some meane to have severed hym from Obreen, so as we mought have entangeled but with oon of thaym at ones: nevertheles he kept not his appoyntment; wherupon we marched forthward to a manor of thErle of Desmondes, called Loughgyr[1], situate in an ilande of freshe water, which is a stronge holde, and in no les reputation in theis parties, than Maynuth is in the northe parties; wher that nyght tharmy forraged uppon the cornes, and tooke the castell, and iland, putting a warde in the same.

At what tyme Donaugh Obreen, Obreen eldest sone, which hath maried the daughter of me, thErle of Ossorie, came to the Deputy; and being contented to serve the Kinges Majestie agaynst all men, desired of us to have no more in recompense of his service to the Kinges Highnes, ayenst his father and all others, but the Kinges gratius favors, and the kepyng of a garysone, within thre myles of Lymerick, called Carickogynnell, which was, and hath been, in the possession of one of the Brenes theis 200 yeres or above. We, considering the necessite of the tyme, thought his service mought stonde us in better stedde, than the accomplisshinge of his request shulde do hym good. The next day we marched to the said castell, and after your Deputy, by appoyntment, had wonne the same, we considered the strength and situation

[1] In the County of Limerick, S.S.E. of the City.

therof

therof to be soch, as if the Kinges Majesty wolde ernestly sett to the reformation of thois quarters, the same shulde be a great furtheraunce to that purpos. The Kinges Deputy put an Inglishe warde of soulders in yt. Which done, he, with all tharmy, resorted to this cite of Lymerick; and being here, we consulted togethers to sett forthe to the wynnynge and brekyng of Obrennes Bridge; wherin we thought the said Obrenes sonnes ayede and conducte so necessary, as we supposed that, havyng the same, we shulde with the les difficultie achyve our purpoos. And supposing it better to satisfie his request about the said castell, than to lose his helpe and assistaunce, boath agaynst his father, and the said James of Desmond; and also considering that it wolde be costely to the Kinges Grace to kepe and maynteyne the same, onles His Highnes intendith a generall reformation of thEnglishrie of Mownster; yet in trust that His Majestie woll ensue the same, divised with the Deputie, by all meane how to satisfie his request, and yet have the same at His Graces comaundment, whan nede shulde requyre; concluded to delyver the said castell, by endenture, into thandes and custodie of us, thErle of Ossorie and James Butler, to be kept at our charge; and we, the said Erle and James, to delyver the same to the said Donaghe Obrene, to be kept under us, during the Kinges Highnes pleasure. After which conclusion taken, the said castell, by tradyment, was taken agayne by the persons which had the possession therof before; which we trust shall lytell prevayle them, but that the Deputies conclusion, and ours, and our promises therupon, shall take effect. And on Friday we marched with all tharmy, and with demiculveryn, and suche other ordenaunce as we had, towarde the bridge, and by the conducte of the said Donaghe and his frindes, we wer brought to yt in a secrete and an onknowen way, on this side of the water, wher never Inglishe ooste, ne cartes, came before; wherby we achyved our purpoos with les daunger than we culde have done on thother side. On Saterday we came to the said bridge, and after the hoost was encamped, the Deputie with the gunners viewed the same. On this side was a strong castell, buylded all of hewen marbell; and at thother ende another castell, but not of suche force, booth buylde within the water, somewhat distaunt from the lande. At this eande they had broken 4 arches of the bridge, betwixt the castell and the lande. The gunners bent all the ordenaunce upon the grete castell, on this side, shotynge at it all that day; but the castell was of soche force, that thordenaunce ded in maner no hurte to yt, for the wall was at the leste 12 or 13 fote thick, and both the castels wer well warded with gunners, galowglas, and horsemen, havyng made suche fortifications of tymber, and hoggesheedes of erthe, as the lyke have not been seen in this lande. They had oon grete pece

of

of iron, which shote bullyes, as great in maner as a mannes hede. They had also a ship pece, a Portingall pece, certayne hagbusshes, and handgunnes. And the Deputy, perceyving that the Kinges ordenaunce ded lytell hurte to the castells, and also that the shote was spent, agaynst the Sonday in the mornyng, he caused every of tharmy to make a fagott of a fadome in length to fill that parte of the water betwixt the lande and the castell, and divised certain ladders to be made; which done, he appoynted a certayne of his awen retynew, and a company of Maister Sayntclows to gyve thassaulte; which we assure you they executed hardely, so as with playne manhode and force the scaled the bridge, which thothers perceyveng, scope oute at thother ende therof, by footemanship; and so they lost booth the bridge, the castels, ther ordenaunce, and all that was els therin; which castels and bridge the Deputie and we have caused to be broken downe to the grounde.[1] Ther was slayn of tharmy two gunners, and diverse hurted; and at the losing of the joyntes of the tymber bridge, a grete parte of it ded fall, and the Mayer of this cite of Lymerick, with diverse others, about the nomber of 30 persons, standing upon the same. Albeit, thankes be to God, ther perished no more, but a servaunt of Maister Sayntclows, and one of this cite; and all thothers, by swymmyng and oon bote, which we had gotton ther, wer saved. This done, yesterday the Deputy, we, and all tharmye, came to this cite agayne; and this day I, James Butler, with Donogh Obreen, been appoynted with a certayne of tharmye to repayer towardes Waterforde, for conductyng hither of thother batry pece, with more shoot, and necessaries for thordenaunce; for Obreen, havyng a gret parte of thErle of Kildares plate and goods, woll neyther delyver the same, ne yett put from hym thErle of Kildares sonne, ne other his servauntes: wherin, if he do not conforme hymself, we trust he shall suffer more hurte than the profitt of thother shalbe to hym.

And what shall furder ensue, after this jorney finisshed, we shall deliberatly advertise the Kinges Majestie and your good Lordship; assuring the same that the Deputie is as forewarde, actyve, and as paynefull a gentilman, as ever we see in this lande in the Kinges service. Albeit booth he, and we all, be so vexed and inquieted with tharmy about ther wages, as we have mutche to doo

[1] A letter of this same date from William Body to Crumwell gives an account of the taking of OBrien's Bridge, from whence it appears that the success of the undertaking was mainly owing to Ossory, whose "bande did far exceed in nomber the bande of Englysshemen, whiche was in nomber "but seven hundreth, or thereaboute; after my pore opynyon a very small company, for my Lorde "Deputie to passe so greate a journey, when he mought have hadde many moo oute of the "Englysshe Yerysshery, onles peradventure he had gyven theym leve to daunse at home, and he "hymselfe playde upon the harpe." This letter is in the State Paper Office.

to

to stay thaym from insurrections for the same, and be in gret doubt les they wold departe from us, which yf they shulde doo, the Deputy, and we all, shuld be lefte in the daunger of our enemyes; and, besides the dishonor therof, the Kinges rebelles woulde take no lytyll currage therby. Trustyng that they not doing the same, the Deputy and we shall bringe to the Kinges possession many grete garisons, dominions, and possessions, yf the Kinges Highnes shall provide for the inhabiting and keping of thaym; and providenge for the same, the Kinges Majestie can wannt no lande, and that as good and frutefull as we thinck anny prince hath.

We beseche your good Lordeship to be good to this berar, your servaunt Thomas Alen, whoo is booth forthward and actyve, and hath done good service; as knowith God, who preserve your Lordeship. From Lymerick, the 9th day of Auguste.[1]

Yours at commaundment,

(*Signed*) J. BARNEWALL, Chũnceler.
(*Signed*) P. Oss̃.
(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER, Thesaurer.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM[?], Justice.

Your humble Orator,
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
To our singler good Lorde,
the Lorde Privy Seale.

CXLII. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

MY Lord. In my mooste hertie and humble maner I recommende me unto your good Lordship; advertising you, according the tenour of my other letters, I prepared my self with tharmye to Kylkenne, againste the 25th daye of Julye, intending to set forwerd againste those rebelles OBreen and James Fytz John of Dessemond, levyng behynde me Wylliam Brabazon, with a companye, bothe for the defence of the parties aboute Dublin, if any ruffell shuld ther chaunce, and also for the reedifieng of Powerscourte, and contynuyng the workes of Athye and Woodstock, as betwixte him, me, and other of the Counsaill, was agreed and

[1] The same Members of the Privy Council wrote on the same day a letter to the King (which remains in Lambeth Library, Vol. 616. leaf 29.) precisely of the same tenor with the above, differing only in the final recommendation of Thomas Alen.

condiscended for the Kinges honour. And from Kylkenne, I, with the resydew of tharmye, thErle of Osserye and his son, wiche I assure you brought a goodly company with them to serve the King, and besides them, and those wiche came out of the 4 shires, OMore, M^c^Morgho, M^c^Gyllpatryk, OByrne, OKarvile, the gentlemen of the countre of Wexford and Waterford, the Lord Roche, and dyvers others, cam with me to serve the King; advaunced forwerd towerd OBreens cuntrey, and by the wey I cam thorughe parte of the landes of the seid James, wiche calleth hym self Erle of Dessemond, encamping by a castell of his, called Loghgyr, wiche was taken by the seid James from James Fytz Maurice, right heyr to the seid Erledome, as it is thought, now being in England with the Kinges Majestie[1]; I sending a company thyther befor me for to vieu the castle, and at ther commyng, they found yt voyd, without any warde therin. And that night I delivered yt to the Erle of Osserye eldeste son, the Lord James, and he to kepe yt, untyll suche tyme that the Kinges pleasur be ferther knowen; and so he hathe taken upon hym to doo. And from thens went, on the mornyng after, unto an other castle called Caryk Ogennyll, and ther felle to a parlyng with the constable therof; wiche I found very streyte and herd, with many highe wordes unto me, and in no wise wold not leve yt, untyll that I had leyd myn artillary and men rounde aboute yt, and then fell unto a poyntement with me to let me have yt, so that I wold let hym and his departe with bag and bagage. And I, upon this commynycation, called the Counsaill unto me, and thought it most convenient so to doo, for putting the King to lesse charge, for sparyng powder and shotte, and dyvers other thinges, wiche we shuld have lacked at other severall tymes, when we shuld have doon other grete affayres. And incontynent upon the agrement betwen the constable and me, I made my nevieu Dudley, and the Mayer of Lymeryke, to beyr the Kinges standard into the seid castle, with a hundreth gunners of myn, and of the town of Lymeryke. And after they wer entred, the Kinges standard was set up, and I, and thErle of Osserye, and his son, with my Lord Chauncellour, and divers other of the Counsaill, went in and vieud it; and at our departing, I lefte a ward of myn own retynewe theryn, and that nyght cam to Lymeryke; and on the morowe after marched towerdes OBreens Bridge, and incontynent after our commyng unto yt, leyd siege therto, and batered that night at oon tower. And on the morowe, in the mournyng after, a certen of my company, and of Wylliam Sentlowes, gave a sawte unto yt, and wan yt, and likewise the bridge, and an other

[1] This James Fitz Maurice is stated in Archdall's Peerage, and other books, to have been killed on the 31st of August 1535, but it will be seen that the event did not take place till the 19th of March 1540. This error had not been detected when the note to page 229 was printed off.

castle

castle at the further end of the forseid bridge, wiche we have broken, and in lyke facion the bridge, according to the Kinges commaundement, wiche I thynke the lyke therof hathe not ben seen in these parties. Wherfor I thinke me self moche bounden to God for yt, that yt came to so good a passe as yt dyd; I being in suche case as I was, and also am in at this hower.

My Lord, lothe I am to write as herafter folowith, but duetie to my Maister, and force, constraynyth me therto, for frayd of worse to comme herafter. I promes you I am in a schroyd case, oneles the Kinges highe Majestie, and next Hym, you in especially, do see redresse in suche causes, as cannot bee redressed but by Hym, and you, and other of his Counsaill. For it is so, the hole substaunce of this companye of Englische men ar in suche misorder and evyll rule, that I am like to be put in jeopardye of my lyff, many tymes, by part of them. As furste the northern men, aboute ther wages, began a sore mutyny and insurrection; and after that, William Sentlowes company at Waterford began the like, so as they muste have had ther own wylles, what shifte so ever had ben made. And not contented therwith, in our campe, the furst night approching to our ennemyes, the hole company of the seid Sentlowe made a mutyny and insurrection in the feld, we being in our enemies cuntrey, and a grete meany in the feld of Irisshemen, not having so good stomakes in ther hartes, as I wold be glad they had; so as I, and all that wer in the feld, muste have goon to harnes, and bent thordenaunce upon them, for pacyfyeng of them. Wherfor, good my Lord, for the Passyon of God loke upon me, that I be not caste awey, by them that I ought to truste as my frendes. I promes you, on myn honestie, I am in mor drede of my lyff amonges them that be the souldeours, then I am of them that be the Kinges Irishe enemyes. My Lord, the trouthe is, ther was never so moche disorder amonges so small a companye, that ever I sawe or herd of; for it be not myn owne company. Ther is very few other in the armye her, that can excuse hym, but his company, part or all, hathe mutynyd, murmured, and grudged to serve the Kinges Grace, dyvers tymes; and now of late they ar at suche poynte amonges them, that oneles I provyde money for them, they will do no servyce, excepte they wer in suche a place as they might robbe and steyle, as they do dayly, for any thing that I can doo, notwithstanding ther is bothe statutes and articles made for theschewing therof. Howbeit the Provoste Marshall woll not folowe suche instruccions, as is geven hym by the Counsaile her; wiche I thinke is somwhat causer of the same, bycause he executith not his offyce as he ought to doo. And ever, when I commaunde any man to do service, they aunswer me hole toguedres, and sey, "Let us have money, and "we woll do yt." And as for suche service as I have doon, and shall do, during my lyff, I remytte that to God; for I do not, ne shall do that, but that that is

my bounden duetie to do. Notwithstanding, I moste hertely desyr you, and also praye you, to be good lord unto your servaunt Thomas Alen, this berer, ensuring you that at all tymes the Maister of the Rolles, the Chief Justice, and now, at this tyme, the Lord Chauncellour, have taken grete paynes in all the Kinges affayres; and, at this tyme, aboute the castles and bridge that we have lately gotten with our own handes, they labored ernestely to plukke down the same: promising you they never fayle me, but be redy with me to serve the King at all tymes, whom I truste shall have thankes of the Kinges Grace, by your meanes, accordingly; for I promes you they have well deserved yt. And I beseche you that bothe according the indifferent and juste jugement that ever hathe ben noted in you, and the truste ye have of my Master, to suspend your credite from the light reaportes out of these parties, without ye se evydent proof; for peradventur elles ye shall be put in evyll opynyon of them, wiche deserve assuredly the contrary. For this cuntrey passith all that ever I sawe, for ministration of sedition and discorde; and they princypally delyte to put oon of us Inglishemen in an others necke.

My Lorde, moche mor I wold write unto you, but two thinges specially am in doubte of; oon is, whether my letters comme unto you, or not; for they have ben so tossed and opened, and so likewise have I receyved your letters opened, befor they came unto me; and an other is, bycause the maters ar so longe and tedious, and also suche shamefull misorder, that it grevith my hert to have it writen with any pen. And on the fayth and trouthe that I owe to God, and to my Master, I had lever serve His Grace with half the nomber that ar her, so that they wer of myn own chosyng; for then I coude do a grete deale better servyce, then I can do now, they being after suche an ylle sort, as they bee of. Not doubting but that ye woll consyder this, for the helpe and redresse therof, and I have a grete fear all the fawte is not in the souldeours, thoughe it be leyd to ther charge by suche as be leders of them.

No mor to your good Lordship at this tyme, but I beseche you I may her answer from you, assone as ye conveniently may; for if ye knew what trouble and payn I endur, ye wold have pyte on me, and am in grete fear I shall so contynew, till I her from the Kinges Majestie and you. And thus the Holy Goost preserve you with long lyff, even as I wold my self. Writen at Lymeryk, the 10th daye of Auguste.

Assuredly yours,

(*Signed*) Pour Leonard Gray.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable and myn especiall good Lord,
my Lord of the Prive Seale.

CXLIII. Lord Butler *to* Crumwell.[1]

Ryght honourable and my singuler good Lord. After all due and moost harti recommendacions, may it pleas the same to bee advertisid, that after the prorogacion of our Parliament from Caishell to Lymeryk, we imediatly avaunced forwardes into the countie of Lymeryk. And forasmoche as Sir John of Dessmondes sons wold inclyn to no good conformitie, we foragid and committed semblable distruccion. At whiche time a maner, called Loghgyr, apperteyning to James, son to the said Sir John, who, with his sequel, vauntes him Erll of Dessmond, was lefte oppin, and the doris and wyndowes caried away, and burnid the roffe themsilffes. Neverthelas I departid not thens, till suche time as I sett up dores, made it defencible, and wardid the same with myn awne men, who contynewith there. And passing thus to Lymeryk, I kept the forward, and my Lord, my father, the rereward. And contynuyng the Parliament oon day in Lymeryke, the next morow after, we sett forwardes to OBrenis Bridg; and in our way we had hostages of summe of the Borkes, for offences that they comittid again the King, and the citizins of Lymeryke. Ther was suche a towre of thiknes, and for defence, at the bridg fote, as I have not seen in Irlande, and well wardid. And on Saterday last past, we shott our ordnaunce at it, whiche that day, and on Sonday in the morning, little botid, and made veray lyttill batry. Nevertheles certain of William Seintlos retinue, lyke men of high couradg and good actyvite, aventurid the assault therof, whiche, withowt lossis of oon man, thankes to God, they acheivid ther hardy enterpris, and the ward inforced fast to flee, and escapid thoro the bridg. That Sonday, and the next day after, we were breking the bridg, and both the towris that on the endes defended the bridg. Wheruppon on Tuisday we retornid to Lymeryke, and by conclusion of all the hole Counsell, I was appoyntid to cume hither with all spede, to convey more ordynaunce thether, that was conveyd hither by see from Dublin. And the same day that I departid from Lymeryk, whiche was Wedinsday last past, OBrene desirid to comun with my Lord, my father; whiche, with the assent of the Counsell, was thoght good. And percace he conformed not himself to suche flexibilitie, as hitherto hath not been seen, we woll not leve him thus withowt further prosecusion, and yet peruse Mownster; so that, God willing, or we retorn, this

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 100.

Sir

Sir John of Dessmondes sons, ne his party takers, shalbe of no power to noye moche the Kinges subjectes; whiche dawnger, yf there were any, my Lord my father, and his contre, is next unto.

Where as your good Lordship did writt to me, and to the Barron of Delwyn, not for a season to repayr thether, but to sett here the Kinges affayres forwardes; I wote well that the same cumyth by sume procurment, as who say, I wold bee accompanied with suche a sort as wold craive of the King? The trawth is I never intended to have with me the Barron, nether his son, ne others, that moche desirid it; and never intendid to repayr thether, till the ende of this hosting; nay, and yet further, to see the land in a good suerty, or I departid. Beseching your Lordship to bee so good lord to me, as ever next of all creaturs lyving, to the King, ye ar, and have been, that I bee not stayed, but that after this war in Mownster putt to a good point, and the land in suche stay, as my absens may bee forborn, that then I may bee at lybertie to resort thither, to see the Kinges Highnes and your Lordship. Many of my freendes, and old acquayntaunce ther, writeth ofte for me to repayr thether, whiche, as God shall judg me, is more for to se, as my dueti is, the King and your Lordship, that I am so moche for ever unto, and for to prefer both the Kinges causes here, and the weale of the pore land, then for any other erthly cause.

Asfor the stede or service, that my Lord, my father, and I have done, at this time, with further circumstaunces, I doubt not we shall not nede to bee our owne herod therin, but that, as the trawth is, your Lordship shall in other wise bee advertisid of the same.[1]

ONele, ORayle, and dyvers others that promised to cume to this hosting, faylid; and here is nether the Barron of Delwin, the Barron of Slane, and veray fewe from all the English pale.

For the building of certain garisons, and for defence of the English pale, Maister Tresurer was willed to contynewe there, who goth well abowt the same; and the man being so well belowid, and so moche praised, yet thogh others woll have him in many enterprises no pertner, ther is non in Irland, my Lord Deputie oonly except, I wold rather have in my cumpany, bothe for the warres and otherwis, then he.

This same day with this ordinaunce, I journay [*towardes*] Caishell, and uppon Sonday do trust to bee with the armi at Lymeryk, and being as nowe leyserles, I omytt moche other mater; beseching Almighti God to have you, my veray good Lord, in moost tender tuicion.

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[1] See Body's letter, noticed in p. 352, note 1.

Furdermore

Furdermore, Maister Body, being with us in thes enterprises, toke moche paines, and did lye, after our homly facion, in his clothis, willing to see the towardnes of every mans service there. Writtin at Carrik, this Friday next after Saint Lawrens day.

Your Lordships awne bunden for ever,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.

To the Right Honourable and my veray good Lord,
my Lord Prive Seale, with all spede.

CXLIV. PATRICK BARNEWALL *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASID your Lordecheppe to be advertyssid, how that my Lorde Deputye hath brokyn Obrene is Breche, and takyn 2 pilis, the one belongyng to James Odessemon, and the other to one of the Brenis. As for other besingnes of the Kynges here, with the estate of the countre, to my undyrstandyng my Lorde Deputy, with the Counsayll, hath wreyttin the same unto your Lordescheppe, accordyng ther dutye, as apparteyned; with wiche Y reckyn hyt becommes not to intermedle, onlesse Y knewe the Kynges plesure, or yours, to the contrary. Obrene is not as yeyt at noo poynt of peace, but Y dout not my Lorde wyll soo use hym, that he wyll be glad to be at peace within schorte tyme; and James Odessemon, wiche pretendit to be Erle of Dessemonde, have offerit to doo our Soverayne Lorde the Kyng the best service he can, and to the perfourmans of the same to put hys 2 sonnis in my Lorde Deputye is handes. And for the full conclusion there of, the Cheffe Justice, the Meyre of Limiricke, and Y, this present daye metted with the sayd James. Mastyr Tresorer by my Lorde Deputy and Counsayll was left, as well for the defence of the contre, in my Lorde is abcens, yf nede dyd require, as for the byldyng of Poweris Cowrt, and the Fasagh-Rowe; wherin Y dout not but he wyll use suche diligens, as schall be both for the Kynges honor and comen wele, as he hath allwayes don to my knowlege. Yeyt he was very desyrus to come hethyr, not only to doo the Kyng the best service be cowde, in suche of His Graces affayres, as His Grace is plesure was to be don in those partes, but all soo to surveye his landes, to His Grace comyng by the atteyndour of the late Erle of Kyldare. But accordyng his dutye he was contented to conforme hym selfe to suche ordyr,

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

as

as was thoght good by my Lorde Deputy and Consaylle; and sent with me for the surveyng of the sayd landes, wherin as yeyt I cowde doo nothyng, but aftyr the ende takyne with the sayd James Odessemon, Y trust to see the same surveyed to my power.

Tyll Y maye knowe your Lordescheppe is furdyr plesure, Y shall be contented that Mastyr Cowley ynyoye my office[1], and for noo right he hath to the same, but only accordyng your plesure, wiche without faut Y shalt acomplyshe in every thing, to my power, duryng my lyffe. Yf hyt schall be your plesure that Y maye appoynt suche a person for the exersying of my office, as shall be well knowen here to be of more bettyr larnyng and exsperiens then Y am, soo that Y maye have licens to repayre to my larnyng, Y trust yn God to doo the Kyng, in my office, the bettyr service. And now, thankes be to God, offices be fownde in maner of every thing, and suche as be not, schall be with spede; and yf Y can not have licens, Y most tary, and doo the Kyng the best service Y can. As knowyth God, who keppe your Lordeschepe in His blessid twyssion. At Lymericke, the 11 daye of August.

Yours to hys power,

PATRIKE BARNEWALL.

(*Superscribed*)

To my Lorde Preve Seale is goode Lordescheppe.

CXLV. GRAY *to* KING HENRY VIII.

PLEASE it Your most excellent Majestie to be advertised. Thankes be unto Allmighty God, we have spedde resonably well for Your Graces affayres in Monster; howbeit, not so well, as we mought have doon, if every man had doon his parte and bounden duetie, as he ought to doo to Your Majestie; for then it had been such a jorney, that the like hathe not been seen hertofor in these parties, as I have written unto my Lord Pryve Seale[2], who I doubte not woll shewe Your Grace, at large, the hole circumstance of your busynes and affayres doon here. Ensuring Your Grace that here is neither cite, towne, ner castle within this land, but that Your Grace may have them at your commaundement, I being furnysshed with suche thinges, as apperteignyth to me for the accomplisshement of the same; and yet I promes Your Grace ther

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[1] Prime Serjeant.

[2] His letter to Crumwell is in the State Paper Office.

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is as unruly a sorte of souldeors here, as ever I saw of so fewe a companye; but shortely I truste to se them amende, and do otherwise; and as hardye men they ar, as ever I sawe in my lyff at all tymes, at a sawlte or otherwise, nevertheles they have not used them selfes at all tymes so well, as I wold they had doon. And as for your gonners, have doon ther parte wonderous well this jorney, and specially at a castle, called Carreke Ogunell; and ther was suche an ordre taken after the wonnyng of the seid castle, that I truste all Irisshe rebelles woll take hede how they kepe any castle or holde againste Your Graces power. For the same daye, befor we came to laye siege to the castle, we sent oon unto them, willing them to delyver the seid castle unto me for Your Graces use, and they so doing to escape without hurte. Notwithstanding, they kepte my messenger with them, and sente me noon answere; and so, when I perceyved I coude have no answer sent from them, I did send agayne with like message, and further wylled them that, in case be they did withhold yt, after I had layed the ordenaunce unto the castle, they hurting any man of ours, that then they shuld dye, man, woman, and childe, if we wan yt; and I suppose I kepte promes with them, concernyng the summonyng of the seid castle, thoughe they kepte noon with me. And thus the Holy Gooste preserve Your mooste Excellent Majestie with long lyff, with thencrease of honor, wiche dayly I do, and shall do praye for during my lyff. Wryten in the felde, besides the Castle of Loghe Gere, the 19th daye of Auguste.

Your moost humble bounden and obedient Subgeit,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Pour Leonard Gray.

To the Kinges Highe Majestie.

CXLVI. The Council of Ireland *to* Crumwell.

After due and moost harty commendations. May it pleas your good Lordeship to be advertised of our procedinges in this jorney, now finisshed, synes the writinge of oure other letters, which we sent unto your Lordship by your servaunt Thomas Alen. Thother batrye peace, with the necessaries for thordenaunce, were brought to the cite of Lymerick, the Sonday before thAssumption of Our Lady, by me James Butler, and Donaugh Obreen, beyng appoynted for the saulf conveyaunce of the same, according the purporte of

 our

our other letters; and on Our Lady Day we marched with all tharmy and ordenaunce unto Karyckogynnell, beyng evicted, and recovered out of our possession by tradyment, as ys mencioned in our other letters; which castell was now fortified, and manned with the gunners and men of James, which calleth and usith himself as Erle of Desmonde, and the Brennes late possessors of the same; who wold in nowise redelyver the said castell, but defende it to ther beste. Wherupon the ordenaunce was bent upon one of the gatys of the base courte, wherat such a batry was made, as after, by strength of men, the Kinges Deputy wanne the base courte; in achiving wherof certayn of his retynew of thEnglishe men wer slayne, and others sore hurted. That done, thordenaunce was bent upon the dungyn of the great castell, and after a convenyent batry made, dyverse assaultes wer hardely yeven by thInglishmen, wherin they were resisted, and eftsones dyverse of thaym slayne, and others sore hurtid. Nevertheles, the next night folowinge, a company of the Lorde Deputies retynew entered in the night into a tower of the castell, keping the same, untill yt was day light; at what tyme others of tharmye entrid lykewise, and so fynally ded wynne the hole garison, with all the persons that wer therin, to the nomber of 46, besydes 13, which wer slayne with our ordenaunce, and 4 with arrowes, at the said assaultes made, whom, before thentre of the castell, thothers had brent. And because the Lorde Deputy, before anny seage laid to the said castell, did yeve summons to thaym to render to hym thouse, or elles, percase they shuld hold the same, and kyll anny of tharmye, if he ded after wynne it, all that wer therin shuld die; which so had, all the said persons were put to death accordingly, excepte a certayne of the chief of thaym, being gentilmen of the Brenes, (for the redemption of whois lyfes booth gret intercession was made, and good summes of money offered,) which being conveyed with us to the cite of Lymerick, the Lorde Deputy caused to be arrayned, according thorder of the Kinges lawes, and after to have executyon as tradytors atteynted of high treasone; the dreade and example wherof we truste shalbe a meane, that feawe garizons in Mownster shalbe kepte agaynst the Kinges Deputy, especiallie yf they perceyve that he have greate ordenaunce with hym. Assuring your good Lordship, that we never see men use them selfes more hardely, than the souldeors ded at the said assaultes; and no doubt the Lorde Deputy, booth abought the order of the ordenaunce, and the puttyng forthwarde and anymatynge of the souldeors in this enterprise, shewed himself to be an actyve and a bolde gentilman, wherin, and all other marshiall feactes, we never see Deputy use himself better. At which enterprise ther wer killed, sore hurte, and wonded abought 30 persons of the Inglishmen. The kepinge of which castell is commytted

commytted to us, thErle of Ossorye and James Butler[1], as is mentioned in our other letters.

In this meane season, and whiles thordenaunce was in conveying to us, we had dyverse commynications booth with OBrene, and the said pretended Erle of Desmonde. And as to OBrene, notwithstanding his letters and promises of subjection and obedyens to the Kinges Highnes, we coulde neyther gett hym to condescend to anny conformyte according the same, ne yet to delyver thErle of Kyldares plate and goodes; but having the same, and thErle of Kildares seconde sone[2], with dyverse traditors of the servauntes of the said Erle and Thomas Fitz Gerolde, and reteynyng thaym, as it wer, under his protection, booth therin, and otherwise in his commynication and deades, usith himself after that sorte, as he thinckith it not to be his duty to recognise the Kinges Majestie, neyther yet to abide anny indifferent or reasonable order, uppon anny wronge by him done to the King and his subjectes.

And as to the said Erle of Desmonde, he shewed himself in gesture and comynication very reasonable, condescendyng with the Lorde Deputy and us, aswell upon his two sunnes to be delyvered as ostagies, and dyverse suerties to be bounde for his obedyence and duty to the Kinge, as to abide and performe thorder of the said Deputy, and other of the Counsaill, abought the right of thErledome; and furder to doo as was conteyned in certayne articles, comprised in a payer of endentors, devysed betwixt the said Lord Deputy and him. Nevertheles, as we thinck, pondering his ooth, which he had made to OBrene, (as he is a persone estemed greatly to regarde his promise) that thone of thaym shuld not make an agrement with us, without the assent of thother, or at the leste, thone of thaym not to be at pece with us, except thother had done the lyke; and peradventure suspecting his title to thErledome, and also perceyvyng that we coulde not demore in the countre ther, as we thought to have done, he wolde not finallie accomplishe the same. We, therupon, considering the disobediences of the said Obrene and Erle, and especiallie the disloyall and tradytors harte of OBrene towarde the Kinges Majestie his crowne and jurisdiction, and myndyng to insue that way and meane which shall finally constrayn thaym, and all lyke rebelles, to conformyte, purposed to have avaunced tharmye and ordenaunce over the water for the destruction of

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[1] Ossory and his son appear, notwithstanding Donough OBrien's negligence, by which Carrigogunnell was before so speedily lost, to have again committed it to his keeping; for on the 28th of February 1537, the Mayor and citizens of Limerick addressed to Lord Ossory a complaint of the robberies committed by the garrison under Donough, of which a copy is in the State Paper Office.

[2] Gerald, who was restored in 1554, and became 11th Earl of Kildare.

the said Obrenes countre, and the takinge of his cheif maners and garizons. Wherunto, for all his bragges, we wer habill ynowgh, havyng also founde the meanes that after the taking of thaym to have thaim kept from hym. Albeit the Kinges armye, according the doubt we perceived in thaym, concernyng ther mutynie abowt ther wages, wherof we advertised you by our other letters, made us playn aunswer that they woulde goo no furder, but depart, except they had ther wages; and the Lorde Deputy and we, not being habill to performe our enterprise without thaym, must have condescended to departe together with thaym, both for the savyng of the Kinges honor, and the honor and the suertie of our selfes and thaym booth. Albeit that no shyfte coulde be made for mony to pay thaym, we offered unto thaym to leve thaym in the cities of Lymerick and Corck and the towne of Kilmahallock, in which places, upon our banndes and suerties, they shulde have had meate and drinck, untill the Kinges mony had come, wherby the Kinges enemyes and rebelles, by the sight and dreade of ther presence and contynuaunce in the frunture of ther strengthes, shulde have been constrayned to conforme and submytt thaym selfes: wherunto we coulde in nowise entreate thaym. By occasion also wherof, the Castell of Loughgyr, beyng in the myddes of the strength of the said pretenderd Erle of Desmonde, wherin I, James Butler, kept a garizon twanty daies together before, is lefte voide; for that none of my men, ne anny others of this countre (except James Fitz Morice had been here to have receyved the same) wolde in nowise take the custody therof, onles thEnglishe-men had demored in the places aforsaid. And omyttyng, at this season, to write to the Kinges Majestie the certentie of the premisses, for that the same hath not succeded according to our trust and expectacion, as els they shulde and mought have done, if tharmy would have taryed; amonge whoom been innumerable disobediences and disorders, mutche to the evyll example of Irishmen, which been suffered without punishment, for feare of suche occasions as they dayly take to styrr braulles and other mysorders under color of lacke of ther wages: we beseche your good Lordeship aswell to advertise His Grace therof, as ye shall thinck convenyent, as to signifie unto us His Highnes furder pleasor in this behalf. For we thinck, and perceive right well, that enles the force and rebellyon of the said OBrene and thErle of Desmonde been suppressed, great commotion and rebellion shall growe therby, which we ensure you cannot otherwise be repressed, and thEnglishe shires of Mownster reformed to the Kinges obedience; neyther shall His Grace recover to his possession suche landes in thois parties, which lately apperteyned to thErle of Kildare, being goodly castels, manors, and countres, ne other his awncient enheritaunce ther, except the Kinges Deputie, with the moost parte of tharmye, contynew in the cities

cities of Lymerick and Corck, and other places in thois quarters, by the space of one quarter of a yere, at the leste; which they shulde have done at this season, untill the Feast of All Sayntes, if they had had mony. And also, for the more spedy redresse to be had in this behalf, we thinck good that James Fitz Morice be sent hither to the Lorde Deputie and Counsaill, to thintent that, the Kinges Majestie havyng assuraunce for his fidelite, he may be made, by thaide of the Deputie and armye, an instrument for the subpression of the said pretended Erle.

The Parliament is adjorned to Dublin, ther to begynne the 15ten day of September.

We have lefte the demye culveryn, and mutche of our artilerie, in the cite of Lymerick, and the demye curtall, with mutche other of our ordenaunce and artilerie, in the towne of Clomell, to thentent that as sone as mony dothe come, we may avaunce agayne into the parties aforesaid. And wolde to God your Lordeship had seen the countres and domynions, that we have seen in this our jorney, and than be we well assured, that your Lordeship wolde say, ye had seen peradventure not the lyke, and thinck it mutche pitie, that the same wer not in suche subjection and obedience, as it aught to be, and as it hath been in tymes past; for the Kinges nobell progenitors heretofore had more possessions and revenus in thois parties, than the Kinges Majestie hath now elswher, in all this lande. So knowith God, whom we beseche to preserve your good Lordeship in longe and prosperus lyf. From the towne of Casshell, 24 myles from Lymerick, the 22 day of Auguste.

Assuridly at Your Lordeships commaundment,

(*Signed*) J. Lord TRYMLETESTON, the Kynges Grace Chũnceler.
(*Signed*) P. Osš.
(*Signed*) Yor moste bounden JAMES BUTLER.
(*Signed*) EDMWND off CASSELL.
(*Signed*) Yor most bounden Orators { GERALD AYLM?, Justice. JOHN ALEN, Mr. of the Rolles.

(*Superscribed*)
To our singuler good Lord,
My Lord of the Privay Seale.

CXLVII. Robert Cowley *to* Crumwell.[1]

The Devises of Robert Cowley, for the furtheraunce of the Kinges Majesties affayres in His Graces land of Irland.

The comyssion to my Lord Deputie, now beeing, to holde the last Parlyament, was as Deputie unto the Duc of Rychemont and Somerset[2], then the Kinges Lieutenaunt of Irlande, whoos Grace deceasid aboutes the begynnyng of the Parlemente; by reason of whoos deceas the auctorite of the Parlement was extinctid, and all Actes in the same Parlement ensuyng, as I am enfourmyd, feynte and voide in lawe: wherein passid the Actis of the Kinges Supremytie, and Jurisdiccion to subpresse dissolve and dyspose houses of relygeon, the Actes of Atteynders of the dysloyall traictoures and rebelles, wherby the Kinges Highnes is intytelid to theire landes, goodes, possessions, and heredytamentes, with divers other Statutis concernyng the Kinges advauntage, and the comon weall and good order of the land.

Wherfor I think, under correction, expedient, that a new comyssion might bee sent to hold a Parlement, for oon yere, to ratyfy and make ferme and suere all the said Actis paste, and also to establish moore Actis for the augementing of the Kinges jurisdiccion and proffytt, and the civile order of His Gracis subjectes there.

Item, that your good Lordship wold vouchesauf eyther to substytue, under your Lordship, summe hable person in Irland to excersise your Lordshippis high auctoritie and faculties[3], or summe parte thereof, in Irland; orels to assigne a certain person or persones in this Realme, to whom the suetoures of Irland might reasort for expedicion of theire impetracions, whereof might grow a proffit, and a meane to stoppe all marchoures and Irishmen from recourse to the Bisshop of Rome.

Item, that the Kinges Deputie and Counsail may have injunccions pryncipally to prosecute all provisoures gooing to Rome, and papistes, with extreme punyshment, with all theyre auctoures and fauctoures.

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[1] It does not appear precisely, when R. Cowley went to England, subsequently to his return to Ireland in June 1536, but it was probably in the following month. This paper must have been written by him while in England, in August or September of that year. His next letter renders it probable that he returned to Ireland by the sitting of the Parliament, on the 15th of September.

[2] The Duke of Richmond died 22d July 1536, and held the Lieutenancy of Ireland till his death.

[3] Crumwell had been appointed the King's Vicegerent in Ecclesiastical Causes in July 1536.

Item,

Item, where the pretensid Erle of Dessmond hath lately, as a conquerror, enterid into all the Kinges castelles, garysons, manours, and landes in the countie of Lymerik, which apperteyned to the late Erle of Kildare, and accrued unto the Kinges Highnes by the atteynder of the said late Erle of Kildare; that the Deputie and Counsai ldyspose theym [*earne*]stely and diligently to recover the said landes and garysons to the [*Kings*] possession, and to reconcyle the said pretensid Erle of Dessmond to his duety of allygeaunce, and due obeysaunce unto the Kinges Majestie, orels sharpely to prosecute hym, with all extremytie, as the Kinges arrogant rebell.

Item, that the Deputie and Counsail practise and devise pollytikely, with all diligence, to have this yonge Gerot[1], James Delahide, and their complyces, apprehendid; for they sease not to worke myschief.

I deliverid to your Lordship, in Cantorbury[2], suche writinges, as were sent to me from the Maister of the Rolles of Irland; wherin was a boke of proporcion of certain ordynaunce, shott, powder, artillery, and other necessaries to bee sent into Irland.

It might please your Lordship to knowe the Kinges pleasure therein, and also concernyng the rowme of Chaunceller of Irland.

CXLVIII. Articles concernyng the Kinges busynes and affaires in Irlande.[3]

My Lord Chauncelor and the Kinges lerned Consail to resolve uppon this.[4]

First, where as the Lord Deputie, that nowe is, is auctorized to holde a Parliament as Deputie, bothe unto the King, and the Duke of Richemond, late Lieutenaunte of the said lande, whether nowe the patent therof stondith in force for the contynuaunce of the said Parliament &c.

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[1] Gerald Fitzgerald. See p. 363.

[2] The King was at Canterbury in the latter part of July 1536. Cowley was probably at that time in England, and waited on Lord Crumwell there.

[3] Several of these articles are obviously founded on Cowley's paper, before printed. They were probably drawn up by Crumwell himself, or by his direction. The apostiles are in Wriothesley's handwriting; the body of the paper in that of Alen, the Master of the Rolls in Ireland.

[4] Some doubt seems to have hung, for a long time, on this question, for there remains in the State Paper Office the draft of a bill, in the handwriting of Walter Cowley, for validating the Acts of 1536. The title of this bill stood in the list, which will be given in a note to the King's despatch to the Lord Lieutenant and Council of Ireland of the 26th of March 1541, as that list was originally prepared; but it has been struck out with a pen, without any apostile denoting the King's pleasure; so that the learned Council must finally have thought, that the Acts were valid without any further Parliamentary sanction.

Item,

Item, that suche Actes, as ben enacted there for the Kinges honour and proffitt, may be loked upon by the Kinges lerned Counseill, so that, if any faute be, it may be amended, contynuyng the Parliament. And amonges other, an Acte made in the 10th yere of the reigne of King Henry the 7th, wherby the Erledomes of Marche and Ulster was holy geven to the King[1], so that it may be knowen that the King theryn hath a parfitte title. And whether, by the wordes of the said Acte, the said Erledomes be annexed to the Crowne, so that the King may have his prerogatife according &c.

She must have it for terme of lief.[2]

Item, that in the Acte of resumyng of the landes of those, that were absent, unto the Kinges handes, my Lady Seyntlegers porcion is not comprised, whiche is all Master Seyntlegers porcion, duryng her life &c.

As good an Acte as canne be.[3]

Item, that it may be enacted, that suche as hath, or shall have, offices of the King in any of his foure courtes, may be suche as shall exercise theire offices in propre person; and that he, that shall have a clerkes office, shalbe a clerke, havyng good knowlege to use the same, for in defaute therof the King takith grete hynderaunce; and that, in the meane tyme, the King direct his letters to his Treasourer, to pay no officer of his said cortes theire fees, but suche as shall use theire office in propre person, and doo that thing that belongith to theire office, &c.

Respectuatur.[4]

Item, that the Treasourer may knowe the Kinges pleasure for the appoynting of stewardes, under receivors, and surveyours, of His Graces lordshippes, to be under hym, and what fees he shall allowe them for the same; for he cannot well hym self see the order of theym all &c.

A letter of discharge to the Treasorer of this effect.[4]

Item, that the Treasourer be discharged, and commaunded to goo to no warres, but onely to applye his office; for his going to the warres hath ben a grete occasion that he coulde in no wise applie his office; wherby the King hath taken hynderance, if the

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[1] Stat. 10 Henry VII. c. 15.

[2] The Act, as printed, does not contain any proviso in her favour.

[3] An instruction to this effect was given to the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, by a despatch dated 25th February 1537, printed hereafter.

[4] These instructions were given by the same despatch.

warres

warres at that tyme myght be otherwise maynteyned. And nowe, in that he is discharged of all the Kinges retynue, sauf fifty, whiche is thought litle ynough for hym for the surveiyng of the Kinges marche landes, that a substaunciall man may be appoynted to be capiteyn of the said fifty men, whiche shall geve attendaunce at all tymes upon the Treasourer, for the defence and surveiyng of the said landes, and, at all other tymes convenient, to give attendance upon the Kinges Deputie to doo further service, &c.

According to the lawes of the lande.

Item, that the said Treasourer may knowe the Kinges pleasure, howe he shall order Sir James Fitzgerald and Rychardes landes, aswell that they have in their owne right, as in their wives right; and that knowen, it shalbe necessary that the Acte of theyr atteynder[1] be certified into Irland, &c.

Respectuatur.

Item, that a commyssion be made for the graunting of dispensacions and faculties to suche persons, who be thought mete for the same; for by lak therof, the King taketh losses, and his subjectes grete hynderaunce, &c.

Respectuatur.

Item, a like commyssion for the visiting of the clergye, &c.

Tobe devided, thone half to the King, thother to the Deputie.[2]

Item, that the Kinges pleasure may be knowen, whether His Grace, or his Deputie, shall have the fynes of all pardons, whiche the Deputie doith graunte, &c.

First the partie to be satisfied; the rest to be devided betwene the King and the Deputie.[3]

Item, that the Kinges pleasure may be knowen, whether His Grace, or his Deputie, shall have suche sommes of money, or kyen, as is made upon eny Irissheman at every conclusion of peace, or whether the Deputie shall have any parte therof, &c.

This is remitted to the discreacion of the Counsail there.

Item, that it may be enacted, that twoo cessours shalbe elected in every shire, yerely, by the inhabitauntes of the same, for the indifferent assessyng of all imposicions; for by the cessours to this tyme appoynted, grete extorcion hath ben used among the Kinges pore subjectes there, &c.

Very good to be enacted and put in execution.[3]

Item, that none of the Kinges officers, in their office, shall take any more fees, but suche and like fees, as other, having the same offices, have used to take; and if any of them doo take excessively,

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[1] Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and his uncles were attainted by an Act of the English Parliament, 28 Henry VIII. cap. 18. or cap. 1. of the private Acts.

[2] See the despatch of the 25th of February, which partially differs from this direction.

[3] These are enforced by the despatch.

that then it may reformed by like auctoritie, having respect to the povertie of the Kinges pore subjectes there, &c.

A good lawe to be made for thexecution of the same.[1]

Item, that all extorcions of ordinaries, sergeauntes, and suche other like, may be redressed by like auctoritie, &c.

CXLIX. Robert Cowley *to* Crumwell.

My duety premysed to your honorable Lordship, as your moost bounden Oratoure. It might please the same to bee advertisid, that where certain Actis were moevid to have passid in the Comon House here, oon for a resumpcion of the Kinges custumes, cokquetes, and pondage, into the Kinges handes; the secunde, for the suppressing of certain religeous houses[2], comprisid in the Kinges comyssion sent hither for the executing thereof; and the thirde, that the King shuld have the twenty parte of all the rentes and revenues of every mans landes during 10 yeris[3]; which Actis bee yit rejectid in the Comon House by the seducyon of certain rynge leaders or belwedders, applying moore to theire awne sensualities, singuler proffites, and affeccions, then to any good reason or towardnes to preferr the Kinges advauntage or comoditie; and have determynyd now to send into England twoo of the said House, suche as they thynke woll holde faste, and styffely argue to mayntene theire froward opynions, to vanquysshe the reasons of suche, as wold speke in the Kinges causes; to persuade, and, yf they coulde, envegle the Kinges Counsaill to defeat and reject the Kinges advauntage and proffit by feyned sugestions. Of which twoo, Patrik Bernewell, the Kinges Serjaunt, is oon pryncypall champeon; who, and in effect all his lynage of the Bernewells, have bene gret doers and adherentes, pryvay counsaillours to the late Erle of Kildare.

As concernyng the suppression of certain abbayes here, the same reasons, that servid to suppress the abbayes in England, might suffice loving subgietes to have theme here suppressid; onles that certain persons here presume to have moore higher and excellent wittis, then is in England.

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[1] This, likewise, is enforced by the despatch.

[2] Stat. 28 H. VIII. c. 16. suppressed the monasteries and religious houses of the Bectif, St. Peter's besides Trim, Duske, Duleke, Holmepatricke, Baltinglas, Grane, Taghmolin, Dunbrodie, Tenterne, Ballibogane, and Hogges and Fernes. It did not pass till October 1537.

[3] Stat. 28 H. VIII. c. 14. gave the King the twentieth part of the revenues, spiritual and temporal, of Bishops, Abbots, &c.; but it did not pass till October 1537.

The

The abbayes here doo not kepe soo good Divine Service, as the abbayes in England, beeing suppressid, did kepe; the religeous personages here lesse contynent or vertuous, keping no hospitalitie, saving to theyme silves, theire concubynes, childerne, and to certain bell wedders, to eclypse theire pernycious lyevinges, and to beare and pavesse theire detestable deedes; whych rynge leaders have good fees, fatte profitable fermes, the fynding of their children, with other daily pleasures of the abbayes; and fearing to loose the proffit thereof, repugne and resist the suppressing of abbayes, surmysing it shuld bee prejudiciall to the comon weall; which is otherwise.

Concerning the Acte to resume in to the Kinges handes His Graces custumes, cokquettes, and pondage, there is noo reason to supporte or mayntene the contrary opyneon; for their walles bee sufficiently made strong, they have provision habundantly of gonnes, powder, artyllery, and all other necessaris, upon the Kinges purse, soo that they have noo nede to the Kinges revenues, and doo therewith noo thing els but purchase landes, wastyng the reste pompeously and prodygally; and moore reason that the Kynge shuld have it, being his awne, to alevyat his sumptious chargis, then for lacke thereof to susteyn suche inportible chargis: and they, that styckk somouche that the King shuld have his awne revenues, wold greatly grudge and repugne to geve the King any of theire awne goodes.

Concerning the thirde Acte for the 20^{ti} parte of every mans rentes and revenues to the King during 10 yeris, the Spirituell Lordes bee content to graunt it, and, as I think, soo is all the High House; and all the styckyng is in the Comon House, by seducyon of certain prescrybyd. There bee very fewe of all the Englishe pale that can excuse theyme, but that they, in the tyme of rebellyon, were personelly with Thomas Fitz Gerot, or gave hym summe aide of men, money, or victailes, wherby the King, by extremytie of his lawes, might take frome theyme all theire landes goodes and cattailes; which His Grace, of tender compassion, forberith to execute, and exhaustith his tresure habundantly for theire defencis and preservacions; and they, having noo regarde to his inestimable goodnes and gratuytie to theyme, woll shewe noo corespondence of love, in stycking against His Highnes for soo smale a benevolence, where His Grace might have all the hoole. The Comons, as yit, have gevyn to the King noo maner thing of theire awne propre. The subsedy of plow landes[1] is noo newe augementacion of the revenues, but an olde thynge, contynuyd many yeris by Ponynges tyme, and ever sethens. The possessions, revenues, and

[1] An Act, which gave the King for ten years 13*s.* 4*d.* out of every plough-land tilled, passed in May 1536, but is not among the printed Acts.

rentes of the resydensers in England, and the Anates, is noo thing apperteynyng to the Comons, soo that yit the Comons have departid noothing of theire awne propre to the Kinges Grace.

The said Patrik Barnewell, Serjaunt, who now repairith thidder, said opynly in the Comon House, that he wold not graunte that the Kynge, as Hedd of the Churche, had soo large power as the Bysshop of Rome; and that the Kinges jurisdiccion therein was but a spirituell power, to refourme or amende the enormyties and defaultes in religeous houses, but not to execute manes lawes, ne to dyssolve abbayes, or to alterate the fundacion of theyme to any temporal use.

The Judgis here tak fees comonly of every man, which is a great abusyon; and the Chief Justice as largely as any others, whoo hath yerely of the King a hundrith poundes of fee, wherwith his predecessours have kepte greate houses, and wold send with the Deputis good companys, of theire awne household servauntes, to hoostinges and journays, at theire awne charge, without wagis or any allowance of the Kynge. And the Chiefe Justice kepith no man in his house, but suche as receyvith the Kinges wagis, 9^{d} of this mony every day, and is allowed 10 men; and hath not his nomber, and as I am enfourmyd gevith but 40^{s}. a yere to a man, and takith the residue to his awne gaynes, wherby he wynnyth 100 £ a yere, by the King, as is reaportid[1]; and his servauntes doo not give attendance upon the Deputie in the warres, but awaite upon him silf in his house, exept suche seasons, as he hym silf goothe with the Deputie, which is very seldome.

Fynally, it might please your good Lordship, that, accordyng your Lordshippes letters to Maister Thesaurer, I may bee the Kinges fermoure of Holme Patrik[2], yf it be suppressid; and otherwise that I myght be constytutid surveyoure of the same house, with a yerely fee at your Lordshippis pleasure. I have removid from the place, where I dwellid, 60 myles towardes Dublyn, to be nere my Lord Deputie, to geve his Lordship attendance in the Kinges service, and have relinquyshed my fermes and fees, where I dwellid, trusting to have Holmepatrick. As knowith Almighty God, whoo have your Lordship in His moost tender tuycion, with long prosperous lyfe, and good helthe. Amen. Written at Dublin, the 4th day of October.

Your Lordshippis moost bounden Bedisman,

(*Signed*) ROBERT COWLEY.

(*Superscribed*)
To My Lord Pryvee Seales Honourable Lordship.

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[1] In the account of the Treasurer at War is a charge of 9*d.* a day for ten men, paid to Chief Justice Aylmer.

[2] It appears from the Vice Treasurer's accounts that Robert Cowley occupied the Manor of Holmpatrick from Lady Day 1537, and paid for the half-year from thence to Michaelmas, £6. 2*s.* 8*d.*

CL. John Alen *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your Excellent Highnes to be advertised, that having diverse tymes remembred the great charges, whiche ye have susteygned about the suppression of the Geraldines of the northe, and the reducing of this your lande to good order and obedience, thinke it my duetie to advise Your Majestie of suche waies, as ye mought either be alleviated therof, by withdrawing a great parte of your armye, orelles by mayntenaunce of theym, to have summe great revenues and dominion augmented to Your Grace, and your heires. In the touching of my simple divises therin, I moste humbly beseche Your Grace to pardon me of my rude boldnes; the rather, for that Ientende not to denigrate the divise of any others, neither doo I deasire that Your Highnes shulde ensue the same, otherwise than to Your Majesties awne judgement and pleasure shalbe seen good. But accept my pore hart, and true mynde, in discharge of my duetie, to expresse myn advise and counsaile to Your Grace.

As to the disminishing of your armye now resiant here, or a like numbre in their steddes, as yit, in respecte of the causes following, me semeth were neither honorable, ne profitable in thende; considering that thErle of Desmonde, and the Geraldines of his kyn and septe, ne your 4 shires of Mounster, with thinhabitauntes ther, being digressed from their allegiance sethens your noble graundfaders daies, be not reformed; so as, after the opinion of moste men, yf those parties be not reformed before the departure of this armye, they shall persever, without yelding obedience or profict to Your Grace; where as nowe they begyn to fall to a certain knowledge of their duetie to Your Grace, soo as the thing begonne, being quickely and diligently followed, it is thought those parties may be reformed to their olde trayne, wherby ye shall readopte your dominion and possessions. Another cause is, that noon of the wilde Irishe, neither for this rebellion, ne noon other by theme attempted at any tyme these 250 yeres against Your Highnes, or any your moste noble progenitors, hath bene soo ponisshed or persecutid, that any of theme lost any their possessions, eyther for the same, or yit for the wrongfull holding of theme without title: whiche causeth theme to be ever soo prone to rebellion, glad to procure and mayntene any your subjectes against you, wherby they opteyne the profites of the spoyle, and by the executing of your lawes against your awne subjecte, they counte the same no smale comoditie; for they wolde ye wolde put to dethe all your subjectes in Irlande, trusting therby to have their landes also.

It mought be gathered herupon, that my meaning is here, that Your Grace shulde banishe all the wilde Irishe out of their landis. Although I wolde

wolde it wer so, yit that is not myn entente, for I do not doubte, but the inhabitauntes of their landes mought be made good subjectes, the heddis being subdued; and if they mought be all banished, I thinke it were not a litle difficultie to inhabite the lande agayne.

Peradventure it mought be thought, that my intent were than to have Your Majestie to subdue and reforme all thIrishrie. Albeit that I thinke it mought be doon with moche les difficultie, then thexpulsion of theme, yit that is not my meaning: for as I suppose that deasire in your noble progenitors to reforme all Irlande at oon instante hath bene thoccasion that it is soo ferre out of order and frame as it is; for, as I have lerned, these 250 yeres togither the same hath decaied, from tyme to tyme, alwais differring, and expecting tyme to reforme all, wherby the lande hath soo decaide, from oon tyme to another, that ever, either for other outwarde busines of your Realme of Englande, for lak of preparacion, or sume other thing, tyme never served. Wherfor my simple advise shalbe to Your Grace, not to differ the reformacion of oon parte of thIrishry, undre hope and expectacion to have tyme to reforme all; for, who so ever the tyme shall serve, I thinke the charge wolbe a mervailous thing. But first, not expecting tyme for that purpose, divise to make suche staye, that what chaunce so ever shulde happe, ye mought kepe that ye have alredye, without exhausting of your treasure, if all the residewe of Irlande wolde saye the contrary. For there is Ochonghors cuntrey, whiche is situate after that soorte within your Englishrie, being but a small thing, these 250 yeres hath bene the greatest occasion of the destruccion of thInglishrie, whiche the buylding of five or sex piles mought be kept for ever, soo as the Breenes and the Irishmen beyonde the Shenon, and on thisside, shulde never have concurse againe to invade this cuntrey. And also, if those parties of Leynster were conquest, reformed, or subdued to your due obedience, wherin Mc Murgho, the Byrnes, and Tholes, nowe inhabite, being situate betwixte Waterforde and Dublin, and betwixt your English pale and the sees side next to your Realme of Englande, where in diverse propice places for the achieving therof bene goodly garisons alredy buylded, whiche withe a fewe more to be made and garisoned shal subdue these quarters; and to say the trouthe they be in effecte subdued alredy, if they were setto: I assure Your Majestie, both upon my fidelitie, I beare to Your Grace as my prince and souveraigne, and again for the private affection and unfeyned love, I beare to your person, having all my lyving by Your Highnes, Your Majestie and your heires ever after, without exhausting of treasure, may kepe this lande in a stay, maugre the willes of all Irlande; and yit have a yerely revenues into Englande. And having those places oones subjecte, ye may accompte that ye have the better parte of the lande to reforme

reforme the residewe, what tyme so ever ye shall please; and that, with a great deale les charge than it can be doon nowe. This enterprise is feisable at every mans eye, and the charges portable, and a thinge, whiche ye may see perfited in lytle tyme. And although the enterprise semeth but a smale thing in respecte of the hole, yit noon of your moste noble progenitors, sethens the conquest of this lande, did the like here for the renome of their honor, neither more worthy memory, for the surtie and weale of your subjectes.

Peradventur it may be said, and not without grounde, that all the Irishrye, perceiving this enterprise in attempting, wolde holly make commocion to the lett therof, fearing the like to be executed successively against every of theme. The doubte therof is moste to be noted about Oconoghors cuntrey; and yit the matier being wele handelid, there is noon, that can prevaile in the let therof to any purpose, but Obreene; and as for him, his bridge being nowe broken, and the Erle of Ossory doing his parte, he dare never adventure to come into Oconoghors cuntrey. To the perfeccion of this conclusion it is to be knowen, what army were necessary. Peradventure I wolde thinke the numbre of a like armye, whiche is here nowe, were sufficient; but I referr the determynacion therof to Your Grace, and the mynde of those whiche shall take the enterprise in hande. But suerly the moste of tharmy, whiche bene here nowe, hath been so noselde in disobedience, spoile, and robbery, that whosoever shuld have the doing therof, it were best he had a numbre at his awne eleccion.

Secundarily, if Your Majestie, for suche causes as shalbe seen to you requysite, do not thinke convenyent to put this divise to execucion, than I thinke it is not necessary to be at the charge with this holl army; but that this man, nowe Deputie, or who so ever ye shall apoint to that roulme, chosing suche a convenient number as it shall please Your Majestie to assigne unto him, take the governaunce and defence of the lande. And, among other thinges, considering that the countie of Carelagh, and 4 shires above the water of Barrowe, that is to say, Kilkeny, Tipperary, Waterforde, and Waxforde, been nowe brought into an order; in whiche places your lawes being executid, as I thinke, your subsidie, first fruites, and your landes, whiche ye have there alredy, and suche as ye may have by suppression of diverse abbays in those parties, and otherwise, woll, in effecte, amounte to asmoche as your revenues within these 4 shires, whiche, as I am enformed, being no wurse orderïd, than they were before they came to your possession, been worth yerely 7 or 8 thousaunde markes: that either your lawes be removid, and kept termely in Carlagh, whiche is situate by the water of Barrows side, betwixt the said 4 shires of Kilkenny, Tipperray, Waterford, and Waxforde, and these 4 shires, wherby the inhabitauntes of the same shalbe nigh to the knowledge and administracion

administracion of your lawes; orelles that Your Grace have a chamberlayn within the said 4 shires, and he to have the governance of thinhabitauntes there, and the castels and manors of Kilkenny, Dungarvan, Knockgraffen, the Carricke, and Wexforde, to be at his commaundement, and Your Grace to have a justice, and an exchequer, in your citie of Waterforde, for administracion of justice, and receiving of your revenues, according as is used in your Count Palatyn of Chester, or within your thre shires of Northwales. To the performyng of eyther of these orders, especially about the levyeng of your revenues, your Grace must frame thErle of Ossory.

Thirdly, forasmoche as this divise shall surmounte in charge above your revenues for a yere or twoo, yf Your Grace, for summe consideracions, be not mynded, as yit, to wade furder in this matier; than, as I thinke, Your Highnes may have the meane founde, that sume man of this lande shall take the governaunce, charge, and defence therof for certain yeres, and so may Your Grace, as I suppose, have yerely into Englande 2000 markes, over and besides 500 markes Irishe by the yere for the reparacion and mayntenaunce of your garrisons, wherunto Your Highnes must ever have a speciall regarde, for yf your garrisons be prostrate, ye have lost the lande. This last divise semeth most profitable at the first sight, albeit the firste is moste honorable, moste surtie, and in thende of likeliode moste profitable. The secunde I thinke a good meane way, but whiche of theme is best to ensue, I referr to your most gracious pleasure, whiche I, for my parte, shall followe as obediently as it becometh any pore subjecte. And for the establishement of your lande, foloing experience, I thinke no oon thing shall more conferr, than to give your landes away, as ye wynne theme, upon reservacion of competent rentes, especially upon the marches; orelles, if ye do not, Your Grace shall have litle proficte by theme at leynght; for they shall never be preserved and defended by souldeours or fermors at will, but raither to the contrary, as they shalbe by those, whiche shall have a freholde in them, to theme and their heires males. For, albeit that your Thesaurer is a vigilant man about them, and suche oon noo doubte as hath doon Your Grace acceptable service, having so many charges upon him as he hath; yet I am sure thErle of Kildares landes been wors by 300 markes, at the leeste, by the yere, than they were whan Maynoth was wonne. And, as I thinke, both those and other your landis shall decay more and more, except ye followe this divise; for the diminisshement of the rent by the making of suche freholders shall not, as I suppose, be soo moche losse to Your Grace, as the wastes cometh to nowe, and yit shall Your Grace be discharged of reparacions, wastes, and other charges, besides suche defence as they shall doo for the same. Your Grace, as I thinke, hath alredy here

lande

lande sufficient, being wele divided into freholdes, to make you, for the defence of the cuntrey, 2 or 3 hundreth hable horsmen. Better it is to Your Majestie to have competent rent for your landes in surtie, with men to live and die for the defence of the same, than lande, peradventure, in conclusion, without rent and men bothe, except at Your Graces charge ye kepe alway an army to defende them. So knoweth God, to whom I dayly pray for the preservacion of Your most noble Astate, victoriuslie long to reigne upon your subjectes. From your Citie of Dublin, the 6th day of October.

Your most bounden Servaunt and Subjecte,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

To my Most drad Soverreyne Lord,
the Kinges Majestie.

CLI. BRERETON *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEASITH it your right honourable Lordship. I have receyved the Kynges Grace most honourable and dread commaundement, the secunde day of this October, commaundyng me by the same, with all celeritie, to levye 250 archers harnest and weppened, and with the sames in all spede to passe into His Graces lande of Ireland, there to accomplisshe His Graces ferther pleasure in the same declared. For thaccomplysshement wherof accordyngly, I, with all spede, have send for suche able archers, apt for His Graces warres, as I trust shall do His Highnes gud and dylygent service, accordyng to His Graces expectacion and your Lordshippz pleasure therin, in suche wise that I am toward a gud redynes in the same; and that done, with all possible spede and diligence shall set forward accordyngly. And where by a close in the later end of His Graces forseid most honourable letters, His Highnes signyfieth me, that His Grace hath appoynted Edward Dudley to be capitayn of a hundreth men, parcell of the 250 archers appoynted to be in my retynue, and also by your Lordshippz honourable and right loving letter, which I this day receyved by your Lordshippz servaunt, Thomas Wyndon, I do lykewise perceyve that the Kynges Grace hath appoynted, and also your Lordshippz pleasure is, that your Lordshippz seid servaunt shuld also be a capitayn of a 100 men, parcell of

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle B.

the forseid nombre of 250 archars to me assigned likewise; and for that I wold be verey glad to knowe your Lordshippz full pleasure, howe I shold ordre my selff in this behalff, in somuche as I have sonnes of myn owne, which heretofore have done the Kynges Grace gud service, in His Graces seid land, and other gentilmen my frendes, which hertofore have joparde their lyves with me, in doyng the Kynges Grace service, whom affore tyme have byn capitayns undre me, and be verey experte and practyve in the countrey there; by reason wherof I and they may do His Majestie the better service in the same: wherfore, if it may stande with your Lordshippz pleasure, I wold be verey glad to have my seid sonnes capitayns, undre me, of suche companye as it hath pleased the Kynges Grace and your honourable Lordship to appoynt me; humbly besekyng the same to be gud lorde to me therin (as in all my reasonable causes and sutes heretofore, it hath pleased your Lordship to be); and that it may lyke the same to be a mean for me to the Kynges Grace, in that behalff, so that I may have my seid sonnes to be capitayns undre me, of my retynue, and not a straunger with whom the stommockes of my foulkes will not be so apt to do their exployte, as apperteynyth, so that I darre not so boldly undretake for my seid company, as if they did go with suche, as they do knowe and wilbe ordred by[1]. Besekyng your Lordship to be gud lorde to me in the same, and to giff forther credence to my son John Brereton, this beyrer, whom hertofore (as I trust your gud Lordship partly knowith, and remembereth) hath done the Kynges Grace gud service in His Graces seid countrey; and I, accordyng to my most bounden dutie, shalbe redye duryng my liff at your Lordshippz commaundement, God willyng, who preserve the same in prosperiouse helth and honour. From the Namptwiche, in hast, the 9th day of October.

Yours at comandment,

(*Signed*) Wyllyã Brereton.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honourable and my syngler gud Lord, my Lorde Privye Seall, this be delyvered with spede.

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[1] In Brabazon's Accounts, as Treasurer at War, to Michaelmas 1536, a charge is made for Sir William Brereton, as Captain of 250 Foot, and for twenty horses to mount archers; and for Edward Dudley, as Grand Captain of 100 horsemen: but none for Thomas Wyndham, or for either of Brereton's sons.

CLII. EDWARD DUDLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

RYGHTT honorable ande my syngular goode Lorde, in my moste humble maner I humbely recommende my unto youre goode Lordeshyp, glade to here of youre goode helthe, whyche I pray Gode longe to contynew, to hys plesure ande youre moste harteys desyre; moste humbely thankynge youe of youre greate goodenes shewed unto me att all tymes; wherfore I pray Gode rewarde youe wher as I ame natt able: nottwithstandynge, my poore hartte ande servys, durynge my lyfe, shallbe youres att commandementt, to the uttermuste of my small poore. The cause of my wryttynge unto youre Lordeshyp ys, to advertyse youe, thatt wher, be youre goodenes, ande be youre prefarmentt, ther was a letter dyrected frome the Kynges Hyghnes unto Syr Wyllyame a Brutton in my behalfe, for to be a capyteyne with hyme; wherupon, with all haste that nyghtt be, I repared unto hyme, acordynge to youre dyspachementt; ande surely I made as harde shyfte to convey me to hyme, as ever gentylman dydde; nottwithstandynge, Master Wyndame, youre Lordeshyps servantt, browghtt unto hyme, sens thatt fyrste apoynttement, another letter frome youre Lordeshypp, dyrected in the prefarmentt of hyme for the same matter: so thatt Master Bruerton standes in a stay, tyll youre Lordeshypes plesure be farther knoen. Surely he ys very glade of me, ande yf ytt may stande with youre plesure. Surely, ooneles youe be goode lorde unto me, I ame butt utterly undone, ande yf I be dyseapoynted; for I made harde shyfte amongeste my freendes agaynste thys jorney. Wherfore, goode my Lorde, consyder my poverty, ande whatt case I stande in. Moste humbely requyrynge youe, thatt I may stande to my fyrste apoynttementt[2], trustynge that I shall aswell consyder my duety ande servys to the Kynges Hyghnes, as eny poore gentylmane may doo. Also I shall ponder youre goodenes ande prefarmentt of the same, as nere as Gode shall gyve me grace, who have youre goode Lordeshyp in Hys blessed tuycyon. Wryttyn in haste, att Nanttwyche, the 10 day of October,

By youre moste humbell Orator durynge my lyfe,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) EDUARDE DUDELEY.

To the Ryghtt Honorable ande my syngular goode Lorde, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, thys be delyvered.

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[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle D.

[2] He not only appears to have succeeded in his object, but further, for the Commissioners, who were sent to Ireland in July following, were ordered to promote him.

CLIII. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your moste Excellente Highnes to be advertised, that now lately, sithens the prorogacion of your Parliamente[1], and staying partely of the borders, we, Your Graces Deputie and Counsaile, assembling togethers at this season, have eftesones remembred and considered the effecte of your moste gracious severall letters, sent unto us boath by William Body, and Robert Cowley, Clercke of the Crowne of your Chauncery here, whereby Your Majestie, declaring unto us the mooste inestimable charges, which ye have susteyned for the relieve of your subjectes of this lande, noateth in us a certen remissenes and contentacion to have Your Grace persever in your saide extreme charges, without devising any meane either for the redubbing or alleviating therof: for which consideracion Your Highnes ded will us to practise the waies how ye mought be exonerated of the same, your lande defended, and yet nevertheles a certeyne yerely revenue invested to Your Highnes, whereby the charges, of a like occasion of rebellion ministred, moughte be borne, without exhausting of your treasoure from thens. The truth is, that like as we advertised Your Grace by those our letters, which we sent by the saide William Body, your pleasure therein was as depely proponed to the Parliamente, as we colde devise. Nevertheles, without doubte, thinhabitantes of theise your foure shires of Dublin, Mithe, Kildare, and Uriell, hath ben so spoiled, oppressed, and robbed, as they be nat of abilitie to gyve to Your Grace any notable thing, otherwise then they be charged alredy: yea, and though they had never sustayned soche domages, the circute of the same, where, and in effecte no where elles, the revennues that ye have, being now competently, according the time and place augmented, ben levied; in comparison, the residue is so small in compasse, and nomber of inhabitantes, as, if they shulde graunte to Your Highnes the twentieth parte of theire yerely rentes, the same shoulde nat amounte to any souch som, as should be to Your Highnes contentacion in this behalf; and Your Majestie having the same of them onely, shulde, as we thinke, be soche a servitute and hynderance unto theym, they also doing service in theire proper parsons, to all jorneyes, without wages, besides many other exceding charges and imposicions, as than they shulde be the lesse able to doo the like, in tyme commyng.

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[1] The Parliament was held at Dublin from the 15th to the 28th of September, and then prorogued to the 20th of January 1537.

Wherfore

Wherfore our advice shalbe to Your Grace, for to frame thErle of Osserie, and his sonne, that your revennues may be levied in the shires of Kilkeny, Tipperrary, Waxforde, and Waterforde, like wise as they be here; wherein to the contrary they have no resonable excuse, other then your subjectes in theise parties have; and they being confirmable thereunto, as they muste be, if it be your gracious pleasure, the same may be levied there, and they, than seing the parties under theire rule charged theireto, woll the more willingly further the levieng of your like revennues elles where; so as Your Highnes having the same levied, but within the saide 8 or 9 shires, togethers with the profectes that may grow by the resumpcion of your customes, and otherwise, shall amounte to a good som yerely. And considering that now the season of the yere approacheth, wherein Inglish men cannat well travaile to do service, that oonles Your Grace entende a ferther enterprise, we think 5 or 600 of your armie may be discharged out of wages, of the worste of theym; and your Deputie to chose out of the hoole of the beste the nomber that shall remayne. And percase Your Grace be in pourpose to make a ferther reformacion, as we think it be honorable, nedefull, and in theynde profectable, at the leaste of those parties of Leynster betwexte Dublin and Waterforde, which as we think mought shortely be brought to a conformitie and subjection, yf it were ernestely set too; it shalbe good Your Grace, resolving you thereuppon, appoynte after whate soarte the same shall procede; for thexecution wherof we think it necessary and expedient, that considering the moste parte of this armie hath ben so noseled in robry, disobedience, and other offences, and also theire horsses for the more parte consumed and spent, that others be appoynted and sente hither in theire stedes, which shalbe more meate to serve the purpase. Assuring Your Highnes that, having the saide quarter betwexte Dublin and Waterforde reformed, your owne subjectes were able to resiste the residue of the lande, without exhausting or disbursing of any parte of your treasoure from thens. So knowith the Blesside Trynitie, who preserve your moste Roiall Estate in long liff and prosperous helth. From your Citie of Dublin, the 29th day of October.

Your Highnes humble and moste obedient Subjectes,

(*Signed*) POUR LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) J. Lord of TRYMLETESTON, Your Graces Chaunceler.
(*Signed*) GEORGIUS DUBLINẼSS' Your Graces Chaplen.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S LUTRELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, Mr. of your Rolles.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kynges Hyghe Magyste.

CLIV. Gray *to* Crumwell.

After my moste hartie and loving commendacions unto your gentill good Lordeship, these shalbe to advertise you, that where I, with other of the Counsell, sithens Willyam Bodies departure, consoulting togethers more quietely then we colde at his here being, have advertized the Kinges Majestie by our letters, that onles His Grace entendith to ensue annothir devise for a further reformacion of this lande, than hitherto is resolved, or in fourme and maner prescribed unto us, yt shalbe necessarie, for the alleviating of His Graces charges, and also whate resolucion soever His Grace shall purpose, the armie, for the more parte, being of souche misorder, as they ar not meate to serve as shuld appartayn for any souch feate, 5 or 600 of the worste of theym be discharged out of wages; and I, as the Kinges Deputie, to choase the residue, which shall remayne to serve the King here. I have thoughte it meate, for my discharge, to advertise you playnely after whate soarte I may serve the King, and whate moughte be my hinderance to the contrary; les by the silence thereof, to the Kinges dishoner, shame moughte ensue to myselfe, and reproche to my frende and preferrer, which is your good Lordeship; whome I recon myself moste bounden unto of any man lyving, the King my Maister onely excepted.

My good Lorde, the truth is, that having so greate a nomber of tharmie dismynished, without danger of reproche and casting away, I shal not be able to serve the King with the residue, excepte I may have libertie to chose the nomber myself, so as the retynew, which shall remayne, may have no truste, ne respecte, to any other, then me onely: for otherwise I shalnat have theym, when I shall have nede to serve the King; the experience whereof I have many tymes to mych proved, excepte God had preserved me. Also, where all Deputies, before me, have had the order, setting, and letting of the Kinges landes and revennues, and have uside to graunte liveraies of landes, sell the wardeschipes and custodies thereof, graunte pardons for all maner of offences (treason to the Kinges Parsons onely excepted), give licenses, placardes, and all other thinges that apperteyneth to the Kinges auctoritie within this lande, whereby they have not onely had advauntage towardes the mayntenance of theire charges, but also, by reason of the same, obtayned the favors of thole contrey to adhere to theym to serve the King; whereunto, now, the Deputie is a stranger; for I, having like letters patentes, and the same auctoritie accordingly, have noo intromedeling, so as no man, in respecte of execucion of law, or ponyshemente, or yet of favor or commoditie to be shewed by me, by reason of my auctoritie,

auctoritie, hath occasion to adhere unto me; but whate is don to the contrary, I wil not open, untill I speke with yourselff, or that ye shall commaunde me, by secrete writing, to discloase the same: so as I have the name of a Deputie and Governor onely. For whensoever any warrante is to be signed to the Chauncelor for sealing of pardon, graunting of liveray, or any other thing for the King; the Treasorer, sending the same to me, I dare do no otherwise, les it sholde be saide I wolde hinder the King, but, without question asked, consigne the same. And albeit that the King hath the revennues in his owne handes, yet it is thought that it were nothing hurtefull that the Kinges Deputies assente, supplying His Graces place, shold be had to every thing; wherby the subjectes under the prynce shulde have hym in the more estimacion, favours, and dreade of his auctoritie; which thing cannat be thought otherwise than good and convenyent, onles the Deputie wolde take bribes to the Kinges hinderance therein. Whatesoever others doath, I will answer to your Lordeship for the Deputie. Nevertheles, folowing thexperience of the faction of the contray, and having execution of like auctoritie that other Deputies have had in tymes paste, I esteme the service and obedience of the contrary, which shuld grow by the same, in the stede of one hunderith men.[1]

But, my Lorde, to be playne to you, as I advertised you by myn other letters, William Brabason handelith me very straitely and unkyndely; which his onkynde dealing with me greavith me mych the more, for that he was your Lordeschipes servaunte, and myn olde acquayntance. The particularities of his doinges I will nat open, untill I speke with you. He bruteth and imageneth, that onkyndenes is putt betwexte hym and me, by instigacion of the Maister of the Rolles, and others of the Counsayle. My Lorde, all the Counsaile in Irelande neither shulde put variance, nor yet contynew the same, betwexte us, if his doinges were as they shulde be; and, by the faith of an honeste man, and a gentilman, the saide Maister of the Rolles, Cheef Justice, and the Justice Houth, have contynually, at all tymes, preavely persuaded me to forbere hym, and ensue his good will, without having respecte to any his unkinde doinges. As I understande, he berith me the wors good will for the Maister of the Rolles sake. By my faithe, I never harde that the Maister of the Rolles ded hym displeasure; but I think the displeasure that he berith hym, is by the instigacion of Agre, who I assure you is the moste

[1] On the same day Gray wrote a separate letter to the King, containing substantially the same matter with that in the text, down to this point, and concluding with remarks of the necessity for liberality, and the increase of expence, similar to those in the last paragraph of this letter. It is in the State Paper Office.

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grownde of the devision here, with his associates, Poole, Cusake, and Water Cowley, which togethers alured William Body to the same trade, endusing all others, which wolde gyve theym credite, to the like. And whate man the Maister of the Rolles ys, I know nat, neyther had I acquayntance of hym, before it pleaside the King, and you, to will me to folow his advice amonge others; and I assure you, to my judgement, he doth the King as good service as any man to his degre, which I see here. If he be nott an honeste man, they shulde seme not to be blameles, that were the cause of his preferment; but whatever repoarte untrew shal be made of hym, he is taken and estemed here for an honest man.

But the truthe is, that asferre as I know, Maister Treasorer hath noo good grounde nor cause ayenste hym, neither any other that serve me, or be towardes me: and yet I know well he favorith not one of theym; whereby I am well assured I am mych the les estemed and regarded, and others putt in feare to serve the King, or me in his auctoritie. Wherfore I beseche your good Lordeschip, that considering I have made all the meanes, that I could possible divise, to have the saide Maister Treasorer to assiste me, for my direccion in the Kinges affaires, which I can in nowise attayne, that it wold please your good Lordeschip to be good lorde unto suche as assist me therein, withoute whom my knowlege ne experience is souch, as to execute soch thinges as I doo.

My Lorde, if I shulde nott be bolde to open my greeffes unto you, I had no remydie for my soker, ne releef. Therfore, considering that ye have ever ben my frende, I beseche you continue my good lorde in all my necessities; and, amonges other thinges, having no profecte ne commoditie, but my bare stipende, as ye know, I muste use some liberalitie besides my ordinary charges. But now there is soch a derthe here of all thinges, as the Deputie within theise 3 yeres moughte have lived better with a thowsande markes, then he may do now with the doble. Nevertheles I shall serve as longe as I am able, according as ye shall prescribe unto me. And thus Our Lorde sende you as good helth, fortune, and prosperitie, as I wolde desier to myselff. From Kilmaynan, the 31st daye of October.

Assuredly yours,

(*Signed*) Pour Leonard Grey.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my very good Lorde,
my Lorde Privie Seale.

CLV. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

My dutie remembred, in my mooste hartie and loving maner I commende me unto your good Lordeschip. Besides the letters from the Kinges Majestie, and others from your Lordschip addressed, and by Thomas Alen, your servante, delyvered to me and the Counsaile, the 15ten day of this moneth, I receyved duplicate letters from your saide Lordeschip, directed to me oonly; the oon being delivered unto me by the same Thomas Alen, and the other by Cassy, the Kinges servante, whereby it hath pleasid your Lordeschip to advertise me of dyvers abuses and enormities which ye noate in me; to the particularties whereof, as farr as my poure witt can serve me, I shall make aunswer, beseching your Lordeschip to pardon me therein, accepting all thinges in good parte, the raither for that I truste the same ben trewe.

Furst, where your Lordschip advertiseth me of the discorse and proceedinges of the jornay of Mounster, and how the grace and praise thereof is taken away with His Majestie by my retier, ensuyng by the disobedience and mutyny of tharmye: my Lorde, I, being of your preferment to this rome, I am sory that it is my chaunce, that the praise and thankes of that, and every other exploite, which I have don sithens my hither commyng, by oone meane and other, ben so defaced, as they ar never accompted worthie estimacion; where as, if others, being in the same rome before me, had don the 10th parte which I have don, the same had been largely dilated and highly praisid. I have seen men, for les interprises than thapprehension of Thomas Fitzgeralde, and, after, the taking of all his fyve uncles, or the breking of Obrenes bridge, highly advaunced; I nevertheles hitherto never having asmoch as a thankes, by a letter, for the same. But if the praise of Mounster jornay be defaced, because, as it hath ben falsely bruted there, that I, and others, entending soely to take the praise thereof, for a policie, lefte Maister Tresorer behinde us; me thinkith it is not well: for uppon my faith there was never no souch thing ment, but by his owne assent and divise he chase to tarie in theis parties, boath for the defence of the countrey, reedifying of Powescoarte, and the contynuyng of the workes of the bridge of Athy, and Woodstocke; which no doubte were nedefull and necessarie affaires, as hymself ded consider, and chose: so as I promise you there was no occulte handeling, but true meanyng and dealing in that behalf. Nevertheles, he being absent as he was, the jornay had taken good effecte and fructe, if I and the Counsaile mought have had our owne swynge; but we were dilaide, from day to day, betwexte thErle of Ossory and

his sonne, which seeke theire owne profectes, and to make them selfes frendes with Obreene, and so to kepe thErle of Desmonde at large, onles he will conforme hymself to theire appetites. Which thing the King muste looke uppon, for they goo about to convey the matter after that soarte, that whosoever shalbe Erle, shalbe at theire commaundement; and on my faith I think they wolde not have the Erle of Desmonde obedient, by theire good willes, neither that the King shulde have any more than he hath: and so, God helpe me, I take the father of a better inclinacion in theis matters, than the son. I write theis thinges, not intending therby to accuse theym, or hynder theym, but perceyving to tende to souch an eynde by the maner of theire procedinges; wherein I, and the Counsaile, may nott comptroll them, les, uppon displeasure thereof, division mought growe, and so consequently they, taking any inwarde disdayne and grudge, shulde peradventure fayntlie serve in tyme of nede. Wherfore the Kinges Majestie, by his high wisdom and prudence, muste take an order with theym therein, and that after a gentil soarte and politique fation, as they may perceyve His Grace fynally entendeth but the comon weale, and their profectes; for they be noble men, and may do the King high service.

To that ye objecte unto me, that, forgetting how it was inyoyned unto me at my entre in to this high rome, that I sholde procede in all thinges with thadvice, counsaile, and assent of the Kinges Counsail joyned with me here; and now it apperith soundry waies, that I am a man not of souch indifferent judgement, as to this my said rome doth appartayne, for that I direct not my procedinges with souch advise; wherfore ye noate me to be a man motche affectionate, inclined to folow affection in bowing to that parte of the Counsaill, which, out of counsaill, be moste to my pleasue and contentacion: my Lord, I consider how mych ye ar my frende, orelles surely it wolde greave me to be thus reproved of matters contrary to trouthe. Treuthe it is, my Lorde, I was enjoined to folow the advise of the Counsaile, especially of the Treasorer, the Cheef Justice, and the Maister of the Rolles, as by my instruccions doth appere; contrary whereunto, if I have interprised any jornay, or other exploite, without thadvise of the saide Counsaile, I aske no favor, but extreme ponishment. And, albeit that the saide Maister Treasorer hath been strange in commyng to me, which now he hath promised me he will admende, he cannat say, standing with his truthe and honestie, neither I am sure will say, that I ever executed any such interprises without his especiall aggreament; and also, that I have in souch thinges ensued his advise, above all others, without such inclinacion and bowing to parte of the Counsaile, as, out of counsaile, were mooste to my pleasure. To which parable I could make your Lordeschip a resonable answer, if it wer not to advoide prolixitie. But, my Lord, there is noane of the Counsaile,

Counsaile that use so motche to com to me, as the Cheef Justice, the Maister of the Rolles, and the Justice Houth; and others sholde be no les welcom to me than they, if they wolde semblably com to me. By my faith, my Lorde, I take theym all three for honeste men, and of souch soarte as your Lordeschip nede never repent the thing ye have don for theym. Indeade with the Justice Houth I was well acquaynted, before my comyng hither, but nott with thother twayne, whome I assure you I love for the good service I have seen theym doo the King in my company, and that they, for the more parte contynually, by your commaundement, have assisted me for my direccion in the Kinges affaires, and yet went they never with me, but by thassent and desier of the saide Maister Treasorer, and other of the Counsaile; which theire paynes, diligence, labors, and costes that they have so sustayned in the Kinges affaires, causith me to love theym, and for noo private matters, that I have to doo with theym, without souch bowing to theire divises, more than is thought good and approved to all the residue; neither is there any of thaym, yea nat they all, so deare to me as Willyam Brabason hath ben, neither shalbe, doing now, at the laste, as he hath promised to the Counsaile. My Lorde, I wolde be right sory, but that theise men, or any of theym, for their assisting of me shulde have your Lordeschipes favours; for I think your Lordeschip love me so well, that ye love theym the better, that help to direct me in this greate auctoritie; which, being well supplied, redoundeth to your praise and honor, to the contrary whereof I assure your Lordschip none of theym hath don: trusting, therfore, that you, being theire good lorde before, ye will now therefor be the better unto theym.

Ferther, where ye noate me eftsones a man inclined to folow affeccion, boath in the premisses, and in the reteyning and cherisshing of souch parsons about me, as be very seditius, laboring and studying how to sow division bitwext His Graces Counsaile, of which soarte Stephen Apary, being about me, is specially noated, whome ye prescribe unto me the Kinges pleasure is I shall no longer detayne, but sende over there, to remayne without retorne, onles he have the Kinges license; which I have don accordingly, not without greef: alas, my Lorde, I thinke there hath ben noone other gentilman thus handeled, that his trustie servaunte, for the disdayne and displeasure that any others shulde beare hym, without any offence proved, shalbe taken and pluked from hym. No doubte he hath ben my servante theis 17ten yere, duering which tyme I have founde hym trusty and true, above all others that ever I had; and sithens his commyng hither, noo captayne of his degree hath doon better service, neither better governed his men, than he, as even Maister Tresorer hymself, with his honestie, I truste cannat say the contrary. And

also, for my saulvegarde, when so ever I shulde be in daunger, I mought truste to hym being aboutes me. Assuring, therfore, your good Lordeschip, that it is no small displeasure to me, now being diseasid, that he shall thus departe, leving my men, and all thinges, rawly, without order. Beseching moost hartely your good Lordeschip, of your honor and indifferencie, that being a trew man unto the King, as I truste he is, to be good lorde unto hym. Greatly fearing that thoase parsons, which thus goo about so busilie to undoo all those that woll serve me, or adhere to me, entende no goodnes towardes me, if they myght bryng the same to theire purpoase. Therfore, my good Lorde, I beseche you way mennes affections and theire procedinges, before ye enter in to souch displeasures with men; for I am farr disceaved, but, according your accustomed maner, your Lordeschip wilbe loath to ondoo or hynder any man, without a great cause.

And, my Lorde, to that ye write that it nedeth nat you to expresse unto me, how moche the Kinges Highnes delieteth in playne dealing, and how mich he abhorreth occulte handeling of thinges, &c.: my Lorde, whate informacion ye have agaynste me, I know not; but of similitude ye have many, contrary to truthe. I have not accustomed to use soche partes before I was in this auctoritie, trusting that never man shalbe able to prove any souch thing by me; but peradventure souch faccions mought bee better verefied in those, which cause your Lordeschip to be put in understanding of souch untrew thinges agaynst me, than in me, if all the truthe were knowne. And, for my parte, I had rather than all that I have, that my doinges, sithens my commyng hither, and all other mens, were writen with you, as trewly, as God knowith theym. But if I, or thoase which be towardes me, shulde use souch handeling, or the tenth parte of extorcion, that was in Skeffyngtons daies, I wold not marvel that som speking sholde be of it; for I am sure Thomas Cusake, being but oon, amonges many others which was towardes hym, gate more duering the saide Sir Willyams being in auctoritie, than I, and all that be towardes me, have had in profecte or commoditie by any meane, sithens my commyng hither; being well assured also that Willyam Brabason usid hym, being his enemy, after a nother soarte, that ever he usid me. Howbeit I truste from hensforthe all shalbe well.

To that ye wolde I shuld not desier too com home, &c, the Kinges Highnes and you boath being unto me, as ye were before my hither commyng, I suppoase it had been good for me, that I never had com here; and better it were for me, your displesurs put a parte, to be at home, though I sholde live theire like a poure gentilman, than to be here in this high auctoritie, never in reste, ne quiete: and yet, whate travell and payne so ever I take to do my Maister servise, according your advertisementes, the praise and thankes due thereunto

thereunto by naughtye detraccions, repoartes, and other craftie meanes, shalbe taken away; so as I suppoase it is predestinate to this contre to bring forth sedition, invention, lies, and souch other naughtie fructes, and also that noo man shall have thankes for service don here. For, as ferr as I can lerne, few men hitherto, being here in any auctoritie, hath finally consecuted favors and thankes, but rather the contrarie, with povertie for theire farewell. Also, where ye will me to judge in you that your affeccion is indifferent, and that in respecte of the Kinges honor, ye know none of us all, but as ye shalbe glad for any of us, being honest men, to do all that ye can; for the which I, for my parte, moste hartelie thanke your Lordeschip, having no doubte but at lenght ye shall fynde me, and others, honest men, that peradventure by evill repoarte ye be now displeased withall; so, as ye furder write, there is none of us all so deare unto you, but if ye may lerne that he serve not your Maister, boath for his honor and profecte, ye wolde undoubtedly help to remove hym; therfore ye will me that I shulde be playne, which no doubt I wolde have been, or now, if others had not advised me to the contrary, which peradventure yet be suspected otherwise. But, my Lorde, on thother side, I beseche you, judge that theise informacions ye have agaynste me, and other men, may procede of ignorance, of malice, or disdayne, or of som other invencion, and so consequently be fals; and peradventure some thing semyng a defaulte, the circumstances and ententes of the doing thereof considered, it is litle or noo offence, and the thing also may be don by negligence.

All which thinges I know well your Lordeschip will pondre and considre before ye will be extreme. Your Lordeschip muste also judge that your Lordeschip, or any other noble man, may have a servante which may offende as well as my servante, or another mans; and that as litle witt as I have, considering the love I bere unto you, I wold not reprove or be displeased with your servante, without cause: so as I truste, upon noane of theire repoartes, ye will geve so ondoubted credite to theym, as think me, or any other man againste whome they have any displeasure, immediatly to be in a defaulte.

To that ye write, that the Kinges pleasure is, that I sholde advertise you of the names of the mutyners in Mounster; the Counsaile and I have writen joyntely boath to the Kinges Highnes, and your Lordschip, of the same, at lenght, by our other letters; and herein cloaside, I sende you the copie of the deposicions of such of Wyllyam Sayntlowes retynew, as detected Watken Apowell and Gerbert, pety capitens under the same Willyam: and further to discharge as many of tharmie as shalnot be nedefull to remayne here this winter; whereof the Counsaile and I have joyntely advertised you. Howbeit,

Maister

Maister Treasorer is not very well agreing thereunto; for dyvers tymes, before the receite of theis letters, I have mocioned hym therein, whereunto he wolde never assent, saying it was the Cheef Justice and Maister of the Rolles divise to abate tharmie, wherby they shulde marr all. Whate he meaneth therby, I cannat tell, for he assigneth me no reason. Therefore doo your Lordeschip as ye shall think good; for surely I se noo cause, why to charge the King with souch a nomber, without a ferther interprise concluded. And further, where ye noate a consumpcion of innumerable treasure to small purpose, my Lorde, it is a greate discorage to men to perceyve your Lordschip to noate so notable an acte, of so litle moment; which me thinkith that, like as your Lordschip hath been the principall advauncer of the same, so shulde ye principally commende it, as the trewthe is; and my Lorde, the thing nedith nott to be so litle estemed, for the repression of souch a rebellion, and the wynning of 7 or 8000 marckes by the yere, is a faier thing to be don in too yeres, whate so ever Maister Body repoarteth to the contrary; according whereunto, at his commyng on lande in Northe Walles, he repoarted there, that this lande was in as greate a rebellion as ever it was; to the pacifying whereof he ded no greate good, at his being here, as I shall hereaftre declare. But no doubt, my Lorde, if ye had seen his demeanure at his here being, ye wolde have marvelid at it. For the discharging of Poole, considering the man is very sike, I thought good not to discloase the same unto hym, les he shulde therby take any fantasie, which mought be an hinderance to his helth; but, assoane as he is recovered, I shall discharge hym after an honeste soarte.

Where ye noate in me greate defaulte for not answering to the particularities of your letters, I truste I have alwaies aunswered to theym, as farr as my poure capacitie can serve me; and many tymes others dare nott helpe me therein, for feare of Maister Treasorers displeasures, for he hath maligned at every man that wolde helpe or sarve me, calling thaym fals knaves. Howbeit, now I truste all shalbe well; for if you frame Maister Treasorer to persever in unitie and concorde, as he hath promised, I undertake you, that I shall order all others of the Counsaile; and there is noane of theym, but wilbe more glad to please hym, than me, if he wilbe contented therewith. For the auctoritie and strooke of his office is souch, besides the pleasures, profectes, and commodities thereof, which I am suer farr excede myn, that either for feare of the lashe thereof, or the dreade of the hurte that mought grow to theym there by his displeasure, orelles the desier of his favors, whereby they truste consequently to have yours, every man is glad to please hym, and for theire awne preferment boath to adhere to hym, and do whate they may in his praise and commendacion; which I nothing envy, but wolde do the semblable, if he wolde

wolde use me kyndely and gentilly, as I truste he will in tyme commyng. So knowith God, whoo preserve your Lordeschip, and sende you as well to doo, as I wolde my awne harte in my body. From Kilmaynan, the 23th day of November.

Assuredly yours,

(Superscribed) *(Signed)* POUR LEONARD GRAY.

To the Ryght Honerabe and my very good Lord,
my Lord Pryvay Sealls good Lordeschyp.

CLVI. THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* CRUMWELL.

OUR duties rememberd, as apperteyneth, to your right honorable Lordship. It may pleas the same to be advertised, that the 15ten day of this present monith, we received by Thomas Alen, your servaunt, the Kinges moost gratius letters myssive, dated at Amptell the 19ten day of September last past, together with your Lordships letters, written from the Rolles, the 24ti day of the same monith, conteyning aunswer aswell to suche letters, as parte of us, with thErle of Ossorie, and the Lorde Butler his sonne, ded write to your good Lordeship out of Mounster, as prescrybyng unto us His Highnes pleasur, not oonly for the dispatche of suche number of personnes of tharmie here, as shulde not be nedefull to be retayned this deade tyme of the yere, but also to advertise His Highnes booth of our determynations towching anny honorable or profitable enterprise to be advaunced this next yere, and the groundes, causes, and reasons that shuld move us therunto; together withe names of suche as wer the ringe leaders and moost brave to the mutynie and refusall of service in Mounster; and furder that His Grace might be advertised, at the retorne of William Body, of thextent and certentie of his revenues here.

For aunswer to the particularties wherof, may it pleas your Lordeship to undrestande, that by our late letters, sent unto the Kinges Majestie, and your Lordeship, we concluded and agreed that, for this winter season, ther mought be dispatchid out of wagis fyve or sex hundrith of his said armye; so as, according to our determinations therin, if the Kinges and your said letters, purporting to us his gracius pleasor accordinglie, had been presented unto us with convenient spede, after ther depeche from the Kinges Highnes, as they mought have been, if the berers of thaym had not been restrayned, on that side the sea, to passe hither with the same by the Chamberlayn of Northwales, at commaundment of William Body, as they affirme, the Kinges Grace tresor as than

than also being but newly arrived, we mought have mutche the better performed the same: which now, in defaulte of mony, cannot be done, untill mony shalbe sent. Nevertheles, in the meane tyme, the Kinges Deputie, and Tresorer of the Warres, woll doo what they may, for to make a shift to borowe so moche mony as woll content an hundrith and fifty horsemen, and so dispatch thaym ymmediatlie.

And as concernyng our determynations for anny honorabell and profitable enterprise to be advaunced this next yere, we have severall tymes advertised the Kinges Majestie, and your Lordeship, that, in our opinions, ther is no enterprise more honorable, neyther more profitable for the Kinge and his heyres, neyther more feisible, and with les charges to be executed, then the reformyng of Leynster; especiallie thois parties betwixt Dublin and Waterforde by the sea cost, wherin Macmurgho, OBrynne, the Tholes, and ther nations, been enhabited. Albeit, considering the Kinges Highnes desireth eftsones our furder resolutions and determinations in this behalf, for that thErle of Ossorie, the Lorde Butler his sonne, and dyverse other of the Counsaill, be not in theis parties at this season, neyther shal not before the octab of Saynt Hillary next cummynge, unto which day the Parliament is proroged; we have thought convenyent to devise our establishmentes and devises by ther comen assentes, and so signifie the same to the Kinges Majestie. Nevertheles, yf His Grace be in purpose to procede to anny furder reformation, and suer establishment of this lande, ar the augmentation of his revenues, in the meane season, he may resolve himself principallie to subdeu and reforme Leynster. For we thinck all our hole conclusions shall tende finallie therunto. And understanding that reporte shulde be made, by soche of lykelyoode as have litell knowlege in this behalf, that all the charges, which the Kinges Highnes have susteyned for the repression of this rebellion, hath been consumed vaynely, to litell effect, of likelioode they that make suche reportes speke according ther knowleges and discreations. For declaration wherof, if the circumstaunces of this matier be well considered, how, at thentre of tharmye into this lande, the rebellion was so greate, and obedience to the Kinges Majestie so smale, as the lyke in none of the Kinges moost nobell progenitors dayes hath been seen; so as, yf the Kinges Highnes, at the same season, had not sent an armye hither, His Highnes had loste tholle lande, and yet this armye was not in number gretter then, uppon a les occasion ministred, was advaunced hither in the dayes of the moost redoubted Kinge Henry the 7th; and if it be also remembred, after whate sorte this rebellion is repressid and ponisshed, to the dreade and example of the lyke for ever; it dooth well appere, that, besides the honor and immortall fame therof to the Kinges Majestie and his posterite, His Highnes revenues, accordinge

accordinge the tyme and case, been competently augmentid, and that in soche wise, as His Grace, with thole charges which he hath spent upon the finding of tharmye, culde not have purchased the liek revenue; and the thinge no doubt, as we thinck, being of it self notable, mought have been yet moche better, yf tharmy had been furnished with mony from tyme to tyme, as they shuld have been. And, to be playne to your Lordeship, we cannot but mervaill that your Lordeship, being of high wisdome, and of great experience and knowlege in warres, do not consider how anny armye, not furnisshed with mony and artilery, can litell prevaill; but whan so ever they wannt, especiallie payment of ther wagis, they fall to robrye, mutynie, and consequently to disobedience, and all misorder, without conformite to be trayned to service; lykewise, as this number here hath done from the begynnyng, in defaulte of payment of ther wagis, as we have dyverse tymes advertised your good Lordeship; and yet, lacking the same, we dare be bolde to say, that no lyke exploites and service may be rememberd, or notid to be done in this lande with soche a nomber, yf the thing be accepted accordingly, and the tyme and case on every side well repetid. Nevertheles, synes thapprehension of the Geraldyns, it had been as good to have had fyve hundrith men, furnisshed with ther wages and artilerie at all tymes, as the 1000, which have been here destitute of the same, and yet the charges, in conclusion, nothinge the les; the defaulte wherof hath greaved us not a litell, aswell for that the Kinges affaires hath been therby greatlie hindered, the pore subjectes here sore poverisshed and oppressed, as the armye, by occasion therof, trayned in to mutynie and disobedience; which hath been unto dyverse of us great daunger and perell. Nothinge doubting, yf the thinge at anny tyme, by soche occasions, hath chaunced otherwise than wer consonannt to the Kinges Majesties contentacion, nevertheles His Grace, according his nobill gentill nature and high consideracion, woll judge and accept our good willes therin, no les than the same had proceded according the desired ende; the rather, whiles the same was not, by no possibilite, in our defaulte.

Touching the names of the mutyners in tharmy, before the setting forthward of the jorney into Mounster, the moost parte of the northeron men, and the retynew of Sir William Skeffington, late Deputie, made a generall insurrection, which contynued by the space of 4 or 5 dayes; and in Mownster all thole retynue of William Saynctclow made insurrection togethers, so as the Kinges Deputie, with all thoost, booth Irishe and Inglishe, for the repressing of thaym, wer inforced to goo to harnes, and marche upon thaym in order of bataill, as the said Deputie, as soche others of the Counsaill as there was present, advertised your good Lordeship. The principall procurers of them wherunto, two peticapitannes of the said M^r^. Sayntclows cumpany, by the deposition of parte

of ther awne retynew, wer detectid. Albeit, as farr as anny of us, being ther, culd perceyve, the said William Sayntclow, and his undercapitannes, was not assenting, ne ayding to the same; and booth the said number, and all the residew of tharmye (except the Deputies awne retynew, being 100 horsemen, and one hundrith fotemen, which for saulf garde of his persone mought not be severed from him, the residew of tharmy being in no better trayne then they wer) refused to tary in Mounster anny longer, onles they had indilate payment of ther wagis.

As to the certentie of the revenues, the Tresurer shewith us, that he hath advertised the Kinges Highnes therof alredy, by the said William Body.

Your good Lordeship shall furder understande that by the purporte of your said letters we perceyve, to our great mervaill, that the Kinges Majestie, and your Lordeship, shulde be enformed, that we and other of the Counsaill been in soch dissension, discorde, and debate, severed into partes, workinge by severall wayes, according the dyversite of ther opinions, as the Kinges affaires here been therby greatly impeched; which thinge, as we understande, shulde appere to His Majestie, and your Lordeship, by dyverse argumentes of diversite of writinges, reportes, and otherwise, from hens: we eftsones merveling not a litell that either shame or dreade shulde not refrayne soche persons especiallie to minister unto the Kinges Highnes soche thinges, so contrary to truthe. For declaracion of the truthe wherin, lyke as by oon hooll assent, upon semblable untrue occasions ministred, we advertised your good Lordeship, for your satisfacion in that behalf, we signifie unto your Lordeship, eftsones, uppon our fidelities to the Kinge, that we never yet wer in anny soche contrariete, dissension, or division, severed into parties, as is falsely supposed, nor that we perceyved, at anny season, anny of this Counsaill of other mynde or intent, than he shulde be, in the furtheraunce of the Kinges causes; conformyng our selfes always therin to the moost and comen opinion of the residew, in all His Graces affaires and exploietes, which been none otherwise advaunced and executid by the Deputie, than we conclude togethers with one assent; so as, what so ever he hath done in the Kinges comen affaires, was done by our full assentes and aggrementes: which we all togethers do and wyll affyrme, in the presence of suche untrue writers and seditius reporters, which peradventure wold have division amonge us (beinge better warrauntes to minister and nurishe suche a matter, than to pacifie it), whois appetites, and the groundes and causeis of ther intentes, proceding, of lykelioode, of displeasure, or elles ymagined of ther unne light fantasies, we trust your high wisdome will note, taking regarde to thaym accordingly. And percase your Lordship shulde judge contrariete among us, because we subscribe not togethers all letters, which

which we sende to the Kinges Majestie or your Lordeship, as we use to do some others, the truth is, that except it be for a urgent affaire, thole generall Counsaill cannot assemble contynually togethers. And over that, the mater sometyme may be soche, as peradventure it is necessary that none shalbe prevay therunto, but the Prevay Counsaill, of which number been thErle of Ossorie and his sonne, being but seldome present in theis parties. Neyther at all tymes, peradventure, is it mete to have thaym prevay to some thinges, which touche them selfes; for the Deputie and Counsaill hath accustumed, in tymes past, to have a consideration, whan maters touched contrary the appetites of the Butlers, or Geraldines, or other particuleir causeis or debates, to order the same indifferentlie, as to their discretions shulde seme convenyent, so as none of them, in suche caseis, had anny strooke amonge the Prevay Counsaill. The semblable wherof to be folowed were yet good for the Kinges profitt; for though the Kinge, neyther your Lordeship, be not advertised therof hitherto, the jorney of Mounster had taken suche fructe and successe, as we doubt not the Kinges Majestie wolde have been pleased right well with the same, if the Counsaill mought have used the forenamed order. For undoubtedly the pretended Erle of Desmonde, after diverse communications had betwixt him, the Maior of Lymerick, the Chief Justice, and Maister of the Rolles, at severall tymes, condescended aswell to delyver his twoo sonnes in hostage, and to fynde the Vicount Barry, the Lorde Rooche, Thomas Butler Fitz Edmond, John Butler broder to the Barone of Dunboyne, Geralde Mc Shane of Drommanaugh, and dyverse others, to be bounde for him in a 1200 marckes, that he shuld not oonly obey the Kinges lawes, and cause thaym to be obeyd every where under his rule, but also aswell to suffer the Kinges revenues to be levied ther, as, upon the title and clayme of James Fitz Morice to thErldome, to abide thorder and judgment of the Deputie and Counsaill; and percase the same James Fitz Morice wer adjuged Erle, he to suffer him to enjoy thErldome accordinglie; with diverse other articles, comprised in a payer of endentors concluded therupon: the copie we have sende thider, at this season, to be shewed to your Lordeship by Patrick Barnewaill, the Kinges Serjaunt; which determination toke none effect, by reason of suche particuler causeis and debatis, as wer moved betwixt the said Erle, his sone the Lorde Butler, and the said James of Desmonde pretended Erle.[1] For the more

[1] The Council, on the following day, wrote to the King an answer, substantially the same with this answer to Crumwell, excepting that these last two passages, one referring to P. Barnewall, and the other respecting Lady Skeffyngton, are omitted. It is signed by the Lord Deputy, and by the same Members of the Council who sign this letter. It is in the State Paper Office.

truthe wherof may it please your Lordeship to examyn the said Patric Barnewaill, the Kinges Serjaunt, nowe being in Inglonde, who was in company and present at all the said communications and conclusions; so as it is great pitie that other mennes services shulde be drowned, and ther thanckes taken away for anny soch occasion, not being in ther defaulte.

Finallie, wher as your Lordeship, by your letters, willed us to dispatche the Lady Skeffington in a favorable wise, we assure your Lordship, that ther was so mutche dett dew by her late husbonde, aswell for horsemete, manmete, and otherwise, from his furst arryvall unto his death, and suche chalenges made for the same, that the lyke trobell for the recovere and payment therof hath not of longe tyme be seen in this lande; so as we, of our consciens, culde not discharge her otherwise than we ded, onles that we had done the creditors in that behalf mutche wronge. Thus knowith Jhesu, whoo preserve your honorable Lordeship in longe lif, with encrease of honor. From Dublin, the 23 day of November.

Your awne assuredlye,

(*Signed*) POUR LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) J. BARNEWALL, Chunceler.
(*Signed*) You^r Oratur GEORGE DUBLINS̃.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P^r of KYLLMAYNÃ.

(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM[?], Justice.
(*Signed*) THOMAS LUTRELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOUTH, Justice.
(*Signed*) FRAUNCES HARBART.
(*Signed*) R. B. of DELVYN.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable my Lorde Crumwaill,
the Lorde Privey Seale.

CLVII. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

MY Lorde. Where in your letters sent unto me ye say, as the truth is, where concorde is nott, but contrarietie in opinion, with variety in working, theire can noither place be well occupied, ne good enfecte ensue, &c; and that now it is to manifeste, that here be soundry partes amonges the Counsaile, and yet do I rather norishe the same, then extinquish it, or, according my dutie, signifie the

the same to the Kinges Highnes, &c. My Lord, according as the Counsaile and I joyntely, boath at this season, and heretofore, advertised you, I never coulde perceive souch contraritie or varietie, in working or opinion, amonges theym, or any severing in too partes, but in the Kinges service and the comon affaires of the lande they joyne in one conformitie, without checking or taunting, like wise men and honest men, whate so ever is saide to the contrary. Assuring you, that we do nott a litle marvell here, to heare that souche notorious lies shulde be theire so manifestly bruted, which of likelihode have a greater operacion there, then can be perceyved here. Nevertheles, I thinke, my Lord, your Lordeschip hathe knowne of perticuler grudges amonges Counsaylors, and yet they have joyned in one conformitie in theire princes causes, and peradventure otherwise litle love amonges theym. But, my Lorde, because ye wolde know the groundes of theis matters, whereupon of likelihode theis rumors have the roate and begynnyng, I shall partely touche of theym, as they now occur to my remembrance.

Aslonge as the Cheef Justice, Maister of the Rolles, and the Treasorer kepte company and familiaritie togethers, all thinges proceded without gerr or souch rumor; but after lighte felowes and seditius parsons perceived the same to wax colde, they, from tyme to tyme, added matter to make it more colde; wherein I assure you I coulde never perceyve occasion to be ministred by the saide Justice, and Maister of the Rolles, but ever seking meanes, by all policies, to continew theire old conformitie. The begynnyng of this matter, to my knowleg, was this. At my commyng out of Inglande, after I had broughte over Thomas Fitzgeralde, the Treasorer had som enformacion, that the Maister of the Rolles, by the saide Justices assent, ded preferr something to you to his displeasure, which, as farr as I could perceyve, came by the repoarte of yonge Cowley and Agard; by occasion whereof the Treasorer, of likelihode, either having doubte therof, or for the displeasure of the same, or elles disdayneng the favours that the Justice and Maister of the Rolles were in, Agarde therupon came unto me, in a secrete maner, advising me to medle no mor with theym, for they were too fals knaves, dissembling with me, for if they had not been, I had been Deputie; willing me to joyne with the Treasorer, my Lorde Butlar, and certen others whome I remember not, and never to accept theym. I aunswered hym, that I knew theym for noo souche men; and as for Maister Treasorer, I toke hym for the greatest frende I had in Ireland, and I mought not refuse thother twayne, for I was commaunded by the King to folow thadvises of the saide Maister Tresorer and theym, so as I coulde not seclude theym. This don, within a few daies after, which was but a litle before Cristemas, the said Maister Treasorer, upon whate grownde I know not, made a secrete

a secrete amitie and confederacion with tholde Deputie, notwithstanding thinwarde malice which was betwext theym, having saide unto me the worste of hym that ever I harde of man. I, the saide Justice, and Maister of the Rolles, than, against the same Cristmas, being appoynted to goo up into the over parties aboutes the Kinges busynes, the day before they came to me to Kilca, Pole broughte me a message from the Treasorer, willing me to beware of theym, and trust theym not, for they were too fals knaves. I, marveling motche at this matter, proceded nevertheles with theym in my jornay; and at our commyng to thErle of Ossories, all these secrete inventions bytwext Pole and others were discloasid to theym. Now, whiles we were in those parties, the olde Deputie died, and therupon, at our retorne, I, being chosen Justice and Governor of the land, all this matters, before me and a certen of the Prevaie Counsaile, were discloased; and, Agard then being in Ingland, denyed, and so pacified. Then there was motche divising who shulde be Deputie; some saide one, some annother; and except I may be otherwise intreated then I have ben hitherto, wold to God any of theym had fortuned uppon it. It chaunced that Thomas Cusake, being very greate with the Treasorer, resorted dyvers tymes to me, seking my favors to be towardes me, and at a season, amonge other thinges, he shewed me, in a greate secretenes, that he thought I sholde mysse my purpose in being Deputie; shewing me that ondoubtedly the Tresorer loked to be Deputie. And, as I remember, the Busshop of Mith shewe me the like in effecte. Whereupon I shewed the same to Maister Treasorer, before the Maister of the Rolles, declaring to him, that percase he was of that mynde, I wolde not onlie be content therwith, but also write in his favors, for his advauncement thereunto. His answer was, that he entended no souch thing. Nevertheles, within a few daies after, a letter writen to Agarde from a secrete servante of his owne, which sholde seme was prevaie of his mynde, by chaunce came to my handes, whereby it appered that his entente was not like his wordes. Than, uppon thapprehension of the late Erle of Kildares fyve brethren, the saide Justice and Maister of the Rolles resortyng with theym into Englande, the saide Maister Tresorer ded write, as I understande, in theire commendacions unto your Lordeschip; and nevertheles Agard, Bowes the Busshopes servaunt, and Robert Apowell, put certen bokes to your Lordeschip agaynste theym, the discoarse wherof your Lordeschip knowith. At theire retorne they spake to hym of theis matters, shewing him, that the saide parsons advouched the said bokes to be his deade. He aunswered that they were fals knaves; for the declaracion wherof he ded write to your Lordeschip the contrarie, desiering me to do the same. Nevertheles, afterwarde, Powell confessed to myself, that his maister, Maister Treasorer, willed hym theirto, and gave hym money, partely

partely to his costes, to do the same; and Bowes also confessed that he ded put nothing in his saide boke, but whate the saide Maister Treasorer willed hym. Nevertheles, upon the sight of your letters, at that season directed to me for that purpose, I made a full agrement on every side, so as the olde familiaritie was renewed amonges us, as John Brabason, your servante, than being here, knowith; which contynewed untill the arrivall of Agarde, who, hering therof, saide he trusted to breke it shortely. Than was ther he, Pole, yong Cowley, Cusake, and others, which confetherd togethers, and wolde raile and jeste at theire pleasures, divising how to put men in displeasures; and as for me, yea, openly, dayly at Maister Tresorers borde, I was made theire gesting stocke. Than came over the Busshop, and Body, and they, by thintice-ment of thothers, namyng every man that they bare displeasures unto to be fals knaves, were as quick to geve credite, as the repoartes were light to speke; yet I, supposing Body to incline to indifferencie, intertayned hym, I assure you, for your sake, as if he had bene a greate man, thinking to have made hym prevaie in all thinges. He had not been here 4 daies, but the Busshop made to hym collacion of the benefice of Swordes, wherunto he had no colar of right. The desier to reteyne the saide benefice caused hym to incline hooly to all thoase which, in worde or deade, wolde upholde hym therein; estemyng all others, that wold not doo the semblable, to be his enemyes, without considera-cion. Nevertheles, at my going into Mounster, I toke hym with me, and all the way, in every place, he named hymself the Kinges High Commissioner; not alonlie being contented to have place and preemynence above all the Lordes of the Counsaile, Chauncelar, and other, but also thoole order of the battaile, and all other thinges; wherunto God knowith he was full unmeate, aswell for lack of experience, as for temperance, being oons a day, comonlye, in that case that I was sorie to se it. And pretending souch an auctoritie as he ded, he was as evill accompanyed, as ever ye saw; for he broughte over with him oon Coo and Rising, I think your Lordeschip know them boath; and here he chase to his service Cantie, which is knowne for as naughtie felow as can bee, and one Weste, Dowce, and Chaumberlen, with others, being of litle better disposicion; so as, in my judgement, he colde not a picked the leeke in all tharmie. Comonly every night, and sometymes in the day, Coo and he wold be at fraies, and some other tyme Cantie; and than there was no more but one of theym calling another dronken knave, and sweryng amonges them that he was noo commissioner. Of which his demeanure I was ashamed; and if I, or any other, advised him hereof, he wolde be in high fumes. And amonges other thinges, lieng in the campe at Obreenes bridge, he was not content with his lodging, and indeade vitaile was scante theire, wherat he grudged.

grudged. I desiered hym to be contented, for I had seen better men, than he was, or sholde be, or any that was there, lodged wors. He was displeased therewith, desiering mee not to judge whate his fortune mought be. Then I saide, I was sure he sholde never be so good, as the Dukes of Norfoke, and Suffolke, and my Lorde my brother[1], whom I had seen lodged wors. Wherat he toke a greate fume, for that I sholde judge any impossibilitie whate he mought be; and thereupon leaving us, at our comeng to Lymerick, departed towardes Dublin in a greate angerr. But of his gestes by the way, the folie of it is souch, I wil not committ to writing, but I assure you like no Commissioner. After his departure I went not towardes Dublin, by the space of 16 or 17 daies, but before my commyng, he had defaced the jornay after a light soarte, and, or I came into the countrey, all the borderers were in a schisme and commotion on every side, under pretence that I sholde be discharged of my rome, and departe into Inglande immediatlie, and that was noised thorough thole countree. Whereupon, at my commyng downe, I sente to the borderers for their hostages; whereunto parte of theym sent me aunswer, that seing I was going over the see, they wolde sende me none; but, to prove the countrary, I went myself, and fetched theym, to some of theire paynes. After I had examined the matter, how this brute sholde arrise, it was finally proved, that the same had the originall and begynning by the saide Body, and the Busshop of Dublin, at the Treasorers borde. How, also, the same Body demeaned hymself at Dublin, I wil nat occupie tyme to declare the folies; on my faith, being sory to se it; and at his comming on lande in Wales, besides many other light repoartes made there, he nombred me amonges the traditors. It had not been good for hym, I had harde hym; for he is not lyving, that woll touche me of untruthe to my Maister, despitefullie, but I wolde displease hym, if I mought. Whiles he was in Irelande, he depraved me at his pleasure, and yet, if he wold not have forborne me for my auctoritie, ne blode, he mought have remembred the tokens I gave hym, which were worth £20, besides the entertaynement I shewed hym.

Leving hym, I shall semblablie partelie declare the unkindenes, which Maister Treasorer hath shewed me, omitting to speke of thinges that touche the Kinges revennues, traditors goodes, and souch other thinges, touching his paymentes and reconynges; for I think, upon the view of his accompte, your Lordeschip shall perceyve if all thinges be well. Howbeit, at every muster day, there hath lacked dyvers nombers of thole ordinary, so as I am sure the

[1] The Marquis of Dorset.

King

King is charged but accordinglie. For the speking or noating wherof, peradventure, the moste of theise displeasures hath growne. I shall therefore treate of my particular greeves.

Furste, I think he hath not used me with souch favours in myn office, as he hymself uside Sir Willyam Skeffyngton, and others in his rome hath usid other Deputies. Item, he wol not resoarte to me, to gyve me his counsaile, when I sende for hym, but usith me strangely, albeit that I have divers tymes gon to hym, to give occasion to hym to do the lyke to me. Item, he loveth no man that serveth me, or resoarteth to me, but diviseth to theym, by sinister meanes, all the displeasures he can. Item, confessing to me with his awne mouthe, that Agard, Pole, Powell, and souch others, were naughtie fals knaves, notwithstanding they, and all others that wolde raile on me, even at his awne borde, be moste cherished with hym. Item, he receyved of my servauntes, being in wages and retynew with me, into his service, putting his lyverie uppon their back; whome, after he had dyvers tymes promised me to put away, he kepte half a yere, daily going before my face, with their lyveries upon their backes. Item, he saying unto me that he is my frende, his servantes nevertheles wearing his livery, boath here and in Inglande, deprave me moste shamefullie and untrewlie; and all others, which doth the liek, be moste favored with hym, and by his frendes in your howse furthered, and my servantes, at theire thither commyng, hyndered and put abacke, boath I and they being reputed as enemies to hym; which greavith me not a little. Which procedinges causith me to think, that the same growith by his prevaie meane, and occulte handeling, wherby elles as I suppose souch lies, as been repoarted agaynste me, shuld not be taken for trouthes, as they be, neither the thankes of my service drowned, or your Lordeschipes favors towardes me in any wise impaiered, I deserving, I am sure, the contrarie. And, my Lorde, this, together with his strangenes towardes me, and the hinderance of all thoase that love me, or serve me, hath ben the greef of my harte principallie agaynst hym. Wherfore, my good Lorde, fearing hitherto, that ye wolde have thoughte unkyndenes in me to complayne to you of any your servantes, hath ben the cause I wold not discloase the premisses, or any other thing unto you, to their hinderance; but now, considering that, at your commandement, I have discloased my mynde, and have remitted hym and all the residue of my displeasures, being fully at poynte with the saide Maister Treasorer, I beseche your good Lordschip to pardon us boath, and for theise, or any other displeasures, that hath insurged betwext us, I shall likewise beseche your good Lordschip, that none other, for our occasions, shall have displeasure.

And, my Lorde, concernyng the Chief Justice and Maister of the Rolles,

yf I hated theym as my mortall ennemies, I assure you I coulde not, saying trulie, say otherwise by theym, but to my knowleg they be honest men, having don the King high service, for the which I love theym. And as to the grudge Maister Treasorer bare the Maister of the Rolles, which now is remitted on every side, upon my faieth and honestie, Maister Treasorer ded hym wronge, as far as ever I coulde perceyve.

Therfore, my Lorde, for the corroboracion of our reconsiliacion, sende us all your loving letters by the nexte, to joyne ons more in our olde love and conformitie; and I trust ye shall never heare more of theis matters, so as ye boath repell souch seditius knaves, that will bring tales thither, and commaunde the saide Maister Tresorer to conforme hymself accordinglie, as others shall do to hym. And thus I pray God to send your Lordeschip as well to fare, as my awne hart in my body. From Kilmaynan, the 24th day of November.

Assuridly yours,

(*Signed*) Pour Leonard Gray.

CLVIII. Lord Thomas Fitzgerald *to* Rothe.[1]

Jħs.

My trusty servant, I hartely commend me unto you. I pray you that you woll delyver thys othyr letter unto Obryen. I have sent to hym for £20 starlyng, the which yff he take you (as I trust he woll), than I woll that you com over, and bryng ytt onto my Lord Crumwell, that I may so have ytt. I never had eny mony, syns I cam in to pryson, but a nobull, nor I have had nothyr

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[1] Holograph. From Bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, which also contains the inclosed letter to O'Brien:

"Jhesus.

"My specyall and welbelovyd frynd, I hartely commend me onto you. And I beseke and pray "you to delyver and send me by thys berer, my trusty servant, John Rothe, 20£ sterlyng, upon "the plate that you have in custody of myn. And in so doyng you shall show me very gret "kyndnes and plesure, for I have now very gret nede. Also I beseke you, that you do not breke "nor square with the Deputye, but rather agre wythe hym. And also I beseke you to helpe and "ayed hym in the Kyngys besynes, yf he have nede; and so shall you do the Kynges Grace "plesure, the which you may be sewer Hys Grace woll bothe remembur and reward, and in so "doyng you shall also bynd me to do for you eny thyng, that shall ly in my power.

"By your lovyng frynd,

"Thoms Fytz Gerald."

(*Superscribed*)

"To my trusty and welbelovyd frynd, Obryen."

hosyn,

hosyn, dublet, nor shoys, nor shyrt, but on; nor eny othyr garment, but a syngyll fryse gowne, for a velve furryd wythe bowge, and so I have gone wolward, and barefote, and barelegyd, dyverse tymes (whan ytt hath not ben very warme); and so I shuld have don styll, and now, but that pore prysoners, of ther gentylnes, hathe sumtyme gevyn me old hosyn, and shoys, and old shyrtes. This I wryt onto you, not as complaynyng on my fryndes, but for to show you the trewthe of my grete nede, that yow shuld be the more dylygent in goyng onto Obryen, and in bryngyng me the before sayd 20 £, wherby I myght the soner have here mony to by me clothys, and also for to amend my sclender comyns and fare, and for other necessaryes. I woll yow take owte of that you bryng me, for your costes and labur. I pray you have me commendyd onto all my lovers and frendes, and show them that I am in gude helthe.

By me, Thomas Fytz Gerald.

(*Superscribed*)
To my trusty and welbelovyd servant,
John Rothe.

CLIX. King Henry VIII. *to* The House of Commons in Ireland.

Trusty and welbiloved, We grete you well. Lating you wit, that forasmuche as We have been advertised, that whereas a certen motion was made unto you, in the last session of our Hiegh Courte of Parliament there, for a benevolence to be graunted unto Us by you, our subgiettes, of our lay fee, within that our lande of Irlande, you made a certen argument and stey therin; albeit We doubt not but you doo all consider what importable charges We have been at lately for your defences, and that you wold, of your selfes, thoughe noon instance were made unto you for the same, devise aswel how presently to gratifie Us with some recompence, as to condescende to such an augmentation of our revenues there, as might be hable to defend you from the violence of all traitours and rebells, and to preserve you in good peax, civilitie, and quietnes. Yet to thintent you shuld not only knowe, that it shalbe moche to our contentation, yf you shal lovingly growe to some resolute point in the graunt of the said benevolence, and that We shall take your proceding therin most thankfully, and as a perfite argument and demonstration of your entier love and due obedience towardes Us, but also that We desire not this matier for any notable gayn that We coveyte shuld thereof ensue to our self, but for that We have suche a zeale to reduce that our lande to a perfite conformitie, that

We wold have some convenient furniture of yerely revenues there, as reasonne is, for the conducing and mayntenaunce of the same, We have thought convenient, by these our letters, only to desire you in this matier soo to procede with Us, as We may have cause to thinke you have the stomakes of faithfull subgiettes towardes Us, your Prince and Soveraign Lorde, and like cause, with our favour and princely governaunce towardes you, to requite the same.

To the Commen House of the Parliament
in Irlande.

CLX. Gray *to* Crumwell.

After moost hartie and humble commendations to your good Lordeship. It may plese you to be advertised, that synes the writinge of my other letters, James Fitz John, pretended Erle of Desmonde, upon suche advertismentes, as I have dyvers tymes yeven him, booth by my letters and mediate frindes, he is yet contented, lykewise as he was at my being in thois parties, to conforme himself to the Kinges Graces pleasor. According wherunto, he hath sent me, of late, certayn articles of his promyse and covenauntes; the copie aswell wherof, as of my aunswer to the same, I send herin enclosed to your good Lordship.[1] And as farr as ever I culde perceyve, the stay, that kepith him from inclynyng

1 "Be it knowen unto you, and every of you, the Kinges high officers of His Graces cities and "townes of Mounster, as Lymeryke, Corke, Yoghall, Kynsale, and Kyllmallok, that I, James, "under God and the King, Erle of Dessemond, am willing and content to make restitucion and "satisfaccion unto you, or to any of you, that can prove befor the right noble Lord Leonerd Gray, "the Kinges Deputie of Ireland, and the Kinges noble Counsaile of the same, of any goodes or "catelles by me taken wrongfully from you, or any of you, syns the tyme that it pleased God that "I have been Erle of Dessemond forseid. In witnes of the premisses, I, the seid Lord James, Erle "of Dessemond, hathe putt herunto my signet, the 7th day of December, the 28th yer of the reign "of our Souverain Lord, King Henry the Eight.

"These ar the profers that my Lord of Dessemond dothe profre for to accomplische him "self to, unto the Kinges pleasur, and his noble Deputie of Ireland.

"Furste, he profreth to be hole and true unto the Kinges Highe Majestie, and for to do him "true service, as any man shall do within Ireland, being of the byrthe of the same land.

"Also he profreth farther, to be at all tymes redy for to go, upon his owne costes and charges, "to any hosting, at the Lord Deputies calling, to do the Kinges true service therin.

"Also he profreth to make restitucion unto all the Kinges subjectes of all goodes and catelles, as "can be lawfully proved that he hath wrongfully taken from any of theym.

"Also he profreth to make restitucion of all that can be proved that he hathe of the Kinges "goodes, landes, or catalles.

"Also

inclynyng to the Kinges Graces pleasor, is the feare and doubt, which he, and all the Geraldynes in Mounster, have in the Lorde James Butler, booth for tholde malice, that hath been betwixt ther bloodes; and principally for that he claymeth title, by his wif, to thErldome of Desmonde, and possessions of the same,

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" Also he profreth to do right unto James Fitz Mores chaleng unto the Erledome of Dessemond, " so that he shall put in sufficient suerties for to make restitucion unto hym of all his costes and " charges, that he hathe doon in the recoverey of the seid Erledome, and keping of the same, wiche " he did by the commaundement of my Lorde Deputie, and the Erle of Ossery, whose letters he " hathe in his custodie.

" Further he profreth to go, upon his own costes and charges, at my Lord Deputies pleasur and " commaundement, upon any of the Kinges enemyes, with his own company, without any of the " Kinges most noble armye with hym.

" And for the performaunce of the same, he profreth for to put his pledges into the handes of the " Mayer of Lymeryke."

" My Lord, I humbly recommend me unto your Lordship. Ascerteignyng you, that Edmond " Sexton, and your servaunt Henry Hoke, have ben with me, enducing me to enclyne myself to " the Kinges pleasur, and yours. Your Lordship shall perfitly understand, I never did offend the " Kinges Majestie, ner noon of his true subjectes; yet nevertheles I have suffred moche wronge by " your Lordship and your armye, by the entisement of others, wiche ar my mortalle enemyes, in " distroyeng of my cuntrey and castelles: that notwithstanding, I do entend never to do the thing " that shuld displeas my, and am content to applye myself unto his pleasur and yours, if it pleas " you so for to take me, as your servaunt, Henry Hoke, can enforme you of my hole mynd and " intencion therin. Ye may be sure, if ye so take it, I shall bring the King to more of his profytte " in all Mounster, then any King hathe this 300 yeres. Also, I shalbe ever redy to do the Kinges " true service, as any man shall do within Ireland, and to bring your Lordship upon any of the " Kinges enemyes, but as few company as ever Deputie went wythall this hundreth yeres, and " ther as no Deputie was of the Kinges this 300 yeres. And for the performance of the same, I am " content to put in my pledges into the handes of the Mayer of Lymeryke; so that you shall, " according unto your promes, get me the Kinges moste honorable pardon, under his Seal Royall, " furth of England. And that ones doon, if I ever offend the King, or his Deputie, I shall " immediately after forsake the Erledome of Dessemond, and put myself into the Kinges Graces " pleasur, and his lawes. Thus Jhesu preserve your Lordship in good helthe, with moche honor. " From my Manor of Loghgyr, under my signet, the 17th day of Decembre.

" By the King and yours true and faithfull subjecte,

" James Erle of Dessemond."

" By the Kinges Deputie.

" Right trusty and welbiloved, we grete you well. And have receyved your letters by our " servaunt, Henry Hoke, for whois gentle enterteignement and good cher we hertely thanke you; " noting therin grete kindenes on your behalf; desyryng you to perswade yourself and judge in us, " that in your lawfull, juste, and resonable pursuytes and causes, we be, and wylbe, as favorable " unto you, and no les desyrous of your weale, then any man this daye lyvyng. And before we shall " entre to the particularites of your letters, and the paper of your articles, sent unto us by our " seid servaunt, we advise you to remembre that truthe and honestie excellith all rychesse and " other worldely thinges; and on thother side, if ye wolbe accompted for a noble man, befor all " thinges decree and determyn with yourself, that truthe passith all thinges, and is the fondacion " of nobilitie. And again loke ye, never write, ne promysse, that thing with your mouthe, but

" that

same, which causeth him, as he playnlie affirmeth, to feare to submyt himself to thorder of the Kinges lawes, les, by the favors of thother, he and his bloode shalbe put from their inheritaunce, which they have possessed, as he saith, from the Conquest; into parte wherof the said Lord Butler, as he saith, hath entered alredy, and the same kepith, combyneng with Obrene, and his sonne, and other Irishmen, to fortifie him to expell thaim from the residew, if they mought. Albeit he saith, he is contented to habide thorder of the Kinges Deputie and Counsaill betwixt James Fitz Morice and him, and all other his kynsmen, upon his clayme; and the truth of it cannot be brought to passe, onles the Kinges

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" that ye woll performe it in deade, effectually. Therfor, or ye make promysse, be well advised; " but when ye have promysed, for nothing breke it. Remembre eftsones of what reputacion, " honor and fame your antecessors wer, when they wer obedient unto the King, our Soverain " Lord; and synes they digressed from ther obedience, and duetie of allegiaunce, consydre the " decaye of all Mounster to be suche, that now thErle of Dessemond hymself is not of that honor, " ne ryches, knowledge, neither other qualities and condicions appropriat to nobilitie, that the " worste of 500 ther inhabitaunt then wer knowen to bee; so as now what miserie, penurie, warr, " sedition, discencion, robrye, and murdre restith amonge you, ye knowe yourself best; so as in " respect of an honest mans lyff, the best of you all, by no naturalle ne cyvyle reason, can say, that " he lyveth like a Cristen man, or a reasonable creature, but having, as it wer, a shadowe of a " mans lyff, passing the tyme bruetely, be yet ever in feare, wiche your noble antecessors did not. " Now consydre, that if ye judged us, and all lyvyng creatures in this world, to be your enemyes, " and yet setting befor your eyes, aswell the actes and lyves of your antecessors, with the welthe of " your cuntrey, when they were obedient and noble in deade, as the state and condicion that ye " and your cuntrey hathe ben in synes, and been at this season, we thynke the experience therof " were a sufficient lesson and inducement unto you, to move you to folowe the steppes of your " noble auncetors, and so consequently to obey your Prince according the commaundement of " God, and as it is mete for every subjecte to doo. And thus, as we have frendly writen unto you, " we desyr you frendely to accepte the same; prayeng God that ye may folowe it with no les " good mynd, then we be desyrus that ye shuld do well.

" As to the particularities of your letters and promises of fidelitie, we, for our part, intend to " deale so plainly and truly with you, as by thexample therof we truste you, and all others in those " parties, shall have courage to do that thing, that shall apperteigne to your dueties.

" For the performaunce of thois articles, wiche ye sent unto us by our seid servaunt at this " season, and suche others as Edmond Sexton, then Mayor of Lymeryke, the Justice Elmer, the " Maister of the Rolles, the Maister of Any, and Patrike Gowll of Kylmahallok commoned and " concluded with you, at our being at Lymeryke, we be contented to receyve the same pledges, " then named, to be delivered into the seid Mayors handes.

" And concernyng thobteignyng of your pardon, ye shalbe well assured that we wolbe peticioner " and mediator for the same to the Kinges Majestie, to the uttermoste of our power; so as, if we " obteigne not the same unto you, betwixt this and the first day of Maye next commyng, your " pledges shall remayn no lenger, but be delivered to you agayne, without your own agrement " otherwise. Also, excepte James Fitz Morice fynd suerties according your demaunde, we assent " that your pledges shall not be reteyned for any his demaundes. And thus assenting to your " owne requestes, we hertely desyr you to conforme your self, for your own welthe, as shall apper- " teigne, wherof we shalbe no les glad, then he that is your hertie frend. Thus commytting you " to God; who send you grace to do as well, as we wold wysshe to our selfes. Wryten from the " Kinges Manor of Maynouthe, the 28 day of Decembre."

Grace

Grace culde finde the meane to have Mownster subdued hollie to his subjection. Yt wer farr better, for the tyme, to have an Erle of Desmonde ther, being obedient to His Grace, than otherwise; which shal not oonly, for the season, be a stay upon Irishmen, but also be a meane, that thErle of Ossorie and his sonne shall the les aspyre. What shalbe the Kinges Graces pleasor and yours herein (having respect to the said James peticions, and my promises therupon to him by my said letters), I beseche your Lordship that I may be advertised.

May it plese your Lordship firder to be advertised, that the Kinges Graces Parliament was assembled here eftsones, according the last prorogation, in Octabis Hillarij; unto the which ther hath been dyvers billes preferred for the comen weale of this lande, and profit to the Kinge. The Comens, nevertheles, be so astonyed with open and manyfeste reporte and brute of the retorne immediatly of Thomas Fitz Gerolde, and his uncles, and the Spiritualtie hath taken such an audacite, as it shuld seame, of the ruffle which hath been ther, as they litell regarde to passe anny thinge. Wherfore I, and the Counsaill here, have thought good to prorooge the same unto the furst day of May; by which tyme we trust to have knowlege from your Lordship, how all thinges shall procede. Assuring your good Lordeship that here is motche service loste for lack of money, for the saulders ar so pore for default of ther wages, that whensoever I goo in anny journey, I cane have scant with me 40 persons, besides myn awne retynue; and for service to be done here, in this lande, in my judgement it wer better to have 500 men, well furnisshed, and paid monithlie, than to have 1000 evill paid, as sometymes they been here 7 or 8 monithes behinde unpaid; which hath caused thaim to rune into mutynye, and commyt robrye and stelthe, till nowe of late I, with the Counsaill, have taken an order for redresse of thois enormytes.[1]

Furder it may please your Lordship to be advertised, that synes Michilmas ther hath taken me a deseas in one of my legges, that after I ride a journey, I may not sometyme stande, goo, ne ride, for payne of the same; which, with the slowe payment of the saulders, lettith me in doynge of suche service to the Kinges Majestie, as my pore harte wolde desire, which is no litell grief to me. Thus knowith God, who have your Lordship in his governaunce, and sende you encrease of honor. Written from Dublin, the 4th day of February.

Your Lordships awne assuridlye,

(*Signed*) POUR LEONARD GRAY.

(*Superscribed*)
To my singuler good Lord,
the Lord Pryve Seale.

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[1] The State Paper Office contains a contemporary letter from Gray to the King, corresponding with that in the text, except that it wants the last sentence of this paragraph.

CLXI. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.

MAY it please Your mooste excellent Highnes to be advertised, that where, before the Feaste of the Nativitie of Our Lorde, we were admonyshed by the letters of the Lorde Crumwell, Keper of your Privay Seale, on Your Highnes behalf, to advertise Your Majestie of our full and hole conclusion, whate honorable or profectable interprise we shulde thinke mete to be advaunced this yere, for the reformacion of this your lande, to thintente that Your Graces armie, being here, shulde not vaynelie consume both the tyme and your treasure, but that they, with a more nomber, according the purpose to be devised, mought goo forth maynelie for the achiving of the same; whereuppon, at that season not being all togethers, parte of us not entending resolutelie to make an answer therein, untill our comon assemblie at this Parliament, ded write aswell unto Your Highnes, as to the saide Lorde Crumwell, that as we thought no interprise mought be so honorable, neither more profectable for Your Highnes, than the reducing of Leynster to your obedience: according whereunto, assembling now togethers, and deliberately debating therupon, we have fynally condesended and agreed in one hole opynion and conclusion, that, like as dyvers tymes heretofore we advertised Your Majestie, and your moste honorable Counsaile, experience, with reasons inevitable, leding us to the same, how Your Highnes, ne your posteritie, cannat be assured of this lande without new consumpcion of tresar ever within a few yeres, onles ye reduce Leynster to your obedience; the moste principall and frutefull enterprise thereof to be attempted is the reformacion of the same, especiallie of those parties, wherein M^c^Morgho and his kynsmen, with the Byrnes and Tolles, do enhabite, bytwene your cities of Dublin and Waterford; as in a boke, which for that purpose being now by us divised, we have sent to Your Grace, and your mooste honorable Counsaile, by the Lorde Thesaurer of this your lande, who now repaireth to Your Highnes, more playnelie shall appere. Mooste humblie beseching Your Majestie, that having aswell respecte therunto, as dyvers other our letters, and especiallie one, which we sent to Your Highnes in June laste paste, wherein also the divises of this interprise ben largelie towched, to pardon us in our rudenes, accepting our erneste good willes, that we bere to thaccomplishing of the same; which thing undoubtedlie, as farr as we can judge, being perfected according our desiers, may be noated for the moste noble acte that any Prince did here this three hunderith yeres, thobtayning of the doble the like wherof, any where within this lande, cannot be comparable to this for your profecte and suertie; and yet may the

the same be don with les charge and difficultie, than so moche may anywhere elles. That knowith God, to whome we dayly pray for the preservacion of your most Roigall Estate, victoriously longe to endure. From your Citie of Dublin, the 10th day of February.[1]

Your Highnes moost humble Subjectes,

(*Signed*) POUR LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) JOHN Lord of TRYMLETESTON, Yor Graces Chũncelor.
(*Signed*) Your humbyll Chaplayn, GEORGE DUBLINS̃.
(*Signed*) P. OSS̃.
(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOMAS LUTRELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN, Mr. of the Rolles.

CLXII. A MEMORIALL, or a NOTE for the wynnyng of LEYNSTER, too be presented too the KYNGES MAJESTIE and His Graces most honorable COUNSAYLE.

BECAWSE this countrie, called Leynster, and the situation therof, is unknowen too the Kyng and his Counsayle, it is to be understonde that Leynster is the fifte parte of Ireland, conteining from Dublin to Waterforde, by the sea coste directlye agaynst Northwales and Southwales.

In this porcion is ther fyve Inglish shires, as the countie of Dublin, Kyldare, Waxforde, Kilkenny, and Carlagh; betwexte which shires, that is to say that parte of them wich is obedient to the Kyng, and the seas side, ther is a greate entire porcion, of thirtie miles and mor, wich, longe after the Conqweste, was parcell of the saide shires, under the governance of Inglishmen, and obedient to the Kinges most noble progenitors, unto thErle Marshalles heires generall, being maried in Inglande, havyng the counties of Kilkenny, Waxforde, Kyldare, and Lex, being thineritaunce of the saide Erle, divided

[1] A counterpart of this letter was written on the same day to Crume, and remains in the State Paper Office.

amonges theim, after wose deathe thei, continuyng in Inglande with theire husbandes, havyng litle respecte to their saide possessions here, committed the governaunce and defence therof unto Irishmen of the wilde Irishe nacion, who ever sithens, from tyme to tyme, usurped uppon the same, wherin now Mc Morgho, and his kynsemen called the Cavenauges, Obyrne and his septe, and the Tholes, ben enhabited, wich, joyned togethers, may make 300 horsemen, no better ne hardier, after the maner of this countrie, within this lande, and aboute 6 or 700 kerne.

These men have the best and most entir parte of Leynster, as hit is situate, by reason of the fertilitie of the grounde, and the adjoyning of the sea costes to the same. Thei be also so entire to githers in one angle, that thei may make, in effecte, as many horsemen as ben within the Kynges porcyon of the saide fyve shires. Considering the discomodites and perpetuall hurtes, wich bi theis people ensue to the Kinges Majestie, and his subjectes, and the perfecte suertie, commoditie, and quiete, that shulde folow by subduyng and wynnyng of theis parties, we think that it can not be denyed, though the King shulde never have pennye of it in revennues, but it is the most profectable acte, that can be don within this lande.

Firste, thiese parties of Leynster ben nexte too the socor of the domynion of Inglande. In theise parties alsoo, and the countie of Mithe adjoynyng to the same, the Kyng hathe the most of his revennues, and at this day (the more pitie) non in effecte leviable elliswhere. In theis parties the Kyng hath the most obedience of all the lande, and in maner no where elles. In theise parties the Kyngis lawes be ministred, and in maner no wher elles. In theise parties the King hathe moste strengthe, wherunto he may truste, and in all the residwe of the lande but litle. Soo as thobedience, strengthe, and profect wich he hath, consisteth in theis parties.

And contrary wyse, in our opynions, the cheef soare bile and hinderance of his obedience, strengthe, and profecte, and the occasions of the consumpcion of his treasure, restith in theis parties; for comonlye, this many yeres, souch rebellions and insurreccions, as hath ben moved in this lande, hath begon in theis quarters of Leynster. Wherof the Geraldines hath ben either actors or abbettors for the mor parte, and hath ben cheflye mayntayned by theise men, too the pacifieng wherof the Kyng, and his moste noble father, with other theire moste noble progenitors, have exhausted right large treasur. Theis men, divided in to parties and bandes betwixt the Butlers and the Geraldines, where the chef occasionars and mayntayners of ther dissensions and divisions. Also, when so ever the Kynges Deputie and subjectes intended to ponishe any rebell, or procede in any jorney for the defence of the border, theis men, combynding ever

ever with the Kynges adversaries, moved war behinde, wherbie thei have and daylie be constrayned to recule.

In this place it mought be saide, that the governors of this lande have ben very remisse, or had litle pollicie, to suffer theis men after this soarte, but raither shulde have omitted all other exploites, and onlie attended to the exile, destruction, and subduyng of the saide place and inhabitantes. The answer is this; thatt if the Deputie had gon therabout, Onelie, Ochonnor, and other Irishmen, perceyving theis men to be in subdwyng, wich before tyme in theire necessites, and for their releave, had infested our partie, ded make insurrection on thother side; wherbi the Deputie, and the Kynges subjectes oonlie, without havyng an armye her, wer nott able to subdue thone partie, and resiste thother, at ones. And ferther, to expresse a greatter cause to the contrarie, theis saide Irishemen, and their saide septes in the saide porcyon, beyng devided betwixte the Butlers and Geraldines, the moste of theym wer under tribute too thErles of Kyldar, and parte of them to the Butlers, wich hath ben the most occasion of the preservyng of theym; and also, asfarr as coulde be perceived, the Geraldines preserved the most of them for skurges too the Kynges subjectes, at souch tyme as thei wolde be in displeasur, for the refraynyng of their appetites, and for other causes; knowyng well that, if those parteis had ben refourmed, thei sholde not have borne the rule, ne enyoied the advauntage thei had.

Theis men, also, be the lett thatt the Kynges subjectes of the said fyve shires cannot resoarte to gethers, thone to helpe thother. Theis men exiled the ministracion of the Kinges lawes out of Carlagh, situate in the middes of Leynster. Theis men hath ben, and be, the greate lett and occasion of the disobedience of Mounster, and all thInglish shires above the ryver of Barrow; for that the Kynges judges and officers cannot resoarte in too those parteis to ministre justice amonges them, neither the Kynges subjectes of those parties may resoarte hither, for daunger of theis men, thorough a parte of whose dominion thei must nedes passe. Thiese men be a sanctuarie for offenders, as when any of the Kinges subjectes commit murdors and robberies, with theim thei be receyved and mayntayned. Theise men have the Kynges landes, tenantes, and subjectes under tribute, so as the lande being brought to the ruyne and state it is att, we thinke that theis men, being inhabited in soch a gall of the countrie as thei be, been soche a stay, lett, and disturbance to the King and his people, that, onles thei be subdued utterlie, His Grace shall never be in securitie of this lande, for that ever, within a fewe yeres, he and his posteritie shalbe evermore dryven too consumpcion of treasure for the defence of the same.

Wherfor we conclude, that if His Grace entende to have this lande broght agayne to any Inglish ordre, or be in securite of the same, that, of necessite, he muste profoundelie subdue to his obedience the saide porcion of Leynster; wich soo effectually obtayned, we dare be bolde to affirme that His Graces Deputie, with his awne subjectes, shalbe able to defende his dominion att the leste without disturbyng of his treasur of Ingland, and by the doing therof the difficultie or facilitie shalbe noated to do lyke thinges. Too the perfeccion of this enterprise it is to be remembred, after what wise the same may be executed, wherunto principally is it too be noted, aswell whate capitens, what nomber of men, whate inhabitantes shalbe necessarie, as by whate wayes and meanes the same shall procede, accordyng the purpos, maner, and diversite wherof, the number of charges muste be considred. Ther be divers wayes and meanes to wynne this angle, and every of theym feisible ynough.

Too constrayne theym to obedience and tribute, this armie, beyng monethlie paide of their wages, the lake wherof hitherto hath been an high hynderaunce to the Kynges causes, and yett in the ende the Kynges charges therbie nothing alleviated, with the aide of the Kynges subjectes, be able ynough.

Nevertheles the same being brought so to purpose, we esteme no securite therin, for in theire constance and fidelite is so lytle assurance, that longer than thei shalbe kept in subjeccion by strengthe and force, thei will kepe neither promes, ne bande, if thei may espie oportunitie to disgresse from the same. Wherfor to ensue that way with theis men, being inhabited in that place where most trust of securite were to be planted, we thinke it nat good. For wich purpoase, consideryng that this place, in respecte of the situacion therof, and for the causes before expressid, is the foundacion of suertie to the Kyng and his subjectes, our opinion and conclusion is, and our advise shalbe to the Kyng, Oure Soveraigne Lorde, that if he entende to bestow any treasur for any feate to be don within this lande, to applie it uppon the wynnyng of the saide porcion of Leynster hoolie to his obedience; never permittyng any of them, wich be in it now, of name or reputacion, to enyoie any thing there.

For the achiveng wherof one way is, wich is most sure, havyng inhabitauntes to put theire, to exile theym, wherby all thole countrie shalbe made vacante and waste, wich we thinke wilbe don in one yer by the noumber furnished, that herafter shalbe described.

But than the same so being wasted, and thei exiled, as no doubt thei may be, yet, onles it be inhabited immediatly, many of theim will retorne agayne, and

and be wors then thei were before, wherfor, without inhabitacion, the coste were but vaynely consumed.

And on thother side, considering that thinhabitacion of this quarter will require tenne or twelve thousande men, and les peradventure so many of souch sorte, as to this purpace were necessarie, wold not be spared to be had out of Inglande; but if thei shuld be light felowes, as many of theis sauldiers here be, wich were more lyke to distroy annother countrie, thatt had somwhate alredie, than to inhabite that, where nothing shuld be; we thinke, in our opinion, that there is a more meane way both for the wynnyng of this countrie and thinhabitacion of it, wich shalbe as sure as thother.

Theire be many Irishmen in Inglande. Lett 3 or 4000 of theym, at the leaste, wich be of honeste substaunce, be sent hither to inhabite the countrie aforsaide, in fourme foloing.

In Wikelow is a strong castell of the Kynges, alreydy. Let that towne be walled, and a certen of the companie be assigned to enhabite there.

Arkelow is within 12 myles therof, and there is a good castell. Lett that towne be walled, and a certein of the companie assigned thither to inhabite.

Then Fernes, wich is within 12 myles therto, beyng situate in the middes of the saide countrie; let som be assigned to inhabite ther, wher is both a greate castell of the Kynges, the Cathedrall Church, an abbay, and a towne.

Within foure myles therunto is theire a place called Innyscorthi, wherunto comith an arme of the sea from the haven of Waxforde. Let a castell, with a towne, be buylded there, and another certein of the saide parsons to inhabite there. Their is a place of Friers Observauntes, well buylded with divers olde stone walles.

Lett an other soarte of theim be assigned to the town of Roosse, wich hathe been and is a goodly haven town, being yett well walled, and in maner desolate of inhabitauntes.

Att the bridge of Leighlen were a good place to buylde a towne, and have inhabitacion. Ther is also a howse of Friers, wich well helpe well to the purpose.

Annother soarte of them to be assigned to Carlaugh, being walled alredy.

Another company of theim to Casteldermot, being walled alreidye.

Also there muste be elected certein gentilmen of Inglande, younger brethern of good discresion, wich have litle or nothing too dispende theire, to thintent that thei shall truste to nothing elliswhere, but to souch landes as the Kyng shall appoynte therin here, and every of them to chose such men to com with theim, as will tarie and inhabite with theim.

Lett

Lett one of theim have Pourescorte, Fasagh Roo, Rathdowne, and all Fercullen[1], to him and his heires males.

Another to have, to him and his heires males, Newcastell McKenegan[2], 14 myles from Dublin, with certein monei to reedifie the same, and a baronie of lande theirto next adjoynyng.

Annother to have Castellkeven[3], and the Ferture[4], to him and his heires, with a certein monei to reedifie the same; except the Archbishop of Dublin, to whom the same appartayneth, woll buylde, reedifie, and inhabite the same.

Annother to be made Lorde of Wikelow, and he to have a barony therunto, with all the landes betwext that and Arkelow; reserved to the Kyng the propertie of the castell, the making of the counstable, the custome of the haven, and the fee ferme of the towne.

Annother to be made Lorde of Arkelow, with Innykynshelan[5], and other landes therto adjoining, to the qwantitie of too baronies reserved to the Kyng there, and in all other partes and crikes on the sea syde lykewise as in Wikelow.

Annother to have Omorghois countrie, to him and his heires males.

Annother to have Innyscorthi, with a barony therto adjoynyng, and certein money for the buyldyng of the same.

Annother to have Olde Roosse, with the Fasagh Bentry.

Annother to have the Abbay of Dusque, with a barony next therto adjoynyng.

Annother, Woodstocke, with the barony of Reban.

Annother the maner of Rathangan, with the barony of Ofayly.

Every of thiese muste have a certein of horsemen and fotemen, wich must continew in wages for 2 or 3 yeres. And every of the saide gentilmen muste devide such landes, as shalbe alloted unto theym, to their souldiers in fre holdes. Amonges wich capitaynes, we commende William Sayntlow to be one, who, for his knowledge of those parties, we thinke shalbe very meate to have parcell of the premisses assigned to him, wich we thinke, for his parte, he will soneste obteine. And such other under capitaynes as be here, havyng thexperience of those quarters, should be mor mete than straungers. There must be one hedde capitayne, wich shall have the governaunce, guidyng, and leding of all others. He must be an active, experte, and a grave personage, of the degre of an Erle, to be created by the name of thErle of Carlaugh and Lorde of Fernes; and he to have the same honors, to hym and his heires males, with the manors of Carlaugh and Fernes, the barony of Odrone, thabbay of Bal-

[1] A district in the county of Wicklow, in which Powerscourt, &c. were situate.
[2] Newcastle, on the coast of Wicklow.
[3] See p. 2.
[4] In Wicklow, westward of Newcastle.
[5] In the southern part of Wicklow.

kynglas,

kynglas, the lordship of Rathvillie, Clonmore, and all James Fitz Geraldes landes in those borders, and all the landes betwene that and Fernes, and so to Omorghos countrie, as shalbe appoynted by souch, as shalbe assigned by the Kyng to make division to the saide capitains of all the saide porcions. And every of the saide gentilmen, capitens, and others, to whom the saide possessions shalbe geven, to holde the same by knyghtes service; yelding also yerlie rentes to the Kynge, as shalbe thoght good by those whome the Kyng shall auctorise to assigne the same unto them.

Which Erle, with all the saide capitaynes, and their servauntes, albeit that thei shalbe able to expell the heddes gentilmen and men of warr, yett by theim selves onelie thei shall nott be sufficient to inhabite the same. Folowyng therfor thexperience of the furste conqueste, thei may contynue as many of the comen people there, as to theim shall be seen requisite; for their be no better earth tillers, ne more obedient, than thei be, soo as thei be never suffred to use feates of warres, as commonlye thei use nott. Also their be divers seconde brethern, and gentilmen of thInglish bloode in theise parties, seing this enterprise to go forthwarde, will gladlie take landes ther to inhabite. And by this meane, as we thynke, with most spede and securitie togethers, the saide parties may be wonne, inhabited, and subdued for ever; wich were the most noble and beneficiall acte, that was don theis 300 yeres.

Too the perfecting of this acte, it is to be knowen what nomber of men shalbe requisite. We thinke 2000 men; that is to say, a thowsande and sixe hundrith Inglishmen, of whome their must be divers masons, carpentaries, and other artificers; and wages in money for 400 men to be bestowed uppon the waging of horsemen and kerne of this lande, whois aydes shalbe greatlye necessarie to the achivement of this interprise, to serche bogges, woodes, and marisses, wherunto Inglishmen be not so mete as thei. Of this nomber the saide Erle and capitaynes to have 600 Inglishmen, that is to say, 300 horsemen and 300 fotemen, with the said Irishmen; wich nomber shalbe able ynough of them selves to achive the saide interprise, wherin thei muste travayle continually, without medling with any other exploite. And les other Irishmen, perceiving the same, wolde combynde and joyne togethers, and com to the lett of this purpase, as no doubt divers of them will, if thei may, the Deputie therfor must have the residwe of tharmie, with thassistens of thole countrie of the Kinges dominion, to make roodes upon the borderers, for takyng of their pledges, and repressing, or at the lest resisting of theim, if thei shulde attempte to the lett of thintended purpose.

It is also to be remembred, that this armie must be vitelid with bere, biskett, flowre, butter, chease, and fleshe, out of Chestre, Lirpole, Northwales, and

and Sowthwales, and Bristow, wich must be conveide to Wiklow, Arcklow, Waxforde, and Rosse. For, when so ever this armye shall set into this countrie, either shall their adversaries distroy all the vitells, or elles, percase thei shold not soo do, if the armie shall take the corne and beastes of the countrie, thei shall destroy ther owne inhabitacion, and make all waste, and nevertheles finallie be constrayned to leve the countre in defaulte of vitelles. The Kynges Majestie cannat looke to have any great revennues by this acte, att the furst, but oonlie havyng respect to thobedience, inhabitacion, and subjeccion of the place, being situate on that wise, as he and his posteritie therbi shall have one intire porcion of this lande next adjoyning to Inglande to their obediaunce, after souch sorte, as, God not disposing the contrarie, he shalbe able, with his awne subjectes, without disbursing of treasur out of Ingland, to defende his domynion; nothing doubting, but if Is Grace knew this thing as we do, he wolde, befor all interprises in the worlde, studie the perfeccion of the same.

And taking example of the furst conqwest of this lande, the Second Henry, called Henry Fitz Empres, commyng hither out of Normandie to the conquest therof, gave to souch as came with hym, and their heires, in effect all the substaunce of the lande, and mad of theim som lordes, other knyghtes; and thei likewise divided the most parte of the same in to free holdes to souch as com with theym, wherbi thei inhabited the lande, His Highnes keping with himself, besides reservacions of rentes and services, and customes of havens and poartes, litle or nothing. In so moch as in all Leynster he kept but one baronye or hundred, called the baronie of the New Castell, sex miles from Dublin, and yet ded he make free holders in all tholl lordshipp of the said New Castell, upon reservacion of rentes and services, wich, by theym so being inhabited, hath ben by theym so kepte and defended unto this day; and we cannot see that the Kyng hath in all Irlande, in possession of thinheritaunce of the Crowne, but the saide lordship of the New Castell onlie. And further long after the conqweste, it doth natt appere bi the Kynges recordes, that the Kyng had any greate possessions of landes in his awne handes, and yet were his revenues greate; wich nevertheles ded grow to a great som by the execucion of his lawes. Therfor, befor he seke revennues, he must have obedience; wich had, he cannot lake revennues.

The nobilitie of those Inglishemen, wich came in at the conqwest, is much to be extolled and noted, wich being to souch an interprise but a few in nomber, how valiauntly and circumspectlye ded thei procede? and agayne, after what soarte thei made fortresses, and inhabited as thei went? what travayle, what paynes, what diligence usid thei therin? Thei sought neither for delicate fare, neither desired thei to lye in walled townes, uppon soft beddes,

beddes, but pursued their enemies, untill thei had banyshed theym: for, if thei had don the contrarie, as souldiers do now a dayes, thei had neiver achived ther purpas. Albeitt, it is to be thoght that the desier of wynnyng landes to ther posteritie chainged payn unto pleasur, and yet can hit not be perceived that the Kyng gave them wages, or, if he ded, of likelihode it was litle.

Iff this litle befor mencioned interprise, being so commodius for the said purposes, and the key and the beginnyng of the subjeccion of the lande, be nat feisable, than all the residue is in no maner feisible. If we cannot wyn this, let us never covet to thole; if we be not able to inhabit this, we be moche lees able to inhabite tholl; if the charges of this acte be nat portible, we be farr unable too furnishe tholl. Let us take example of the poure Scottes of the out Isles, being but naked men, wich havyng neither wages of any men, neither socour, ne helpe within the lande, have not oonlie of late conqueste, in the north parties of this lande, as great a porcion in maner as this is, but also have buyldid ther both great garisons, and in maner made subjecte all thIrishmen borderyng to theim. But before this armie, to be appoynted to this interprise, enter into this lande, their capitaynes must have straite charge that non of their men be suffred to haunte Dublin, ne Waterford; for, if thei do, thei shall be the lesse meate to serve this purpase; but that every of theym, upon payne of death, continew in the place wher he shalbe appoynted.

It is also to be understond, that thre thinges may be the let or hinderaunce of this interprise; the insurreccion of Irishmen, defaulte of vitailes, and lak of money. Therfor, as touching vitelles, parte must com with theim, and parte after theym, as much as will serve theym for oone hole yere. Also we thinke best, that when the saide armye be sent hither, oone hole yeres wages be sent with theym. For, if thei shulde want money, thei must nedes leve their interprise, and gett theym to Dublin or Waterforde, wher thei moght be trusted for their vitelles, untill monei com; and semblable the Deputies armye shuld be constrayned to retire from the borders, wherbye all their interprise sholde be lost on that wise, as itt had ben better that it had never ben begon. Therfor our advise shalbe raither not to begin it, than, after it is begonne, for lake of money it shuld be lefte. For we have to well lerned thexperience therof alredie, bi this armie, wich, of too evilles, mought rather be unpayde, then thothers, what hinderaunce have ensued to the Kynges affaires for lake of payment of theym; suerlie asmoche as doble ther wages amountith unto. For, if thei hade ben paid monethlie of their wages, peradventur moche of this interprise had ben well attempted alredie, with other thinges that ben beyonde thexpectacion of divers. When the yron was hoot, we laked an instrument to strike. After Thomas Fitz Geralde, and his uncles, wer apprehended, all

Irishmen, bi thexample of their subduyng, wer in soch fear and discorage, that we mought, in maner, have don what we wolde. Than, lackyng so longe money for the payment of our armie, in so moch that parte of theim wer a 11 monethes onpaid, as we could attempte no notable enterprise, wherby they toke new corage agayn, soo as at no tyme thiese 14 or 15 monethes tharmie was holie paide; what an interprise was lost in Mounster in default of money? Agayne we have had Ochonnor at such an advauntage this yer, as he hath not ben seen att; in somich that if we had continued in our prosecucion agaynst him, he had ben exiled; and now, in one of the best tymes for the destruccion of Irishemen, that is to say, to put theym from sowing of their otes, we must make peax with him. Likewise we soo prosecuted the Tholes, even this ded wynter season, as if the same, as if thei had ben folowed too monethes lenger, thei had been exiled; yet now, in default of money, we must dissemble a peas with theym. Thus in default of money, wich ever at last is and muste be paide, all good service and interprises ben omitted, and yet the Kyng nothing the lesse charged, and for his charges hath litle recompence, only bi the reason of the dilay of payment. Wherfor, in discharge of our duties, we thinke it moche better, that the Kynge provide a competent defence for the lande, than to kepe an armie at his charge to ly still vaynlie in default of payment of ther wages, consumyng tyme and treasure. The grief wherof enforceth us, in discharge of our duties, too declare this thing playnlie.

And to thintent the Kynges Majestie may know by others, aswell as by us, the certentie of the procedinges of his affayres, and for that the most parte of us be poure meane parsons to have the moderacion of souch a weighti affaire, as hertofore is devised to be sett forthe, neither be nat of abilitie to mayntayn our selves to attende theruppon, we think itt very necessarie, that His Majestie, at the season of the advauncing of his armie, sende hither some sage and grave parsons, aswell to be capitayns, as to gyve their attendaunce, assistence, and councell therunto.

Thus havyng divised this memoriall for the setting forth of the wynnyng of the easte parte of Leynster, wich bi no man, havyng knowledge therof, can be denyed to be the most benificiall interprise of so moche that is to be don in this lande, for the Kynges honor, profecte, weale, and securitie of his subjectes; we most humble beseche His Majestie, and his most honorable Counsaile, that havyng respecte to owr good willes, too pardon us of our rudenes therin, if we, being for the more parte meane pour men, of litle experience, have erred in fourme, or omitted, for lacke of knoledge, a better way for the achiving therof than hertofor is expressed, sumytting the same to the pleasur and ordre of His Grace, as to his high wisdom shalbe seene requisite. Most hartelie beseching

beseching God to put in His Graces mynde, by theis divises, or som better, to refourme and subdue Leynster too thobedience of his lawes. Which don, we truste he shall have revennues and men, sufficient to defende this lande from hensforthe, without disbursing his treasur out of Inglande, and yet to have a yerlie commoditie from hens.

CLXIII. Gray *to* Crumwell.[1]

Pleasith it your good Lordship to be advertised, that like as it shall apere unto you by the Counsailes letters, and myne, of our consultation upon the Kinges pleasure, for the setting furth of some notable enterprice this somer; so accordingly we have conceyved a boke of our opinions therin, wiche is agreed to bee sent to the Kinges Majestie, and his Counsaile, by the Lord Butler; who, neither his father, ne any other Irisheman, if myne, the Thesaurers, and the Master of the Rolles advises had been herde and folowed, shuld never have been made pryvay, for a season, therto, neither have harde the secretes of the matter so largely opened, as it hath been amonge us. And to be plaine to you, we be of that opinion, that what so ever they sey, to please the audience for the tyme, they wold not have the devise take effecte; their libertie and advauntage been so contrary therto. Wherfore, in your consultations with hym upon this matter, after my folische opinion, it shalbe good ye debate the mater on that wise, that thoughe ye shall not conclude to ensue the perfection of this devise as yet, it may apere unto him, that neither policie, lacke of treasoure, ne defaulte of inhabitauntes, been the stoppe therof; but that bothe the same, and all other enterprises within this land, been of no difficultie to the Kinges Majestie to be atteyned. For this thing being brought to effecte, they may knowe ondoubtedly, that the Kinges lawes shall have suche a stroke in ther quarters, as the same shall bridle and refourme ther libertie and extortion. Nevertheles, no doubte, if he and his fader wold put ther good wylles therto ernestly, they mought doo grete furtheraunce to the same; for they cannot denye, but if thErle of Kyldare and they, joynctely, wold agreed to the doing therof, the thing had been redressed long or now. This I have writen unto your Lordship of myne owne mynd, for your instruction before his repayre; desiring you to accept the same accordingly. And besides that, peradventure, bicause he shall not be there nothing so sone

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle G.

as this messenger, for the boke, at the making herof, was not ingrossed, and to thentent that perchaunce, in the meane tyme, ye shall have better oportunitie to devise therupon, then after, I have send you by this berer the copy of the same boke, as it was devised upon our conclusions; wiche I thinke, the Counsaile and I, having diverse tymes debated therupon, sins the devising therof, shall not moche be altered, as concerning the materiall pointes of the purpose. And thus God send your good Lordship aswel to do, as I wold do my self. Writen at Dublin, the 10th daye of Februarye.

Assuredly yours,

(*Signed*) Pour Leonard Gray.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and my very good Lord,
my Lord Pryve Seale.

CLXIV. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* Crumwell.[1]

Our humble dueties remembred; we commend us moost hartely unto your good Lordeship. And albeit upon soche commendation as we, by our other letters, made unto your Lordeship, of the good service of Sir Edward Basnet, Prebendarye of the Metropolitan Church of Saynt Patrickes nigh Dublin, to thintent that booth in respect therof, and remuneration of the same, yt mought have pleased your Lordship, at our humble intercession, aswell to make reporte to the Kinges Majestie of his good acquittaill in that behalf, as to move His Grace booth to write his moost gratius letters to the Deane of the said Churche, being aged and impotent, and he not habill to defende the revennews of the same, lyeng in the marches, to move him to resigne it the rather for the preferment of the said Sir Edwarde, a man mete and actyve for that intent, and defence also of the countre; and semblablye to the Chapter, exhorting them, upon soche resignation made, to elect soche a persone as we shulde name unto thaym, without expressing or makinge mention of the said Sir Edwarde in the same letters, les the Chapiter, being in maner all natyve of this lande, and before hande admonished that our intent wer to have an Inglishman preferred therunto, wolde so consulte to gethers, as the same shuld take no effect: it pleased your good Lordeship, therupon, for the advauncement of the same Sir Edwarde, to direct your gentile letters, aswell to the said Deane, movyng him to resigne in the favours, and for the preferment

[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 405.

of

of the said persone, as to the Chapiter, desyring thaym to gyve ther good willes and assentes to thelection of him; yet to the perfection of which your desire, although we have doon utterly our best, by all meanes and persuations we culde use therunto, nevertheles we can in no wise persuade, ne induce the said Deane. Which his wilfulnes, as far as we can perceyve, procedith by the counsaill of dyverse of the Chapiter aforesaid, being of this landes byrthe; notwithstanding that, before tyme, dyverse seasons he hath been desireus to the said resignation, for the preferment of some of theym, which, in that tyme, he wulde mooste thadvauncement therunto; as to one Doctour Traverse, approved afterwarde an arraunt traditour. And he himself, being of litel better disposition, wuld now resigne, yf he might have one preferred to the same, of this countre, nation, and birthe. Wherfore we shall eftsones beseche your good Lordship, that, lyke as yet hath pleased you hitherto, at our mediations, to be good lorde to the same Sir Edwarde, so to contynue and persevere in your goodnes towardes him, as yt may please your Lordeship eftsones to gyve your furder ayde and helpe to the perfection of our petition, for his preferment to the said dignitie; your devises and requestis wherin, and in all other thinges, we shall, from tyme to tyme, do utterly our bestis to accomplishe; beseching your Lordeship to have respect to the said Deanes obstinacye; ayenst whom, for his misdemeanour in this behalf, yt may please your Lordship to have remembraunce accordingly.[1] And thus humblie desiring your Lordeship to pardone our boldnes, we beseche Almighty God to graunt you longe and prousperuslie to endure, with encrease of moche honour. From Dublin the 11th day of February.

Your awne moost assuridlye,

(*Signed*) POUR LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) Your Orat^{r} GEORGE DUBLIN$\tilde{S}$.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P^{r}. of KYLLMAYN$\tilde{A}$.
(*Signed*) WILL$\tilde{M}$ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) Yo^{r} moost bounden Orato^{r}
JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable, and our espetiall good Lorde,
Lorde Crumwell Lorde Privie Seall.

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[1] Geoffrey Fyche, Dean of St. Patrick's, died on the 8th of April 1537, and Edward Basnet was elected to succeed him. But Crumwell's good offices were not gratuitous; for Brabazon, in writing to the Lord Privy Seal, on the 24th of April 1537, respecting the remittance of money to Ireland, after desiring his Lordship to retain money to pay a debt due from Brabazon to Body, adds: "and to deteyn further lx^{li}. sterlyng, for your Lordshippes good will in the preferment of your "bedeman, Sir Edward Basnet, to the rowme of the Dean of Seynt Patryckes here."

CLXV. KING HENRY VIII. *to* THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND.[1]

RIGHT trusty and right welbiloved Cousins, and trusty and right welbiloved, We grete you well. And have receyved your sundry letters, declaring aswell the state of that our lande of Irlande, at the writing of the same, as your sundry opinions, discourses, and devises touching the advauncement of the publique weall thereof, and the contynuaunce and encrease of our force there; and semblably We have, by our Counsail, harde at lenght all the credence concerning those matiers, committed to our trusty and welbiloved servaunt, Patryke Barnewell, whome you dispeched hither unto Us, for our more perfite informacion in all the pointes of the same, and in all other thinges touching the state of those parties, and the wealth of our subgiettes there. For the whiche, as We give unto you our right harty thankes, soo for answer you shall understande, that albeit We have determined spedily to sende thither a personage of reputacion, whom We specially trust, both to see the perfite extent of our revenues there, to way, and consider with you, our charges growing upon the same, and aswell to receyve due and perfite informacion touching all thinges concerning the state of our said lande, as in the same to declare our full minde and pleasure, and likewise in all suche matiers as have been writen by you unto Us, or as by the relacion of our said servaunt, Patryk Barnewell, We have perceyved. Yet considering that certen pointes, whiche shalbe hereafter declared, require more spedy answer, thenne to remayn in the state they be nowe, till the cumming of him, whom We shall soo sende thither, We have thought good, in the meane seasonne, to signifie our minde touching the same, in suche forme as ensueth.

And first, We shall beginne at our revenues, and declare our opinion unto you concerning that point, and the usage of your selfes in the vayn consumption of them. We doubt not but you doo remember, how moch money we have consumed, sithens thapprehencion of Thomas Fitz Gerald[2]; We doubt not, again, but ye consider howe litle honor or profict We have receyved by the same. Our revenues (as summe of you write) be worth 7000 marckes by the yere, besides our first fructes, tenthe, and such other thinges as We be entitled

[1] The date of this despatch (the draft of which is throughout corrected by Crumwell's hand) is shewn, by the answer from Ireland, to have been 25th February 1537.

[2] Lord Leonard Gray received, for his expences in carrying over Thomas Fitzgerald to England, and for his reward, £316.

to

to there, whiche is thought will amount to asmuch more, besides all casualties, and thenne will our casualties amount to no small thing, ne that graunt, which We doubt not, but our loving subgettes, bothe of Monster, as the same may be borne, and of other places of the lay fee there, will make unto Us. A greate parte of this you have there yerely amonges you receyved, and therunto We have laide, in maner, an inestimable somme of money for the mayntenaunce of our warres there. And for all this what have We gotten, sithens the first stey of the violence of the late rebellion of the said Thomas Fytzgarald? In wordes you say, We have there nowe greate revenues, and in dede soo We have; but whenne any thinge is there to be paied, We see not what stede the same doo stande Us in, or to what purpose they serve. Good counsailors shuld, before their oune private gaynes, have respecte to their princes honor, and to the publique weale of the cuntrey whereof they have charge. A greate sorte of you (We must be plain) desire nothing ells, but to reign in estimacion, and to flece, from tyme to time, all that you may catche from Us; which nevertheles We write not, for that We could not thinke moche more well bestowed upon every of you thenne you have, if We sawe some frute succede unto Us by your better diligences, for recompencing of the same in our affaires, soo as We might perceyve, that We were disburdened of our excessive and importable charges, and that to your desire of private gaynes, you wold have an eye to joyne our honor, our profitt, and the commen weall of that cuntrey. Wherfor our pleasure is, that aswell you, our Deputie, if you purpose to contynue there in that auctorite under Us, as that all you, the rest of our Counsailors, shall lay your heddes togider, and devise togithers, howe not only our revenues there may be encreaced and augmented, but alsoo that suche direction may be taken touching the same, as they may be conserved, maynteyned, and soo receyved, duely and in a certen order, that they may stande Us in stede for such purposes, as We shall allott the same. And albeit reason wolde require, that both We shuld loke for some present recompence of our greate charges employed for the defence of our good subgiettes there; and that you shuld, of your selfes, thoughe it were never moved unto you, as We have sundry times writen ernestely for that matier, provide for our satisfaccion therin: yet to thentent you shall perceyve, that We doo more desire this augmentacion of our revenue, and thestablishment thereof in a certain order, for thadvaunce-ment of our commen wealth there, thenne for any gain We desire towardes Our self, you shall understande that We be in minde and purpose to kepe and contynue such a nombre of men of warre there, as may be well maynteyned with the revenues growing unto Us in that lande; reserving a convenient porcion to maynteyn the reparacions of our fortresses, and for the edifieng and erection

erection of suche other, as may serve to thexpugnacion of our rebelles. And therfor our plesure is, you shall not only against the cumming of the said personage, whom We shall shortly, as is aforsaid, sende thither, make a perfite extent of all our revenues there, soo as therupon an order may be taken, at his cummyng, what nomber shall contynue, and what entreteignment every man shall have in his degre; but also, that, in the meane seasonne, you shall, with such money as you have, and shall receyve of our sayd revenues there, whiche We woll you shall, with all dexteritie, cause to be levied, dispeche as many of the worst of our sayd retynue, as you shall amonges you thinke mete; which determinacion our pleasor is you shal put in ure with dyligence, according to the greate trust and confidence We have in you.

Seconde[1], our pleasure is, that you, our Vice Treasorer there, William Brabazon, shall, till such time as We shall finally resolve upon all matiers mete to be considered touching that our saide lande, ordeyn and make stewardes, receyvors, and surveyors, of all our landes there, whereof We have not by our letters patentes geven the same before; appointing unto them suche reasonable fees, for the time they shall occupie the same, as you shall thinke convenient; forseing, that you put no man in such rome or place under you, but such as for whose trouthes and sufficiencyes you will answer unto Us.

Thirde, whereas We have, by our special letters, at this time addressed to you, our sayd Vice Treasorer[2], commaunded you from hensforth tapplie your office in the surveying and letting of our landes, the receyving of the revenues growing of the same, and of all other our yssues and profyttes there, and to forbere going in person to our warres; considering nevertheles, uppon the reaporte of suche letters as We have receyved from thens, that it shalbe mete and necessary, that for the surveying of our marche landes you shall have in wages the nombre of 50 men, at all times, tattend upon you, till further ordre shalbe taken; We woll, of that nomber that shall remayn, you shall have only in wages the said nombre of 50 men, as is aforsaid; which 50 men you shall cause at all times, whenne our Deputie shall make any exployte, if you shall not thenne presently occupye them for the purposes of survey aforsaid, tattende upon him, undre suche a capitain as you shal appointe unto them; that they may besides doo us that stede and service, that shall appertein.

Fourth, concerning the fynes of pardons, our pleasure is, that all fynes to be now made upon the general pardon, wherupon We be resolved, shalbe

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[1] This and the four following instructions are founded on the Paper printed before, p. 367.

[2] The draft of the King's separate letter to Sir William Brabazon on this subject remains in the State Paper Office. It gives him hearty thanks for his prowess, and his utility as a soldier.

reserved

reserved holly to our use, and semblably all fynes to be made hereafter in any caces of treason, or misprision of treasonne; and that all fynes to be hereafter made for any murdures and felonyes shalbe equally devided; thone half to Us, thother to you, our Deputie. And whereas, at every conclusion of peax with any Yrishman, uppon a forrey before by him made and committed upon any of our subgiettes, it hath been accustumed, that there shuld be a certein somme of money or kyen assessed uppon him; our pleasure is, that in all such caces, from hensforth, the partie or parties that were spoyled shall first of that fyne have due recompence of his losses, and whenne he is satisfied, thenne the rest to be equally devided betwene Us and you, our Deputie: whiche order we specially charge you all to see duly observed and accomplisshed.

Fyft, our pleasor is, you shall cause a speciall Acte to be made and passed in our Hiegh Corte of Parliament, that all suche personnes as have, or shall have, any offices of Us, in any of our Foure Cortes, may be of such qualities, as shall exercise their said offices in propre personne; and specially, that all suche, as shall have any clerkes rome, may be a man of knowleage, hable to occupie the same. And for the better observacion of our pleasor in this point, we woll that you, our Threasoror, shall pay no fees to any officer of any of our said Cortes, but such as shall use their offices in their propre personnes accordingly.

Syxt, We woll you shall cause an Acte to be made, that no officer, sergeant, or ordynary, shall in his office take any more or larger fees thenne suche as other, having the same offices, have used to take; and, whereas you shall thinke that any of them have taken excessyvely, to moderate the same, in such sorte our subgiettes there may be hable to bere them.

Seventh, you shall understande that it is moch to our marvail, that you have not yet proceded to the suppression of the monasteries, and that you have had no more regarde to our sundry letters writen unto you for thalleviating of our charges there. Yf you, that shulde be thadvauncers of our thinges there, will eyther in open Parliament hindre them, or be soo remisse in thexecution of them, whenne We be ones intitled, that all men may se you procede but for a forme, against your myndes, you doo your partes but yvel towardes Us; and We wold you shuld all thinke that We have such a zeale to thadvauncement of the good of that cuntrey, that like as We propose ernestly to devise for the reformacion thereof, and the reducing of it to a perfite civilitie, soo let every man, whom We there put in trust, be assured, that if We shall find he hath against our expectacion, directly or indirectly, divised or practised the let, hinderance, or impechment of this our purpose for any respecte, wherunto We woll not fayle to have a special eye, We shall soo loke upon him, what degre

soever he be of, for the same, as other shall, by his exemple, beware howe they shal misuse their Prince and Soveraigne Lorde, and transgresse his mast dradd commandment: and, on thother side, We shall soo consider every man after his merities, that shall serve Us well and truly, that others shall have courage therin to folow your steppes and exemple.

And therfor, to conclude, our pleasure is, that from hensforth you shall with diligence redubbe that, whiche by any negligence hath been pretermitted, soo that in effectual deades We may perceyve you lye not still, but that with wisdom, pollicie, and courage, you doo contynually travail to worke our said lande to frame, that our subgiettes there may be reduced into a perfite obedience; that our revenues may be from tyme to time augmented; and that those, that will persever in rebellion, may fele the smarte thereof, to the terror of others being of like condicion.

Al other matiers concernyng pointes of lawe and lernyng, our lerned Counsail here have declared their sentences to our said servaunt, Patrik Barnewell, to whom our pleasure is you shal give firme credence in that behaulf.

CLXVI. The Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your mooste Excellente Highnes to be advertized, that your mooste gracious letters, bering date at Westmynster the 25 day of February laste paste, addressid to your hole Counsail here, were delyvered to me, Your Graces Deputie, the seconde day of this moneth. Wherupon furthwith I directed my letters boath to thErle of Ossorie, and all other your Counsaile, for theire assembly togethers the 6th day of this saide moneth, to consoulte, comen, and debate for thaccomplishment of Your Graces pleasure there mencioned; and we, whose names been herunto subscribed, assembling togethers accordingly, considered, that one of the cheef poyntes conteyned in your saide letters was, that with souch money as were to be had here, which Ye willed us to levey immediatlie, we shulde dispatche as many of your armie as we mought; soo as, untill we see whate money mought be had for that purpose, we thought we colde not resolutelie answer Your Graces letters, to thentente Your Grace mought fully be advertized, whate nomber shulde be dispatched, and how many muste remayne in defaulte of money. Wherupon we agreed to differ our answer to Your Highnes to this tyme, to theynde that, in the meane season,

season, asmouch of your revennues, as mought be receyved, shulde be levied for that purpose ; soo as now, whate hath been don theirin, with our further answer to all poyntes of Your Highnes letters, at this season answerable, shall appere to Your Majestie by this our writing.

As to the furste parte of Your Highnes saide letters, wherin Your Majestie declarith unto us your opynion concerning your revennues, and the usage of our selffes in the vayne consumption of theym ; theirunto we say, under Your Graces pardon, that Your Grace have appoynted particuler officers, which have had onlie the truste and medling with your revennues ; and that we, the residue of your Counsaile, had noo deling therwith, neither the charge theirof, wherby any consumption of theym were to be noated in us.

And to that poynte, where Your Majestie noteth in us a remisnes, that Ye have spente so mouch money sithens thapprehension of Thomas Fitz Geralde, and how litle honor or profecte Ye have received for the same ; theirunto we say, that none of your Counsaile theire, having thexperience of this lande, ne your Counsaile here, judged it meate, immediatlie uppon his apprehension, to discharge any parte of your armie, considering that his uncles and kynsmen, with all the Irishmen, in maner of thole lande, were as than nothing staide ; and yet immediatlie upon his committing to the Tower, fyve hunderith of your armie were discharged out of wages; and afterwarde, uppon thapprehension of his fyve uncles, which was doon by greate policie, farr beyonde the hope and expectacion of all men in theis parties, it was thought that there had been seen no better, ne no like tyme, within the remembrance of any now lyving, to proceade to a ferther reformacion. And over that, at that season Obrene, the pretended Erle of Desmonde, Ochonnor, and dyvers others, being combyned togethers, it was not thought mete, then being the begynnyng of our somer, if Your Grace had ben mynded to a ferther reformacion (as all we trusted), to abate your armie, but raither encreace the same. Nevertheles afterwarde, when we parceived all the somer in maner passing over, and your armie not paide of theire wages, soo as they coulde do no service, but mutined amonges theymselffes, wherby souch mysorders and inconveniences ded grow amonges theym, that, in maner, we had as motche or more troble to stay theym, as we had our adversaries ; we advertized Your Grace, and your Counsaile, dyvers tymes, whate hurtes and hynderance the lacke of money ded in Your Graces affaires, in defaulte wherof the more parte of your armie ded but ly still, vaynelie consumyng your treasure, and ympoverishing the poure inhabitantes of the countrey.

To that Your Highnes dothe write, that (as we write) your revennues be worth seven thowsande marckes by the yere, besides your furste frutes, tenthe, and souch other thinges as Ye be entitled unto, which ys thought will

admounte to asmych more, and then will your casualties amounte to noo small thing, ne that graunte, which Ye doubt not but your loving subjectes of the lay fee will make unto you, boath of Mounster, and other places; truthe it is, that we ded write to Your Grace, that your revennues amounted to seven thowsande marckes by yere, which we ded upon this grounde: Your Highnes ded write unto us to advertise You of thextent of your revennues; wheruppon we called your Under Thesaurer to us, demaunding of hym the knowlege theirof, whoo shewed us, that your revennues, of recorde in your Exchequer, by thattenders, and other grauntes by Parliament, by estimacion sholde mounte to fyve thowsand powndes yerlie, wherof he shewed us he had advertized your Counsaile.

And to the furste frutes, they ben but lately graunted, and few benefices have been voide sithens the graunte, and whate the yereli extente of theym will admounte unto, it cannot be knowne, but after the recepte of theym a yere or twoo.

Concernyng the tenth, there is noo souch graunte made.

As to your casualties, Your Grace knowith they be not certen; for wardes, mariages, relieves, excheates, felons goodes, and souch like, may be som yere les or more, than some other; theirfore that parson of reputacion, of whome Your Highnes, in your saide letters, makith mencion to be sent hither, at his commyng may examyne, by his wisdom, the certentie therof.

As to any graunte, which is made, or like to be made, by your subjectes, of the lay fee, theire is none souch, neither is like to be; for at the being here of Willyam Body, it was demaunded of the Comons, for the augmentacion of your revennues, that they shulde graunte the 20th parte yerelie of all mennes revennues, spirituall and temporall; wherat they of the lay fee sticked; insomych as they sent thither too of the Comen Howse to Your Majestie to declare theire inhabilitie theirein.

And, where it is further comprised in Your Highnes saide letters, wherin it apperith by implicacion that Ye estem your revennues to a very high somm, that a greate parte of the same we have receyved yerly amonges us, and that, in wordes, we say Ye have greate revennues, but when any thing is here to be paide, Your Highnes cannat see in whate steade, or too whate purpose the same doth serve; we doubt nat, but Your Highnes right well knowith, that none of us have the receite of your revennues, but oonlie your Under Tresorer, whoo shewith unto us, that he hath sente to Your Grace, and your Counsaile, by Wylliam Body, a declaracion of his accompte from the tyme of his hither commyng untill a certen day; and from that day hitherto he ys redy to yelde his accompte, wherby boath his charge and discharge shall appere. And though

though thextente of your revennues amountith to the som of fyve thowsande powndes yerlie, a greate parte of that came in but latelie, by the graunte of this Parliament. And ferther, albeit that thextente is fyve thowsande poundes and above yerelie, yet having now examyned the Treasorer and Barones of your Exchequer, how they be paide, they have enfourmed us, that a thowsande pounde therof by the yere is waste, not leviable, ne paide.

For asmoch of your revennues as appartayned to thErle of Kildare, in the countie of Lymerik, Your Grace hath no thing of it, nor shalnat have, untill the pretended Erle of Desmonde be at some poynte; of whose offers I, Your Graces Deputie, have, at severall tymes, advertized Your Highnes, and your Counsaile, to thintente I mought know your pleasure therin, wherof hitherto I have not ben advertized. The promyse was, that by May day he shulde have had his pardon, for hym and his brethern, under your Greate Seale of Inglande. If he shall se no answer made unto hym, he wilbe in more feare and suspition than he was before; especially now uppon the death of thother Geraldynes.[1] Besides this, many parcelles of your manors ben desolate and waste, wherof hitherto your revennues hath not been paide, by reson that Thomas Fitzgeralde, his uncles, and complices, furste soo oppressyd theym; and after tharrivall of your armye for thexpugnacion of the same rebelles, your Deputie and armie brent, robbed, and destroied the inhabitacion of dyvers parcelles of theym, wherbie the tenantes were exiled; and afterwarde your Deputie, by Your Graces advertisement, distrusting to commytt the custodie of dyvers of the marche garrisons to any of this landes birthe, but being in the guarde of dyvers of your armie, whatesoever more, by that occasion, was wasted theire, was litle inhabited. Trusting that there wolbe few wastes after this yere, if Your Grace ensue our devises in too poyntes.

One is, no man in this countrie woll manure and enhabite your, ne any other mans, landes, especiallie to any frewtefull purpose, onles he may have a securitie of contynuance therin, so as, when he hath edified the same, he shalnot be expelled from it.

Annother cause there is, which hath been the cheef cause of the contynuance of theis wastes, and shalbe thoccasion of more wastes, if it be nott remedied immediatlie. The inhabitantes of the countie of Kildare, and other wheres, where the moste of Your Graces landes be, wer moste pryncipall offenders in this rebellion, wherby they be in souch feare (especiallie now sithens thexecucion of the Geraldynes), as they dare not truste to abide in the

[1] Lord Thomas Fitzgerald and his five uncles were executed on the 3d of February 1537.

countrie,

countrie, but wandering aboutes; so as the possessionars there indevour not theymselves to inhabite and manure theire owne landes, fearyng more the los of theire lives, then the decay of their goodes and landes. And therefore out of hande it were good they had theire pardons, as we have dyvers tymes moved or now, for the which they wolde gladlie fyne; which, if it were don, many of your waste landes wolde be taken to ferme at this May.

And to that Your Grace is put in understanding, that your revennues stande You in no steade, when any thing is to be paide, your saide Under Tresorer shewith us, that he hath paide divers notable sommes, of your saide revennues, to your armie here, so as nothing remayneth in his handes, as he saith, but that he is greately indebted by borowing, as Your Graces Commissioner, which Ye shall sende hither, at his commyng may know.[1]

And to that especiall poynte, wherupon, in maner, dependith all the effecte of your saide letters, wherein your pleasure is, that we shulde lay our heddes togethers, to divise not onlie how your revennues here may be encreasid and augmented, but also that souch direccion may be taken touching the same,

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[1] A counterpart of this despatch was on the same day addressed by the Lord Deputy and Council to Lord Crumwell. It remains in the State Paper Office, and differs in nothing material from that above printed, except that, at this point, it contains the following additional passage:

"To that His Grace writeth that good counsailors shulde, before theire owne private gaynes, "have respecte to theire Princes honor, and the publique weale of the countre, and that a greate "soarte of us desier to reigne in estimacion &c.; wolde God, that His Highnes, and all his Cunsaile, "were prevay to our gaynes, and theirto ded know our travaile and paynes, being sory that it was "nat chaunce to a greate soarte of us, that we had don that service in his presence, that we have "don otherwise, in the furtherance of those thinges wherein our necligence is moste noated; or "elles that our travaile and diligence had not ben imploide in any place elles where in His "Highnes affaires out of this lande; howsoever the successe had ben, we doubt not our good willes "had been thankfully accepted. But for theis 200 yeres, and more, such hath ben the miserable "chaunce to this lande, that whensoever the Prynce was beste mynded to the reformacion herof, "having tyme and all thinges never so propice thereto, som chaunce happed, which was the lett "therof; and seldome hath it been seen, that service don here hath been acceptablie taken; so as, "of likelihod, the tyme appoynted by God for the reformacion of this lande is not yet come. And "as to our desier to reigne in estimacion, it is to be thought, that amonge civile people theire can "no name of dignitie, ne honor, be in estimacion, onles therunto be annexed rewle and riches. "Wolde to God His Majestie, and your Lordeschip, ded know our gaynes and riches, which is so "greate that we, of the meane soarte of this Counsaile, being His Graces officers, amonges us all, "we suppose be not worth in money and plate a 1000 £ Irish, which is a small substance for us all, "being in the romes that we be under His Grace. We be no such purchesers of possessions, "buylders, disers, ne carders, neither yet pompeus housholders, wherby we shulde consume our "profectes and gaynes, if we had theym. Wherfore we moste humblie beseche your good Lorde-"schip to be meane to His Grace to accepte us, being poure men, as his trew and faithfull "subjectes."

as

as they may be conserved, mayntayned, and received duelie in a certen order, that they may stonde You in steade for souch purposes as Your Grace shall allott the same; declaryng further that your gracious mynde and purpose is to contynew here as many men of warr as may be well mayntayned with your revennues here, reserving a convenyent porcion to mayntayne the reparacion of your fortresses, and for the edifying and erection of souch others, as may serve to thexpugnacion of your rebelles: begynnyng to aunswer to this article, we muste beseche Your Grace to pardon us, confessyng that it is meate and nedefull, neither were it the parte of trew counsailors and subjectes, to advise Your Majestie to the contrary, that Your Grace shall rewarde men at your pleasure, by rewarding souch as hath don You service with parte of your landes; yet may it please Your Grace to consider boath the valure of theym, before ye graunte theym, and the places where souch landes do lye, whether they be within the cuntrie, where in maner no charge shalbe to defende theym, or in the marche, so as your reservacions may be according; or elles your revennues shalbe soore dymynished therby.

Annother thing is, your landes in the marches muste be inhabited with men of warr, as thErle of Kildare usid theym, or elles the marches shalnot well be defended.

Item, an especiall thing is to be noated for a greate augmentacion of your revennues, that like as Your Grace hath ben heretofore advertized, Your Grace do take an order with thErle of Ossorie, and his sonne, that your revennues may be levied in the 4 shires above Barrow, that is to say the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waxforde, and Waterforde; where, besides all the manors, which apparteyned to thErles of Kildare, and the heiers generall of thErle of Ormonde, and dyvers other thinges within three of the same shires, which in effect be under theire rule, the subsidie, and the furste frutes be granted theire, as well as in theis parties, which if they were levied there, as they be in theis 4 shires, the same wolde greately, and no on thyng more, amende your revennues. Let theym be contented to suffer Your Highnes officers to medle with your revennues, without theire interrupcion; and it shalbe necessary that Your Majestie appoynte officers theire, for the ministracion of justice to your subjectes of the same 4 shires.

Annother thing we have concluded amonges us to be passed in this Parliament, which shall soo augment your revennues, as we can see none other thing shall; that theire shalbe no money currante here, but after the rate of sterling; which now, at the furste, shall encreace your revennues too thowsande marckes by the yere, and above; so as after your officers paide, Your Highnes shall have, for the payment of your Deputie and armye whiche shall remayne, for every

every 13s 4d Ye had before, 20s; where Ye had before but an hunderith marckes, ye shall have an hunderith poundes; for every thowsande marckes, a thowsande poundes; after which rate your coyne is currante in all places of this lande, excepte in theis parties. Albeit, this order can never be observed here, onles Your Grace appoynte a mynte here immediatlie; the profectes wherof wilbe somwhate to Your Grace.

And concernyng the maner of thappoynting of this garison, and whate men they shalbe, peradventure it shal not be hurtefull, that your Commissioner, which shalbe sent hither, shall partelie ensue our advises therin, which know the lande; for if the sauldiers shulde be after thorder of Caleyes, or souch like places, it wilnat be beste, perchaunce, so here.

And further, where your pleasure is, that we shalnat onelie, agaynste the commyng of the saide parson of reputacion, whome Your Grace will sende hither, as is aforsaide, make a parfecte extente of all your revennues, we shall accomplish the same, God willing; albeit Your Grace may, by the view of theis present letters, consider in maner thextente of theym; but also, in the meane season, with souch money as Your Highnes suppoase to be here alredy, dispatche as many of the worste of tharmye, as we shulde amonges us think meate.

Notwithstanding that Your Highnes, in the laste article of your letters, noateth us of remysnes, that we regarded not your letters writen unto us for the alleviating of your charges, we mooste humblie beseche Your Majestie to pardon us therof; nevertheles, if it may please Your Grace eftsoanes to peruse our letters, which wee sent Your Majestie at souch tyme as your servaunt Patrick Barnewell came thither, we truste Your Highnes shall perceyve, that we have not offended in that poynte, as your letters purpoarte, for at that season, uppon the receite of Your Graces letters for that purpose, your Deputie and Theausorer made a shifte uppon theire credence for 800 £ Irish, wherwith they dispatched out of wages 250 of your armie, and at this season your Theausorer hath dispatched 50 horsmen, having no money, by boroing, ne otherwise, to dispatche any moo, as he saith; for they be so longe unpaide, that in maner the revennues for an yere and half, if they were now to be levied, shuld not suffice to content theym, or their arrerages; soo as all the residue muste remayne, till Your Grace shall fornysh your Tresorer with money to pay theym. Whate tharrerages bee, shall appere to Your Majestie by an extent made by your Tresorer, here incloside. Wherfore we shall beseche Your Grace, that your Tresorer may be fornished with money with celeritie; for the longer they remayne, the more charge shall grow unto Your Highnes. And percase Your Majestie shulde truste to have money of the compositions for the generall pardon,

pardon sufficient to discharge theym, we think it is not beste to Your Grace to truste theirto, onleste ye mought be a loser two waies; one is, that by tarying for the same, whiles it were in cessing and paying, tharmie remayning in wages, Your Grace shall, that way, be nedles charged; annother thing ys, the gentilmen and others of this lande, whych will fynne for their pardons, have not such substance, wherby they shulde be able to make indilate payment of theire fynes in redy money; but he, wich will stick to pay 10 £ in redy money, wolbe better contented to pay 20 £ by daies; so as if, for the dispatche of tharmie, we shulde be driven to make shiftes with theym for redy money, Your Grace sholde loase thone half for thother.

And ferther may it please Your Grace to consider, that when your armie shalbe all dispatched, excepte onely those, which shall tary here to be founde uppon your revennues, your half yeres revennues shalnot be due till the feaste of Saynte Michaell, and the mooste of the same shalnot be paide before the Hillary Tearme; soo as all this somar the garison shall remayne unpaide, by occasion wherof they shalnot be able to doo any service. Wherfore we mooste humblie beseache Your Majestie that they may be entirely paide untill the feast of Saynt Michaell aforsaide.

As to the suppression of certen monasteries, expressed in a commission under your Greate Seale, we shall procede theirunto with souch convenient speade, as shalbe moaste for Your Highnes profecte. So knowith God, to whome we dayly pray for the preservacion of your mooste Regall Estate, longe to endure. From your Citie of Dublin, the 20th day of Aprill.

Your Highnes most humble Subjectes,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) The LORD of TRYMLESTON, Yor Graces Chũncelor.
(*Signed*) GEORGIUS DUBLINS̃.
(*Signed*) EDWARD9 MIDEN̄.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) R. B. of DELVYN.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOMAS LUTRELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) PATRICK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Kinges Majestie, our Most dread Sovereyne Lord.

CLXVII. GRAY, BRABAZON, J. ALEN, AND AYLMER *to* CRUMWELL.

OUR dueties remembred, we commende us moost hertely unto your good Lordship. And considering the truste that the Kinges Majestie, by your meanes, hathe put us in, and that in suche thinges as bee either regrete unto us, or that wer nedefull to have His Grace advertised of, we accompte you our onely refuge to have recorse unto, we have thought good to declare our mynde unto your Lordship in thies thinges ensuyng.

Furst, it is no small greave to us, wiche utterly, as we thinke, to our bestes have travailed in the Kinges affaires, that thus, in thend, His Grace, and you also, shuld write so colde letters unto us, joynyng us in a generalitie amonge all the resydue, and noting us culpable in thois thinges, wherin no defaulte is in us; for we assure your Lordship plainly, thoughe peradventur we cannot be beleved therin, that if the armye had ben paid monethely of ther wages syns ther hither commyng, as they wer not, yt had not coste the King somoche money, as it hath doon. And yet, bothe for the Kinges honor and proufyt in comparyson of the thing that is doon, wich no doubte, all thinges consydred, is farre above thexpectacion that was loked for at the begynnyng, asmoche mor, in maner, mought have been doon. Wherfor we moost humbly beseche your Lordship that our good willes may be accepted.

Secondaryly, my Lord, our advise shalbe unto you, that in thestablishement of this garryson, the mater, undre hope, bicause Thomas Fytz Gerald and his uncles been goon, that all the lande is wonne and stayd, be not so handled, as peradventur the devise shuld not serve the purpose. For no doubte, though there be no mor Thomas Fytz Geraldes, neither we truste never noon shalbe like hym agayn, yet ther be ynoughe that wyll do naught, if they may get oportunytie therto. Neither do we speke this, to that intent that the King shuld bee the mor charged, but that divises shulde procede not so precisely, but as they may be folowed; for, peradventur, when thinges be forced by the Kinges expressed commaundement, men dare not speke directely against theym, thoughe they perceyve the consequence not to bee all sure. Neither, under hope that your garryson woll defend all, lette not thinhabitauntes of the cuntrey, upon the devises of thois wiche knowe not the state ne condicion of it, be otherwise strayned to straunge impositions (as it is bruted) then reason may perswade theym, and yet retayne ther hertes and service; for the garryson, without there aides, shalbe nothing able to defend the cuntrey.

Thyrdely, in maner all the temporall lordes of these 4 shyres, whois faders and antecessors wer not onely wise men, bothe to geve frutefull counsaile in the

the Kinges affayres, but also wer active gentlemen, having good companye of men of warre to attend upon them, who in tyme past bothe defended the marches in ther quarters, and assisted the Deputie elleswher, as nede shuld requyre; now within thes few yeres the contrary hath place.

There be in the marches of Meth three lordes of oon nacion, called the Plunkettes, that is to sey, the Lord of Dunsany, the Lord of Kyllyen, and the Lord of Rathmor. They be neither men of wisedome to geve counsaile, ne yet men of activitie; and having the same possessions that ther faders had, they kepe in maner no men for the defence of the marches, but suffre the same to be oppressed, overynne, and wasted by Irishemen, wherby the Kinges proufyttes and strenght dayly dismynyssheth there.

The Lord of the Dengen, wythin the same shyre, is aftre the same sort.

The Baron of Slane passyth them not moche in witte, but he kepith men of warre for the defence of his bordre.

The Vycounte Gormanston, in the same shire, is a man of fayr possessions, and but of a meane witte and les activitie, keping in maner no men, neither making defence for the cuntrey.

The Lord of Trymlettiston is a wise man to geve counsaile, but he kepith no company.

The Lord Roche, in Uriell, hath a good witte, and hathe ben an active man, but now he is aged and kepith no men; so as his landes and garrysons in Oneyles frontures been decayed and waste.

The Lord of Howthe, in the countie of Dublin, is another wiche neither hathe witte ne company of men.

This oon thing is a highe decaye to the Kinges strenght, wiche is growen now within these fewe yeres. For the remedye wherof, lett it be divised ther by the King and his Counsaile, that the seid lordes, and suche other possessioners, shall kepe men of warre aftre the rate of ther landes, and dwelle in the marches upon ther marche landes; and wiche of the seid lordes, that is not mete to have the leading of his bordre, for lacke of activitie and knowledge, the Kinges Counsaile to chose an active man of the same lordes nacion, and the seid lord to geve him out of his landes an annuyte of 40 £ by the yere towerdes his mayntenaunce. And forasmoche as the seid lordes, and others wiche muste sue ther pardons, have good landes within the hert of the cuntrey, farre from the bordre, which nedith litle defence if the bordre be kept, it shalbe good for the King to geve them some of his marche landes in exchaunge for the other, wiche wolbe a grete commoditie for the King.

Agayn thArchbusshop of Dublin, and others of the Spiritualtie, have dyvers temporall possessions, wiche ben situate in suche place as they

wer mete for the King, His Grace may make exchaunge wyth them for the spiritualties of thies abbaies, wiche shall come to him; wiche were best for His Grace, for the tythes wolbe better paid to them, than they shalbe to the King, and wyth les grudge amonge the people.

And albeit no doubte that we thinke thErle of Osserey and his son be true men to the King, and in this tyme of rebellion did His Grace highe service, yet no doubte it shalbe good that they have not so large a scope, but they may knowe theym selfes subjectes. They growe very stronge by bandes of Irisshemen; the like wherof in other noble men here, in tymes past, hath so elevate ther myndes, that they have forgotten ther dueties of allegiaunce. Wherfor we thinke it good that the King have an eye therto, providing a bridle for them; for which purpose, amonge other thinges, his son commyng thider at this season, it shalbe good that the Kinges Majestie, both by hym self and his Counsaile, rendre highe thankes to hym and his fader for his service, and to reward theym in forme hereaftre to be mencioned; and then to be playn with hym, how his father, he, and ther servauntes, shall order them selfes, both touching the poyntes of ther allegiaunce, and otherwise. Furste, that they shall delyver to the Kinges officers His Graces manors of Carlagh, Kylca, and Castledormont, and all other the Kinges landes, wiche they have on thissyde the bridge of Leighlen, together with the same bridge; for we muste be plain, if they have those possessions, they woll have the rule and obedience of thois quarters, and not the King. Semblably, that they medle not wyth the Kynges landes in the Fasagh Bentey, and Olde Rosse, wiche Richard Butler nowe holdith. Neither yet the King graunte them any governaunce in the countie of Waxford, nor that they medle there; as in deade they do not yet. A like order to be taken with theym for the countie of Waterforde, for by reason that they have Dungarvan, the profittes of that countie comyth to theym, and not to the King. Item, that suche manors as the Kinge hathe in the counties of Kylkenne and Typperary, His Graces officers may have the onely intromedling wyth theym, so as the King may be answered by the profettes. Item, that His Graces revenues may be levied there; as, the first fructes, subsydye, wardes, and such like thinges. And where we thinke, as, good reason is, the Kinges Majestie woll reward them for ther service, supposing that they woll desyre the name of honour of thErledome of Ormond, wyth suche landes as thErle of Wilteshir, and his copartioners, as heyres generall to the seid Erle, had, whiche be now, by resumpcion of the Parliament, in the Kinges handes: as for the name of honor, it is not hurtefull they have it; but as for the landes, our advise is, the King departe not wyth them, but, in the lue therof, geve them thAbbaye of Dusque with thappertenaunces, wiche is determined to

to be suppressed. But we cannot perceyve, as it is situate, that any man here can kepe it for the King, as His Grace shuld have any grete proufitte therof, but onely the seid Erle or his son; and therfor, in the lue of the other thing, wiche is in the Kinges possession alredy, the King may geve them the same, wiche, as they woll handle it, is as good, or better, as ther owne demaunde; for it hathe been oon of the gretiste abbayes of possessions in this land; and if they shuld not thinke them so rewarded, lett them have, wyth that, some other marche abbaye, in the countie of Kylkenne or Tipperary, and by this meane shall they both be well rewarded, and the Kinges inheritaunce nothing dismynysshed. Beseching your honorable Lordship to move the Kinges Majestie of these causes aforeseid, as ye shall thinke beste. And thus the Holy Goste have your honorable Lordship in His blessed governaunce. Writen at Dublin, the 29th day of Aprill.

Assuredly your good Lordships,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃?.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our singuler good Lord,
My Lorde Pryve Seale.

CLXVIII. GRAY AND BRABAZON *to* CRUMWELL.

ALL due recommendacion premised to your Right Honorable good Lordship. This shalbe to advertise the same, that the Wednisday befor Penthecost, being the 16 day of this monethe, the Parliament was proroged untill the 20th day of July next commyng, albeit that the Commons and Lordes made instant petition, that it mought have bene proroged untill Crastino Animarum. But considering bothe thobstinacie of the Spiritualitie used in this cession, and having remembred, if the Kinges Highnes wold send eny Comissioner hither, we thought it good to have the Parliament open at his comyng, to thintent that the wilfulnes of the Spiritualitie being refrayned, thinges for the Kinges honour and profight, and the comon weale of this land, nowe by them denied to be graunted, may then passe accordingly. The frowardnes and obstynacye of the Proctours of the Clergy, from the begynnyng of this Parliament, and at this cession, bothe of them the Bishops and Abbotis, hathe bene soche, that we thinke we can no les do then advertise your Lordship therof. After

thassembly

thassembly of the Parliament, at this cession, some billis were passed the Comon House, and by the Speker delyvered to the Highe House, to be debated there. The spirituall lordes therupon made a generall aunswere, that thei wold not comon, ne debate, upon eny bill, till they knewe whether ther Proctours in the Convocation House had a voice or not. Wherupon, we perceiving that, by this meane, thei sought an occasion to denie all thinges that shuld be presented unto the Upper House, where thei were the moste in number, and at every other cession divers of them either cam not, orels, within thre or 4 days, many of them wold aske license to departe; at this tyme nevertheles appering, and having like licence contynued (of a sett corse) holly togethers, every day, in the Parliament House; I, the Kinges Deputie, called to me all the Kinges lerned Counsaill, to debate withe them aboute ther doubte of ther Proctours; who not oonly shewid unto them thoppinions of the lerned men of Ingland, to gither withe ther awn reasons, that the said Proctours had no voice in the Parliament, but also provid unto them by Parliamentes holden there, that it shuld seme by thentries of the rolles, that ther deniall or assent was not materiall, for that it was writtin undre divers Actes, "Procuratores Cleri non consenserunt", and yet were the same Actes good and effectuell in lawe. So as, in conclusion, thei condescended, that whan the billes were passed the Comon House, the Speker shuld deliver them to the Convocation House; but whether thei aggreid or not aggreid, thei wold nevertheles procede to[1] . Wherunto we condescended, the rather that for thassurance to the King of the landes and p[*ossessions that*] lately apperteyned to the 8 abbaies expressed in [*the commission*] undre the Greate Seale of Ingland[2], whiche by v[*ertue thereof*], according the Kinges pleasure, we have lately supp[*ressed*].

The bill of the 20^{ti} parte of the spiritualitie (whereunto at th[*eir*] cession thei assented) and divers others, being passed the Comen House, and presented by the Speker according the said determinacion, in thende the spirituall lordes in the High House, conspiring to githers, denied to assent to eny of the same; making r[*esolute*] answere, first to the Lorde Chaunceler, and aftir to us, in Parliament, that thei wold not aggre to the passing of [*the said*] Acte. Wherupon, considering ther obstynacy, we thought [*it*] good to proroge the Parliament for this tyme; and again[*st the next*] cession provide a remedie for them. And therfor, my Lord, [*it were*] well doon,

[1] The latter part of this letter is much mutilated. Some of the defects are supplied by conjecture.

[2] No minute, or copy, of this commission having been found, search has been made for it on the Patent Rolls of the 27th, 28th, and 29th of Henry VIII., but without success.

that

that some mean be devised, wherby thei ma[*y be*] broute to remember ther duties bettir. Excepte the me[*ane*] may be found that theis Proctours may be put from voice [*in the*] Parliament, ther shall but feue thinges passe for the Kinges prof[*ight*]. For hitherto, synes this Parliament, have they shewid themsilfes in nothing conformable. We thinke that no reasonable man wold judge them to have soche a preemynence in a Parliament, that though the King, the Lordes, and Comons, assent to an Acte, the Proctours in the Convocation House (though thei were but 7 or 8 in number, as sometyme thei bene here no more) shall stay the same at ther pleasur, be the matter never so good, honeste, and reasonable. But it dothe well appere that [*it is*]a crafty cast, divised betwixt ther masters the Bishoppes, and them. It is good that we have against the next c[*ession*] a declaration from thens, undre the Kinges Great Seale of Ingland, of this question, whether the Proctours h[*ave a voice*] in the Parliament or not? and that every Acte, passed [*without*] ther assentes, is nevertheles good and effectuall.

Concer[*ning the Acte to*] have coyne currant here aftir the rate of sterling, ye [*knowe*] the oppinions of us and others by our other letters. The C[*ommons*] at thes season did stike veray sore to passe it, for feare that having ther Irishe coyne damned, and no mynte here, thei shuld have no coyne amongis them. Wherfor, if it shalbe thought good by the Kinges Majestie, and youe of his moste honorable Counsaill, to have the same devise procede, let us be certified therof at the commyng of the Kinges Comissioners hither.

As for neues, we have none worthie writing [*synes*] the date of our other letters, but the bastarde Geraldyne[*s, by*] th[*e permissi*]on of God, be killing one annother; and Ochonnour, whiche is as ranke a traitour alwey to the King as can be divised, is at werr with us; upon whom we have prepared a jorney, with 14 dais vittails, to merche forthward the Tuysday aftir Trinitie Sonday. And thus beseching your Lordship to dispache the monye hither, as shortely as may be, we pray God to send youe long and prosperous lif, with encreace of moche honour. From Dublin, the 18ten of May.

Assuredly yours,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

Your moost bounden,

(*Signed*) WILLM BRABASON.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Right Honorable and our very good Lorde,
my Lorde Privey Seale.

CLXIX. GRAY AND BRABAZON *to* CRUMWELL.

PLEAS it Your honorable Lordship to be advertised, that abouttes the later end of this last Estir Terme, I, the lordes spirituall and temperall being at the Parliament assembled, amonst other thinges we communed of the ontrouthe of the disloyall and arraunt traitour Oconnour, whos pledges hathe remayned, and yet dothe this twelmonethes and more, in our Soveraigne Lord the Kinges handes, for payment of 800 kyne, and keping pese to the Kinges subjectes, as your Lordship heretofor hathe bene advertised. Whiche Oconnour in no poynt hathe nether kepte faithe, ne promes; for whiche cause a jorney was concluded by the Counsaill upon hym, with 14 days vittails, to be sett forward the Monday next aftir Assencion[1] day last past; and appoynted that I, the Lord Deputie, accompanyed withe M^r. Brabazon, Thesaurer of the Warres, and the Chief Justice of the Kinges Benche, shuld take our way towardes the said Oconnours countrie, throghe West Meth, and so to Maghe Thogans[2] countre, and to com in to the said countre in that way; and that thErle of Osserie, accompanyed withe Omore[3] and McGilpatrik[3], shuld have come into the said Oconnours countre throghe Omores countre, and so we to have mett to gathir in the said Oconnours countre. Aftir whiche conclusion, and every thing furnyshed for that purpose, M^r. Thesaurer and I, withe the Chief Justice, sett forward, till we came to the Kinges manour of Rathwere, where mett with us the Baron of Delvin, the Baron of Slane, the Lord of Killen, with the Plunkettes, withe ther companys, an hundrethe of M^r. Sayntloos men, with 100 kern out of the countie of Wexford, and there we lay that nyght, which was Tuysday. The Wenysday we came to Maghethogans countre, and there lay that nyght. Upon the morowe, whiche was Thursday, we toke the said Maghethogans pledges, and Omulmoys[4], and had them and ther men withe us, and went in to Oconnours countre, and beseged a castell of Oconnours called Brakland, and wan it withe force the same Thursday, and delyvered it to Kair Oconnour; and therin was one, that intised the residue to comforthe, whiche was gossope to the said Kayr, who was pardoned at his request, and in the said castell was 2 or 3 prisoners that Oconnour had, whiche had no hurte, and all the residue had the pardon of Maynothe.[5] A Fryday we sett forward to the castell of the Dengyn, whiche was distaunt from the said castell but fyve mylys, or there abouttes,

[1] This is plainly an error for Trinity Sunday, which happened on the 27th of May 1537. This correction reconciles the dates of all the letters relative to this expedition.

[2] Mc Geoghegan. See p. 5. [3] See p. 2. [4] See p. 5.

[5] That is, were beheaded, as appears from Thomas Alen's letter, mentioned in the note to p. 442.

and

and all mares ground betwixt, so that we most have made the way thither withe fagates and hirdelys; and came within half a myle of the said castell of Dengyn by two of the clok at aftir none the same Fryday, and there incamped the feld. And within 2 or 3 houres aftir, our Englishe men assauted the diges and baon of the said castell, and wan them with force, at whiche assaute there was but 2 Englishe men slayne. And fro that tyme till Monday next aftir, that the grete pese came, our men wached contynually, and kepte within the said baon, aswell by day as by nyght, to thentent we moght the eisier bring and lay our ordynaunce neigh the said castell, without lostes of men, and that the ward shuld not stele away in the mean tyme. The said Kayr Oconnour ded intrete, and make all the means and sute that he coude, that the castell shuld not be over throwen; we gave hym the hiring. A Monday, at nyght, the grete pese came, and two sacres, and upon the morowe, whiche was Tuisday, we laid the pese by thre of the clok in the mornyng, the sacres, and two facons; and by sewen of the clok, aftir batre made, at whiche the grete pese was broken, our Englishmen wan it withe assaute, and slewe eighten in the house, whos hedes were put up for a shewe to Oconnour, and fyve was slayne ronnyng to the wod; and we brake down all the said castell, saving a smale pese therof, wherupon the batre was made, to that entent, that Irishmen moght see to what purpose the keping of ther castels servithe. And upon the morowe, whiche was Wenisday, Richard Butler came to us, with a certein horsmen and fotemen, showing that his father had a sore kne, and moght not com, which was eight days aftir our appoyntment of meting. Assuring your Lordshipp, that it was the strongist holte that ever we saue in Irland. Over and besides, we have born most parte of all the countre, and distroyed moche corne, and hathe cutt many pasys, and hathe cast down many grete diches, whiche he fortified upon passages; so that we put your Lordship out of dout, that Oconnour had never suche cause to knowe the King, our Mastir, as he hathe nowe, sens he was born. And all the whils that we were in the countre, the said Oconnour, nethir his men, never bare up hede; men said he flede into Ocarols countre, and was ther withe Ocarroll, whiche Ocarroll is thErle of Osseries frynd. And we concluded withe Richard Butler, that be cause of his late commyng to us, and our vittails spend, and his vittails onspent, that he shuld have gone upon Ocarroll, to punyshe hym for succoring of the said fals traitour Oconnour, whiche he promysed that he wold have done. More over we have left the said Kayr Oconnour in the said Oconnours countre, who hathe bene an exile of that countre this two yeres till nowe, and hathe done the King good service, and hathe promysed that Oconnour shall never com into that countre during his lif, to abide there. My Lord, this fals knawe Oconnour shuld have bene

punyshed long or this, if the armye had bene furnyshed withe monye, the lak whereof hathe hindred many interprises, whiche mought have bene done: and, in doing of this, we most have taried till the Kinges revenuz of this last Estir Terme came in; and so M^r. Tresaurer did furnyshe us forthe withe som monye, or els this had not bene done. Wherfor, good my Lord, for the lowe of God, helpe us with monye, as sone as ye convenyently may, and withe bowys and arrous, and suche other necessaries as here lakethe, wherof the Master of the Ordynaunce here will advertise your Lordship. And thus the Holie Goste preserve your good Lordship, withe asmoche honour, as your gentill hert can desire. Writtin at Dublin, the 11th day of June.[1]

Yours assuredly,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our verie good,
my Lord Privie Seale.

CLXX. THE COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* CRUMWELL.

OUR dueties remembred as apperteineth. We commende us moste hartely unto your good Lordship, advertising the same, that at this season assembling togethers to consulte upon the Kingis affaires, among other thingis we have thought it convenient, that lieke as it is our charge, having, under His Majestie, the moderation and governaunce of a common weale, to ponishe and suppresse malefactours, so we accompt it our duetie to declare and advaunce the good acquitall and faithfull procedinges of others: wherby the actours therof may be so accepted for the same, as they may be encoraged to persevere therin; and others, by thexample therof, induced to the semblable. According wherunto, we have diverse tymes advertised His Majestie, and your good Lordship, of the hardy acquitall, and diligent demeanor, of His Gracis Deputie, in His Highnes service; which hathe been soche, as we never see any here, in that rome, of more forwardnes and activite than he is. And yet his procedingis heretofor, in our judgementes, been not more worthie praise, than oon thing which he hath doon now of late, wherewith ondoubtidlie the Kingis subjectes here been

[1] The next day Thomas Alen wrote to Lord Crumwell an account of this expedition, which is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 607. leaf 20. He states, that they entered OConor's country on the west side, betwixt OMoloy, Mc Goghagan, and OMalaghlin's countries. He calls Brakland Castle Braghnoll, and says that the Irish name "Dengin" means in English "the castle of most assurance," the same being so sure of itself, and so strongly situated.

highlie

highlie comforted. And the thing of it self is so notable, that in the sight of any man, which hathe the knowlege of this lande, the lieke forsomoche, if the thing be foloid, was not doon here theis many yeres. Upon the continuall wilfulnes of Ochonor, who ondoubtidly hathe been the most ranke and seditius traitour against the Kingis Grace, of all others that we have knowen, either Irish or Inglishe, the said Lord Deputie prepared a jornay upon him, wherin the same Lorde Deputie, accompanied with the Lord of Delven, the Thesorer of the Warres, the Chief Justice, and soche others of the Counsaile as were assigned for that purpoos, merchid towardis his countrie the Tuisday after Trinitie Soneday. And first the said Deputie invaded, by the conducte and guydeng of the Lord of Delven, the countries of Omulmoy, Macgoghegan, and Omulaghlyne, next adjoineng to his countrie, which were his adherentes, and most strength; wherby he constrayned them not oonlie to forsake him, but also aide our parte against him. That doon, the said Lord Deputie proceded to thinvasion of the said Ochonor, and that on the forthest parte from us of the said Ochonors countrie, where no Inglish host hathe been knowen to enter, thorough the conducte of the said Baron. And after he had taken certen piles in the frontures and passages of his border, he besieged his new castell, called the Dengen, which being builded in a grete maresse, by reason wherof, and grete diches and waters aboute the same, was of soche strength, as we have not hitherto seen the lieke in this lande. Ther was within the castell aboute 40 persons, the most of them gunners: nevertheles, by grete provision and labour of men, a way was so made, that by night a batry peace was conveied so nigh, that she made batry at the castel; and after by assault the same was wonne, and the ward which was in it had the same grace and pardon that soche men deserved; so as a good cumpany of gunners be well dispatched. The castell so obteyned, His Gracis said Deputie, by our hooll assentes, caused the same to be prostrated; for we thought it was not mete for no subjecte to have soche holde in that place. Which doon, the Lorde Deputie, by our assentes, committed the governaunce of the countrie to Cahir Ochonor, which Cahir, taking the Kingis parte against Thomas Fitz Gerald and the said Ochonor, was banished by the same Ochonor, so as ever sithens he hathe terried amonge his subjectes, doing His Grace service. The same Cahir now, by thaide of the Lorde Deputie, and comforte of the Kingis subjectes, kepethe the said Ochonor, being exiled by the Kinges power, clerelie owtt of all his countrey, so as he is utterly banished. Whiche ondoubtidly is not so grete rejoise to the Kingis subjectes, in respecte of ther awne weale, as it is coumforte to us to remember how well His Highnes cause is revenged upon that

most fals disloiall traitour. And having respecte to the good acquitall of the said Lord Deputie therin, we hartelie beseche your honorable Lordship to be meane to the King, our Master, to render him thankes bothe for the same, and other his good doingis, wherby he may be encoraged to persevere in the semblable.

And as towching Ochonours cuntrie, which is called Ofayley, the Kingis Highnes hath been enformed, aswell of the strength and situation of it, as of the grete hurte which groweth to His Gracis subjectes by the same. The same, which was his ennymies strength, mought now be made His Gracis awne strength, yf the thing, so well begonne, were immediately foloid. Ther be two waies to obteyne this countrie, to make it His Gracis strength. Oon is to rewarde this gentilman, which now hath the governaunce therof, with some other convenient thing, and inhabite the same with Inglishmen. And, if His Grace shuld thinke this way to moche chargeable, thother is to make this man denison, and create him Baron of Ofailey, and he to have the same, of His Highnes gifte, after Englishe lawes and enheritaunce. And he, receiving the same of His Gracis gifte, of likeliode wolbe a good subjecte, wherunto he shalbe the raither driven, for that Irishmen afterwarde woll so hate him, as he shall have litle comeforte of them; so as, of force, he must trust to the defence of the Kingis subjectes against them. Conferr the best and the worst together. If he continew true, than the strength of that countrie shalbe the Kingis awne. If he ded otherwise, yet His Gracis ennemie is banished by this meane, and His Grace hathe lost nothing. And thother offending, after he hathe received the same of His Highnes gift, and summitted him self and his countrie to His Gracis lawes, His Highnes shall have a more directe way, in every mannes sight and judgement, to come to the same advauntage that he is now at.

Also of late His Highnes castell of Athlone, which is a grete garrison standing in the middis of this lande, upon a passage betwixt Connagh and theis parties, is obteyned unto His Gracis possession, from the violent usurpation of Irishmen, which have kept the same from His Grace, and his most noble progenitours, theis many yeres.

Maie it plese your Lordshipp further to understonde that, befor this jornay, here was but oon batry peace of ordenaunce, which, at the making of the said batry at Ochonours castell, was broken; wherfor we beseche your Lordship to be meane to the Kingis Highnes, that there may be annother sente hither with spede, orellis His Gracis Deputie can not prevaile against Irishmen which have garrisons.

That

That knoweth God, whom we beseche to sende your good Lordship long and prosperus lif. From Dublin, the 26tie day of June.[1]

Your Lordships awne at commaundement,

(*Signed*) J. LORD of TRYMLETESTON, Chũncelor.
(*Signed*) GEORGIUS DUBLINS'.
(*Signed*) EDWARDUS MIDEÑ.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, Pr of KYLLMAYNÃ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) PATRIK FYNGLAS, Baron.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLMER, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOUTH, Justice.
(*Signed*) THOMAS LUTRELL, Justice.
(*Signed*) JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and our veray good Lord,
my Lord of Privay Seales good Lordship.

CLXXI. ROBERT COWLEY *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

To my Lord and Maister, my Lorde Prive Seale.

ALLTHOUGHE the hole Counsaile of Irlande have sufficiently advertised your Lordshipp both of the state of that lande, with other devises for the comen weale there, wherin it is nedeles for me to buyssy my self; yet I am in noo suche dispaire, but doubte it nothing that my good will and duetie, and for that I am ignoraunt in the advertisement of others, shalbe acceptid, as I shall have cause to gather togidther like matier, as to the cause and matier heraftre shall apperteyne.

[1] In the State Paper Office is a contemporary despatch to the King from the same members of the Irish Council, agreeing almost verbatim with that in the text, except that it omits the two short passages complimentary to Lord Delvin, and uses the phrase, "they at Maynooth had," as applied to the fate of the garrison, instead of "soche men deserved," which occurs above. The date of the letter to the King is also full, "the 26tie day of June, the 29tie yere of your most gracius Raigne;" so that no doubt can exist of its having been written in the year 1537. Yet it has been indorsed, by a clerk of Queen Elizabeth's time, as belonging to the year 1538, which may perhaps account for Cox being misled, and having placed the taking of OConor's castles in the latter year. Both the despatches are in the handwriting of Thomas Alen.

[2] This paper was clearly written in England, at the time when the instructions for the Commissioners to Ireland were in preparation. It is in the writing of Robert Cowley, who may, probably, have been assisted in drawing it up by Patrick Barnewall, the Prime Serjeant of Ireland, at that time in England.

Touching

Touching the auctoritie of the Commissioners, I doubt not is as large as appertayneth; yet the holdes and garisons in the marches, wherof many are nowe desolate in ruyne, and lak inhabitacion, shalbe mete therfor to be departed to suche as are marchers, men of warre, having good retynues, yelding the King convenyent reservacion of anuell rent, and to have estate of inheritaunce therin; for inhabiting and repayring after suche maner, and to be in places of daungier, it shalbe mete for theme to have suche estate.

The Fassaghe Rebane, Wodstock, and other piles in OMores cuntrey, the Fassaghe Bentre, the Fassagh of Rathaingan, Oliver Fitzgeraldes landes, and other landes in Westmyth, wherof parte are in possession of the Irishrie, and the resydue is waste, soo as if the same be not gevyn to suche as may buylde and inhabite the same, having sume habilitie, otherwise, to bere the charges therof, there it wolde remayne waste, and be both agayne succor and refuge to the Irishrie; where as being inhabited strongely, it shulde be the fortification of the Englishrie, increase of the Kinges revenues and obedyencye, impoverisshing and infebling of the Kinges disobeysauntes. There are likewise certain piles, bordering upon OConors cuntrey, whiche were the Erle of Kildares, and Delahides, and are likewise a great defence of the marches of thEnglish pale, and nowe for the more parte waste.

The Butlers, the Baron of Delvyn, and his sons, and William Brymeghame, are moste worthie for their trouth, power and habilitie, of any in that lande, to be put in suche places and marches of daunger.

That certain gentilmen, as Peter Talbot, others of the Walshemen, and others nighe Dublin, be inhablid to dwell and inhabite upon the Tooles, who moste noyeth about Dublin, and the King to be at sume charges to buylde there.

The Comissioners, taking good ordre nowe throughe the English pale, putting in a right trayne, lynkid togidther the hole Englishrie, they shall be hable daily of theme selffes bothe to resist and invade thIrishrie; for thIrishmen were never in suche feare to be clerely exiled, as at this day: forasmoche hart as they have encreasid these hundreth yeres, in that the Kinges Highnes and his progenitors never attayned possessions, neither perfect obediencie of theme; so are they nowe in extreme drede, in that they see that litle armye so well prosper, whiche have not oonly put downe the greatist blude of the Geraldynes, having all their hole inheritaunces, but also nether castell, fortres, ne power of any there can resiste them: wherfor, that discouradge followid, it shalbe more faciller to attayn, then protracting of tyme wherin might ryse more perell.

The Comissioners to take an order that every horsman have but 2 horsses and 2 horsboies, whereas nowe they have 3 at the leest; the charges of these horsses

horsses and horsboies occasioneth oft the horsman to thefte and like offences, to maynteyn theme, and impoverisshith the pore erthe tillers, that fyndith theme horsmeat and mansmeate.

Any Acte of generall pardon to bee lymittid by the Acte, that the Comissioners, and certain others, signyng their billes, shalbe sufficient warraunt to the Great Seale; for by this way the profictes of the Seale shalbe moche, and that also fynes convenyently be made.

That fermes, grauntes, and leasses nowe be made to suche as faithfully hath served the King; and the contrary sect extirped from the benefaicte therof.

This James[1] of Dessmonde in Irlande, who pretendith to be Erle, is the greatist of power, and best beloved there, of ony that hath bene these many yeres. Nevertheles, for that this gentilman[2] is here, and sekith for succours at the Kinges handes, it shalbe be the Kinges honour he may have the better remedie. Wherfore, if percase he in Irlande woll come, and make any reasonable submyssion to the Kinges Comissioners and Counsaile there, it shulde be right expedient, the Kinges honour saved, to have both their services, whiche shall infeble moche the Irishrie, specially the Brenes, the Mac Carthies, and others.

Carlingforde, Straingforde, and the Grene Castell , and a capitayn and retynue there, who marchith with O[*Neil*]d is a place of high sted to do service.

OKarroll is the chief succorer of OConnor, and it shalbe right necessary to prosecute him with extremytie.

There hath bene long tyme debate and strife, in Mounster, betwene the Dessmondes, the Lorde Fitz Maurishe, the Lorde Barry, the Lorde Roche, the White Knight, the Knight of the Valley, and many others there; soo as they have contynued longe out of all conformytie and good ordre, without respect of duetie to the Kinges Highnes. That therfore, and for that the more parte of theme be auncient lordes of Parlyament, certain of the Counsaile to be appointed and auctorised to take sume good direction and order therin, which principally consisteth in the bringing to passe of a good order betwene these Dessmondes, that pretende title to that Erldome; for, that taking effecte, thEnglishrie shalbe of great streinght, and growe to welthe, so as then the obedyencie and revenues shall moche encreace.

This yere is farr past, soo as any interprise, with any greatter numbre then is there allredy, cannot bee. Wherfore it is, in my moste simple conceit, right necessary, that upon the arriving of the Kingis Comissioners, my Lorde Deputie, my Lorde of Ossorie, with the English pale, peruse aboute thIrishrie

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[1] James Fitz John. [2] James Fitz Maurice.

marching

marching to the English pale, and by treaty, persuacion, or by force, attayne pledges or other sufficient securitie to kepe peace, till a certain moneth in this next yere; and then, in that meane tyme, the Kingis Highnes, being assured of a peax, or suertie that his subjectes may be in sume maner of suertie of quyete, may sett ernestly and substancially for the reducing of that lande to obediencye; or otherwise, if tyme or matier chaunge that purpose, His Grace may soone have a surtie or staye, putting in suspence the same.

Galloglaghes are noon other but as a kynde of sowchynners, that serveth for their wages, and not for love ne affection to their maister that they serve; and emonges 200 of theme shalbe skaunt 8th, that are gentilmen, or to loke like to hable men, and all the residue sklawes, and out of the Irishrie, and gatherid out of diverse cuntreys, suche as their maisters comonly in their wages hath sume gayne by. And many tymes suche gatherid strangiers shrynkith from suche a capitayn, or whan he hathe most nede, woll, for more wages, be with another.

Therfore it were right necessary, that every lorde or capitain marchor of the Englishrie, that shalbe inforced for his awne defence to retain galloglaghes, shall give a certain competent lande, with a convenyent place to inhabite in that cuntrey, to certain gentilmen, hed capitaynes of the galloglaghes, and to expulse straunge rascall. And then the capitaynes galloglaghes, having a numbre of mayle harneysse, as they are accustumed alway, at tymes whan the warres shall so require, being wadgid by the cuntrey, to trye and take upp within the same cuntrey, of the chosen folkes of the same cuntrey birthe, to the numbre wadgid and reteynid.

After the surveyng of the revenues by the Comissioners, the peaces, appoyntementes, or truces takyn, and viewing the habilitie of the Kinges subjectes there, they may devise and order the stay, or other meane, as it shalbe thought mete.

I doubt not but my Lorde of Ossorie wolde undertake to buylde and inhabite, in 5 or 6 places, upon the Mac Morrowes and Kevanaghes, for so have I herde him ofte say, and namyng the places; yf the Kinges Grace wolde likewise buylde and inhabite in ODrone and Mc Morrowes cuntrey, whiche joyneth togidther with the same parcelles that thErle of Ossory woll buylde and inhabite. And this interprise might be well achevid with this armye, the Kinges Deputie and thErle of Ossorie taking a suere appoyntment, or stay with all the residue of the Irishrie, before the attempting therof. And percase the resydue of the Irishrie woll thinke the same the begynnyng of a conquest, yet I rekyn suerly they might be persuaded that the same is upon a title, and for their abusyons, not mynding like prejudice to others. And in conclusion,

conclusion, if that mocions take noo suche effecte, then the Kinges Highnes, having, at that tyme, in a full redynes for the generall reformacion throughout, an armye, to devide theme in severall armyes, victailled, and inhabitors appoynted, 60 £ shall make there a propre pile, defencible ynogh. Hertofore I delyvered to your Lordship severall bokes concernyng that matier, wh[*erfore I o*]mytt now eftesones to incombre your Lordshipp.

Suche pyles and holdes as the King woll buylde in the marches of the English pale, the inhabitauntes there woll gladly fynde cariadge of stones, lyme, sannde, and tymbre, and labourers to cast hedges and ditches; soo as the charges shalbe moche the lesse, and in short tyme fynisshed.

The pore Englishe erth tillers in the English pale, who cannot skyll upon penury nor wredchidnes, as the Irishe tenantes doo sustayne and bere, but must kepe honest residence, the lordes and inheritors takith suche a gredy lust of proficte, that they bring into the hart of the English pale Irishe tenantes, whiche neither can speke thEnglishe tonge, ne were capp or bonet, and expulseth ofte the auncient good Englishe tenantes, that therfore the same be likewise provided; for, in effecte, by that meanes, the pore Englishe tenantes are dryvin hither into Englande and Wales, and the Irishe tenantes in their roulmes and fermes.

Suche as shall have marche landes lett them, be bounde to serve the King with a certain numbre of horsmen and kerne there.

Victailles hath bene veray dere in Dublin and Waterforde all this yere past, whiche is by reason of the contynuall abode of the armye there. Wherfore it shalbe moste necessarie, that they be in dyverse holdes of the Kinges, in the marches, and in other places in the cuntrey; and by appoyntement alwaye of my Lorde Deputie, and the Counsaile, to mete and assemble together.

Irlande, in effecte, except the Butlers, and a veray few others, murmorith emonges theme, that the King entendith suche a maner of reformacion, as neither to trye ne esteme the obedient, ne the inobedient, but to put theme togither in hodgpot. But nowe, at suche tyme as the Kinges Highnes shall rewarde and preferre every there, as they have merited, it shall put away all suche suspection; and like as it shall give couradge to the faithfull in their good doinges, soo woll it be meane to procure the inobedient to like obedyencie, and a perpetuall discouradge to the offendours.

Many of the olde Statutes of Kilkeny are good to be put in execucion, both for the extincting of amyties betwene the Englishrie and the Irishrie, and thencreace and contynuaunce of Englishe maner and habite. Yet, my Lorde, the thinge must have a comensement: and a difference in that order, first, to bee throughout in the counties of Dublyn, Myth, Uriell, and Kildare;

then in the countes of Wexford, Catherlagh, Kilkeny, Tipperarie, and throw Munster. The marchers, being skylfull in their Irishe wepens, whiche they cannot use in a saddle, it shulde be right perillouse to give the Irishrie that oddes, unto the tyme that the Englishrie, in successe of tyme, had the like skill in the Englishe defence, weppin, and habite.

Harpers, rymours, Irishe cronyclers, bardes, and isshallyn, comonly goo with praisses to gentilmen in the English pale, praysing in rymes, otherwise callid danes, their extorcioners, robories, and abuses, as valiauntnes, whiche rejoysith theim in that their evell doinges; and procure a talent of Irishe disposicion and conversacion in theme, whiche is likewyse convenient to bee expellid.

That noo silke, ne saffron, be sett upon sherttes; for, specially agayn high feastes, as Cristemas and Ester, there is noo Yryshman of war, horsman, kernagh, ne galloglagh, for the more parte, but woll stele, robbe out of chirches, and elswhere, to goo gaye at a feast; yee, and bestowith for saffron and silke to oon she[*rt*], many tymes, 5 markes; soo that more robbery and felony is agayne suche feastis comyttid, than all the yere following.

The castell of Lye, sytuate upon the Moores [1] and Dempsies [1], to be manned and garded, assisted alway by the Baron of Kilcullyn, James M^c^Geralde, and the countie of Kildare.

The cuntrey all aboute Kenles, in Myth, is moche waste by the Reylies [2], and all that cuntrey lakkith a good capitayne; for the Plunkettes, that were wont to be a great band, are of noo power, and full of hate betwene them selffes; and oon Geralde Flemyng is nowe the hardiest capitayn in all that quarter, and moste noyeth the Reillyes: that therfore he be inhablid, as capitain in that marches, who hath allredy a good bannde of men. And, for that nowe ther is noo good holde or pile in that marches of the Kinges, 2 piles be made beyonde Kenles, in the waste landes joyneng to the Reillyes; and oon comyttid to the said Geralde, to the Kinges use, and the other as shalbe devised by the Kinges Deputie and Counsaile.

At this tyme, yf the Comyssioners sett all the landes waste, cause buyldinges and reparacions in the marches, and inhabite the same well and strongly, Irland shalbe in far better case, than ever it was these 200 yeres. And that doon, if the Kinges Highnes woll contynue this charge, as the armye nowe may demorr there, then it shalbe expedient that appointmentes be takyn with a great numbre of the Irishrie, as is expressid afore, for a tyme; and yet to garde the marche garisons, marching to ONele [3], OReilly, OKelley [2], OMelaghelyn [4], and others, leste they wolde stirr; and the Barons of Delvyn, and Slane,

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[1] See p. 2. [2] See p. 4. [3] See p. 1. [4] See p. 5.

and

and the power of the English pale, to contynue at home in a reddynes, that if any of the Irishrie wolde so stirr, they might resist them; and then my Lorde Deputie, thErle of Ossory, my Lorde Butler, and the countie of Kildare, to joyne togidther uppon M^c^Morrowe and the Kevenaghes, and to buylde and inhabite in ODroone, betwen the countie of Wexford and the English pale; so as, without let of the Irishrie, then the hole Englishrie may assemble in oon power: and this thing may be interprised and achived, and with it a generall reformacion. And then that the Butlers reinhabite Ormonde, nowe in possession with the Irishrie; and they with the Dessmondes taking oon parte, shalbe the sooner brought to passe; and then, at oon instant, the Kinges power to inhabite and buylde in Offally, OMulmoys[1] cuntrey, and ODwynnes[2]; and then Ormonde and that cuntreys distancith not 6 myles, soo as the Kinges power, and the Butlers, may then yoyne togither at all tymes requysite.

A capitayn and a certain retynue to be at Alloyne, aided by the Baron of Delvyn, and Westmythe. I am suere there is above 500 plough lande, longing to the King, and thEnglishrye, in Westmyth, waste; whiche is right necessary to be viewid, reformyd, and orderid by the Comyssioners. This Alloyne[3] marchith and merith with OKelley, a great capitayn of the Irishrie; and a retynue there, with the Baron of Delvyn and Westmyth, may bothe invade and subdue the Kelleys and OMelaghelyn. There are a stronge bande of the Burkes, that be of Englishe nacion, berith mortall hate to the Kelleys, and it shall be right necessary to joyne in oon amytie with theme, for that purpose; for Alloyne is the defence of the English pale therto joynyng, and the Burkes dwellith in the bakeside of the Kellies towarde Galway: and oonles these Irishry be so subduyd, the King woll neyther have proficte, ne obediencye, in Westmythe.

A capitayn with a nombre to be at Portlester, and the Brymedghams with theme, and others of the Englishrie in that marches. And this Cahir Roo OConnor shall kepe OConnor in exile, and defend that marches. A nombre in Rathaingan, and to be assisted by the Lorde Eustace, and the countie of Kildare, shall resiste OConor, ODympsy, OMore, and all the Iryshry joynyng to that parties.

Then the Lord Butlers retynue in Catherlagh and Kilkaa, joynyng with theme, shall defende that parties, and agayn Mac Morghoes and the Kevanaghes.

Ballymore and Tawlaght, longing to the Archebisshopp of Dublin, standith moste for the defence of the counties of Dublin and Kildare against the Tooles[2] and Birnes.[2] That therfor it be orderid that the Comyssioners

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[1] See p. 5. [2] See p. 2. [3] The barony of Athlone in Roscommon.

shall see suche fermors or tenantes there, as shalbe hardy marchors, hable to defende that marches.

Affor all the hart of the English pale, there nedith noo coyne ne lyveraye; but as yet in the marches there must be a contynuaunce therof, but sume moderacion must bee.

Consequently, the premisses brought to passe, then shall noo Irishry be in this side the water of Shennyn unprosecuted, subduyd, and exiled; having a litle numbre of the Brenes and Tooles bes[*ide*] Dublin, whiche may be like prosecuted; and then shall the English pale bee wel 200 Irishe myles leynght and more, and a litle armye, with theme selffes, shall suffice generally to subdue the residue, and inhabite. They have piles, holdes, and strong houses reddy made, that suffisith to inhabite at the .

Like as the Kingis Highnes woll depart with possessions to have theme inhabitid and buyldid for the defence of his subjectes, soo it appertayneth that every of His Gracis subjectis, having landes in like places of daungier, bee orderid to departe therwith to marche capitayns upon convenyent reservacions, wherof shall ensue a great comenwelth universally.

In the tracting of tyme, and with litle charges, this is, in my moste symple mynde, the nerist way, oonles the generall reformacion shulde followe immediatly.

CLXXI. Instruccions geven by the Kinges Magestye unto his trustye and welbeloved servauntes, Anthony Sentleger of Ulcombe, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, and William Berners, Esquires[1], whom His Grace sendeyth at this tyme into his lande of Irelande for the purposes[2].

Forasmuche as, not onely for the repression of the moste detestable rebellion lately attemptid by the Geraldins within the Kinges Highnes lande of Ireland, but

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[1] Their commission was dated 31st July 1537, and appointed them Commissioners "for the ordre "and establishement to be taken and made touching the hole state of our lande of Ireland, and all "and every our affaires within the same, bothe for the reduccion of the said lande to a due civilitie "and obedyens, and the advauncement of the publique weale of the same." It commanded the Lord Deputy and Council, and all other the King's ministers and subjects, not only to follow such order as the Commissioners, or any two of them, should take and decree, but to aid them in the execution of such things as they should ordain.

[2] Of this document there remain an imperfect minute, with numerous corrections by Crumwell and Wriothesley, a fair minute, with some corrections, and considerable additions, by those Ministers, and

but also for the reduceing of that countrey sythens to some good ordre, frame, and obedyence, and the punishement of suche traytours as, being of ther develyshe conspyracye, dyd molest, troble, and inquiet His Graces goode and faythfull subjectes the inhabytauntes of the same; His Magestye, tendering the tranquylyte of his said good subjectes, hathe byn at a mervylous grete excessyve charge, and lyke a moste gracyous Prynce and Soveraigne Lorde hathe determyned rather, for the juste punyshement of those malefactors, to exhauste a greate masse of his owne treasour, then to suffer his goode subjectes ther to be opressid, spoyled, and destroyed by suche rebelles, as desyre nothing more then the destruccion of goode honest peoplle, and the utter subversion of all goode lawes made for the goode ordre and dyreccion of the same: being nowe the saide lande brought to one staye and quyet, and the grete knott of the said rebelles and traytors well losed, broken, and dyverse of the same dulye punysheid, to the examplle of others; lyke as His Magestie, haveing conceveid a right goode opynyon of the myndes of his peoplle ther, cannot otherwyse thynke, but lyke greate and thankfull subjectes to ther so benygne Prince and Soveraigne Lorde, they wille for some recompence of His Graceis said importable and excessyve charges, sustayned for ther defence, extende suche benyvolence agayne towardes His Grace, by the franke, free, and thankfull graunteing of suche reasonable thinges, as have byn or shalbe moved unto them, the semblable whereof have byn moste benyvolently, towardly, and wyllingly graunteid here in Englond: soo His Highnes, lyke a Prince of a greate wysdom, perpendeing and consydering howe ferre thinges have byn ther oute of frame and ordre, by the meane of the said rebellion, and by the neglygence, usurpacion, and incrochement of suche persons, officers, and ministers, as His Grace hathe heretofore put in trust ther, and taken for his goode subjectes, whiche have not therin answerid to His Graces expectacion conceyved of them, but have rather dyrecteid ther eyen to ther owne pryvate and singuler advantages, then to the publyque wealle of the lande, or the avauncement of those thinges that might tende to the pleasour, contentacion, and commodytie of His Highenes, hathe, for the conduceing of his said lande, and thaffayres of the same, agayn to goode frame, and for the perfyt establyshement of them in suche a certen ordre, as may be to the honour and suretye of His Magestie, to the defence of his good subjectes ther, and to the feare, terrour, and punyshement of His Graces rebelles, determined, at this tyme, to sende thyther, as his Commyssioners, his

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and a copy, in the same handwriting in which many of the proceedings of the Commissioners are found. The latter has been used for this publication, with a few verbal corrections from the fair minute, where the copy is obviously erroneous.

trustie

trustie and welbeloved servauntes, Anthony Sentleger of Ulcombe, Esquyer, George Poulet, Esquier, Thomas Moyle, Esquyer, and William Berners, one of His Graceis Audytors in his Courte of the Augmentacion: whose faythe wysdom and dexteryte as His Grace hathe well approvid, and knowlegeyth to be suche as is worthie credyte and reputation; soo his pleasour is, they shall use and behave them selffes in ther jorney into Ireland aforesaid, at ther arryvall there, and dureing ther contynuaunce in the same, as shalbe hereafter partycularly declareid: whiche His Magestie doughtyth not they wille endever them selffes too do and accomplyshe, asshall appertayne, and as the same maye answer to thespeciall trust His Grace hathe reposed in them.

And firste, the saide Commissioners, with all convenient diligence putteing themselffes in a redynes to departe towardes Ireland, shalle take with them all suche instruccions, letters, extentes of the Kinges Highenes revenus ther, declarations of paymentes, bookes or rolles of fees, annuyties, rewardes, and pencions, Actes to be passid in the Parlyament, commissions, bookes of ordres and deviseis, money, and all suche other thinges, writinges, and munimentes, as be prepared for ther dyspache; and with the same they shalle addresse them selfes to the cytie of Dublyn, wher, at ther fyrste arryvall, they shalle repayre to the Deputye, and after delyveraunce unto him of the Kinges Highenes letters[1], they shalle requyer all the rest of the Counsell there to assemble them selfes togeder, assone as they may; and to them soo assembled, or to asmany of them as shalbe nere hande, they shall semblably delyver the Kinges Magestes lettres[2] dyrectid to the same; and therapon they shalle declare unto them the cause of ther comeing, whiche is also in all the letters dyrectid to the said Deputye and Counsayll brevely twycheid; that is, to examyn the offyces and demeanors of all men, aswell of the Deputye, as of every person being of the Counsayll, and of all other, bothe being the Kinges ministers and officers, and generally of all His Graces subjectes; to thentent they maye throughly see howe every man dothe his dutye in his degre, place, and office. And lykewyse they shalle take the perfyt extent of all the Kinges

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[1] See the next paper, p. 464.

[2] The letter to the Lord Deputy and Council, after commanding them to obey and assist the Commissioners, as they would the King if he were personally present, without respect to any private lucre or advantage, concluded with the following passage: "And if by your good meanes "the rather all thinges there may be framed to our purpos, which tendeth onely to the advaunce- "ment of the state of that cuntrey, We assure youe that your service to be doon therein shall not "be put in oblivion; yf on thother syde, We shall not fynde you nowe feythfull officers, ministers, "and good counsaylours, but men gevin more to your owne affectes, commodites, and gaynes, "thenne ernestly bent to our satisfaction, We shall again soo loke upon the beste of youe so misusing "himself for it, as shalbe litle cause to rejoyse at lenght of his doing in that bihaulf."

revenus

revenus there, and uppon the certen knowlege of the same, to take suche a dyreccion of the defraying of the said revenus, and the stablyshement there of a certayne ordre for the preservation of the quyete of that Reallme, thadvauncement of the goode peoplle of the same, and the punyshement of the other sorte that be evill dysposed, as maye bothe sounde to the glorye of Godde, and to the honour of His mooste excellent Mageste, with the suertye of His Graces goode subjectes there, whose welthe His Highnes tenderyth, as besemyth a goode Prince. Requyreing the saide Deputie and Counsaill therfor, on His Graceis behalff, not onely to conforme them selfes, lyke men of wysedom and of trowyth, to that thing that shalle in the dyscourse of this matier appere unto theym to be His Highenes pleasure, for the wealle of that estate and countrey; but also not to be grevid, thoughe they, being appoynteid His Graces Commissioners for the conduceing of his moste gracious and pryncely purpose to passe, shalle, as becomeyth men that have to herte, and esteme ther masters commaundyment, franckly open and declare bothe ther myndes and ther commission, wher they shalle eyther see any thing, in any maner, or by any meane, otherwyse handeled then apperteyneth, or not fynde that conformite for the reformation of thinges, being oute of frame, that shalbe quadraunte with men, that have more respect to ther Prynce and comynwelthe, then to ther pryvate lucre, estimation, or commodyte.

Whiche thing being thus generally opened, they shall enter into the declaration of the speciallties of ther commyssion, and before they shalle speke of the payment of any money to the soldyors, nowe being ther in retynue, and behinde of ther wages, or doo any thing twicheing the said revenus, or any other matier commytted to ther charges, they shalle fyrste knowe, in what estate the countrey standeyth, and whether the Deputye have pleges of all suche Iryshe men as bordre upon thInglyshe pale, and parcase elles wolde, uppon the dyscharge of the said retynue, as they have heretofore at suche lyke changes ben accustomid, make some troble; whiche thing if he hathe not, as it is not to be thought but he hathe, for the lack of them shulde declare in him a greate neglygence, they shalle togeder take ordre that, by wysedom, pleges maye be taken, with all possyble dyligence, of all suche Iryshemen, as might be most noysome to the Kinges Highenes his goode subjectes, and soo might, and percase wolde, doo some greate and noteable dammage uppon the dyscharge of tharmye. Whiche thing being ones at a poynte, then shalle the said Commyssioners intymate unto the said Deputye and Counsayll the Kinges Highenes pleasure twycheing the dyscharge of the retynue, saveing the nombre of 340, or theraboutes; whiche to be of the choseyn and pyckeid felowes, for honesty, wytte, and personage, that wille contynue ther, they shall

retayne

retayne to be attendaunte upon the Deputye, the Tresaurer, and to be bestowid in suche garnysons, as they shalle thinke moste mete for the suretye and quyett of that lande; that is to saye, 100 horsemen and 40 fotemen to attende upon the Deputye; 40 horsemen and 20 fotemen tattende uppon the Tresorer for the survaye of the marchelandes, and his contynuall resort thyther for the letteing or setteing, from tyme to tyme, of the same; and 140 other to be besydes bestowed in suche garnysons, as the said Commissioners, with thadvyse of the Deputye and Counsaile, shalle thinke mete; every horsseman to have yerely 8£ Iryshe; every foteman 4£ Iryshe; every counstable of any castell 13£ 6^{s} 8^{d} Iryshe; every porter 6£ 13^{s} 4^{d} Iryshe; and every warder and secounde porter 7 merkes Iryshe. And with such money as Thomas Agarde, the Tresaurers clerke, geving attendaunce uppon them at this tyme, shall carye with him to defraye the wages of the said armye, they shalle bothe paye those that shalle remayne, and dyscharge clerely the rest of the saide retynue accordingly.

Fyrste, examynyng groundely howe the nombres, for the whiche every man shalle demaunde money, have byn furnysheid, and then to devyse with the soldyers that be to be paied, to receive every of them a reasonable some of money for that which they shalle clayme to be behinde; useinge a dyreccion for that matier, as they may be contentid, and departe honestly withoute growge or murmure, and yet with as lytill charge to the Kinges Highenes, as they can devyse.

Whiche matier of dyscharge of the said retynue being ones fynysheid, and all arrerages due to the Vycetresaurer of his last accompte, and to all other, satysfied, the said Commissioners shall then calle before them the generall receyvors, and all suche other persons, as canne geve any oder information of the certentie, or due estymate of the Kinges revenus; and they shalle substancially and dylygently considre every nature of the said revenus, and of the same make a perfyt booke, bothe of suche as be certayne, and of suche other as be casuall, to make an estymate of them as they ryse, communibus annis, that they may of the hoole make a masse.

And where as dyverse of His Graces landes lye waste, soo as noe profit growith of the same, they shalle not onelye viewe aswell the said marchelandes, as all other His Graceis landes ther, but also they shalle lette all the said landes, aswell waste as other, by vertue of a commission[1] geven unto them for that

[1] This Commission was directed not only to Sentleger, Poulet, Moyle, and Berners, but included also the Lord Chief Justice Aylmer, the Under Treasurer Brabazon, and Alen the Master of the Rolls. It empowered them to grant leases for twenty-one years; and every lease was to contain a clause

that purpose, to suche Englyshemen, and other the Kinges faythfull subjectes ther, as wyll binde them selffes to inhabyte them, dymiseing them in suche ordre as in the said commission is appointed, incoraging the tenauntes therof to inhabyte and manure the same. And when the said Commissioners have thus viewed all the Kinges Highnes landes ther, aswell marchelandes as other, whiche, and every notable parte wherof, they, or one of them at the leaste, shalle personally viewe and considre, and that they have also made a viewe of all the rest of the Kinges revenus, so that they may write unto the Kinges Magestie aswell some greate lykehodde or certentye of every thing for that parte, as all the charges that presently by any waye goo oute of the same, eyther for terme of lyffe by lettres patentes, at pleasure, of right and dutye, or by custome; when the said Commissioners shall examyn the order of all the Kinges Courtes ther; and where as they shalle fynde any abuse either in the Judges, or in the inferiour clerkes or ministers, eyther for wante of geveing of ther due and personall attendaunce uppon ther offices, or by takeing excessyve fees, they shalle take suche dyreccions for the reformation therof, as ther wysedomes shall thinke goode and expedient. And to this pointe they shall have speciall regarde, for hit is playnly signyfied unto His Magestye, that the insufficiencye of his officers, ther non residence uppon ther offices, and the deputation of the said offices to men not able nor mete to occupie them, hathe bin noo smalle lack in that lande. And they shalle also examyn howe the Kinges lawes ben usid generally in all the partyes of the countrey; for His Magestye specially myndeith to have his lawes executeid immediately by his owne officers, in all parties of His Graces obedience, soo as they may be concurraunte in oone ordre and fourme, withoute interuption, oneles ther be a speciall provysion by lawe to the contrarye.

And where as there be dyverse Actes drawen and delyverid at this tyme to the said Commissioners under the Greate Sealle of Inglond, to be convayed thyther, and passed ther by Parlyament, whiche shalbe holden at the being ther of the said Commissioners; that is to saye, an Acte to determyne the auctoryte of the Proctors of the Convocation[1], whiche take upon them nowe to dyrect the hoole Parlyament; an Acte for the utter extinguyshement and

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a clause obliging the tenant to observe the Acts made for the use of the English tongue and the English habit, and the inhibition of alliances, familiarity, and intelligence with the Irish rebels, upon pain of forfeiting his lease, beside the penalty of the law.

A separate letter from the King informed the Vice Treasurer of his being joined in this Commission, and exhorted him to give perfect credit to the other Commissioners, to instruct them, to make all things open and plain to them, and to see their determinations put in execution; his service wherein should not be put in oblivion.

[1] See Stat. 28 H. VIII. c. 12.

extyrpation of the usurpid power of the Bysshop of Rome[1]; an Acte for the payment of the Fyrste Frewtes[2], generally, by all Archebyshopes, Bishoppes, Abbattes, Priors, Abbesses, Prioresses, Parsons, Vycars, Chauntery Prystes, Wardens of Colleges, Felowes, of the Deanes, Prebendaris, and Ministers of all Churcheis cathedrall and collegiat, of the Prior and his bretherin of thOrdre of Seint Johns Jerusalem, and of all other ecclesiasticall persons, by what name, style, or tytle soever they be callid; an Acte for the defence to be kept uppon the borders of the landes being in the Kinges obedience by the Lordes Marchers; an Acte for the contynuaunce of the lyberties of the countye of Weysford[3]; an Acte for the weareing of the Inglishe habyte, and the usage of the Inglyshe toungue[4] in all places, and by all men that wille professe ther due obbedience; an Acte inhibyting alyaunces wyth the wilde Iryshe[5], oneles they wille in all thinges use themselffes lyke good subjectes; an Acte for the Generall Pardon to be geven to all suche persons as shalle fine for the same with the said Commissioners by a daye to be lymyted, or with suche other as ben joyned in that commission[6] with them: the saide Commissioners shalle, by vertue of ther commission, entre as the Kinges Counsayllours, aswell into the Upper, as into the Neyther, Howse of the said Parlyament[7], and shalle, with all ther wytte and dexterite, set forthe the purpose of the same, inculceing the juste groundes of the same in suche wise, and with suche stomake, where they shalle perceyve any man frowardly, perversely bent to the lette and inpechement of the Kinges purpose in the same, as they may the rather by ther wisedomes bothe conduce the thing to effecte, and reconcyle the parties that before wolde shewe themselfes so wylfull and obstynate. And when the said Actes be passed, then the said Commissioners shall cause knowlege to be gyven, that all men that have offendeid, and wille come in to confesse ther offenceis, and for a knowlege make a reasonable fyne for the same, shalle receyve the Kinges Highenes pardon for all thinges before passeid; whiche fines the saide Commissioners, and suche other as for that parte shalbe joyned with them[8], shall assesse in suche sorte as may be moste benyficiall to the Kinges

[1] See Stat. 28 H. VIII. c. 13. [2] Ib. c. 26.

[3] Crumwell wrote to the Sheriff of Wexford on 31st July 1537, to inform him that such an Act should be passed.

[4] See Stat. 28 H. VIII. c. 15. [5] Ib. c. 28.

[6] In this Commission the Lord Deputy, the Lord Treasurer Butler, and the Lord Chief Justice Aylmer, were joined.

[7] A message to this effect appears to have been sent by the King to both Houses. The original minute of it is not now found, but two extracts from it, in a hand of Charles the Second's time, are in the State Paper Office.

[8] The Commission on this subject was as follows:

"Henry the Eight, by the Grace of God Kynge of England and of Fraunce, Defensour of the "Faith, Lorde of Ireland, and Supreme Hed in Erthe, ymmediatly under Crist, of the Churche of "England;

Kinges Highnes. And in all other thinges that shalle occurre ther worthie to be lokeid on, aswell for a generall staye, reformacion, and establyshement of thinges twicheing thestate of the lande, as in the other particuler matiers convenient to be reformid, componed, and considered, the saide Commissioners shalle endevor themselffes to take that ordre, that may best tende to the Kinges Highnes honour and advantage; referring to ther wisedoms and dyscretions the temperature and the qualyfication of all thinges commytteid to ther charge, to be nevertheles soo usid, orderid, and qualyfied, as may best redounde to the Kinges Highenes honour, suretye, and profyt, as is before especyfied.

And to thentent the said Commissioners may the more spedely fynyshe all thinges in this jorney committeid to ther charge, and doo the same also with more facilytie, the Kinges pleasure is, that aswell for the respectes aforesaid, as for the reputacion of His Graces Deputie ther, they shall, in all thinges that they shalle thinke convenient, and wherin his advise may stande them in any stede, joine the said Deputie [1] wyth them; procedeing nevertheles in suche wise in all thinges, as they may dyscharge themselfes towardes His Magestie.

And where as His Grace hath appointed the nombre of men before specified to contynue in wages aboute the Deputie and Tresaurer, and suche

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" England; To all men to whom thies presentes shall come, Gretyng. Knowe ye, that where " divers and many of our subjectes of our lande of Ireland were lately seduced and trayned into " rebellyon ayenst Us by the deceytfull instygacion of Thomas Fitz Garald and his complices, " whiche nevertheles, nowe perceyving their foly therin, be moche sory for the same, and wold be " glad to knowlige their faultes, and to make reasonable fynes unto Us for our grace and pardon to " be extended unto theym for their offences in that behalf; Ye shall understande, that mynding to " extend our mercy to our said subjectes, and releve them of that agony of mynde, upon hope that " they will never consent hereafter to any suche enorme and destestable crymes and offences, but " with all their force, will, and power resyst the same, We have resolved that al maner of persone or " persones, that have in that rebellyon offended Us, commyng in bitwene the last daie of August " next ensuyng and the first daie of July then folowing, to our trusty and welbeloved Cosyn the " Lord Leonard Graye, Deputie of our said land, and to our trusty and welbeloved Counsaillours, " Antony Selenger of Ulcome, and George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, William Barnes, William " Brabason, Garalde Aylemere, or two of theym, whom We have appoynted our Commissioners for " that purpose, shall, upon his or their submission, offer hymself to make suche a fyne, the same to " be levied holly to our use, as two of the said Commissioners shall thinke reasonable, with the " payment therof, or sure bonde for the same, shall receave a bill signed with two of their handes at " the least, directed to our Chauncellour of our said lande, by vertue wherof the said Chauncellour " shall make oute unto hym our generall and franke pardon for all treasons, pety treasons, murders, " felonyes, and all the accessaries of the same; Yeving full power and auctoritie to our said Chaun- " cellour to make oute the said pardons from tyme to tyme by vertue of this our commission, " accordyng to the teanour of a mynute herwith sent unto hym for that purpose, signed with our " hande. Witnessing Our self under our Privey Seale, at our Manour of Sonnynghill, the last daie " of Julye, the 29th yere of our Reigne."

[1] It is remarkable, that this instruction, which is calculated to render the Commission less unpalatable to the Lord Deputy, is not noticed in the letter to him.

garnisons as shalbe moste convenient for the defence of the countrey, the said Commissioners shalle take suche ordre and dyreccion, that the fee of the Deputies retynue, the other retynue and garnisons, and all other fees that be payable by the Kinges Highnes, shalbe paied by thandes of the Vicetresaurer, for the tyme being, of the Kinges revenues of that lande. And being the said revenus suche as is here conceyvid, upon the letters sent from that Counsaylle, that there will yet remayne yerely (all thinges deducteid) the some of 4000 merkes Iryshe, or ther aboutes; the said Commissioners shalle take ordre that yerely the Thresaurer shalle make an accompte of all the revenewes commeing to his handes, before the Lorde Deputie, the Chauncelour, the High Tresaurer, or twoo of them, and the Barons of thEschequer; and that the residue, whatsoever it be that shalle remayne, shalbe layde upp in the castell of Dublyn, till the Kinges Highnes ferther pleasure be knowen for the employment of it, or in suche other place, as at this tyme to the said Commissioners shalbe thought moste sure; onles necessitie shalle inforce them, for the defence, to take any of hit every of the partes aforesaid; and also the Vycetresaurer to kepe a dyverse key of the chest, where it shalle lye; and uppon the leying up of this, the Tresaurer yerely to have oute his Quietus Est. And for all the money, that the said Tresaurer hathe payed, sythen his comeing thyther, the said Commissioners shalle, upon due examination therof, sette ther handes both to his receptes and paymentes, for his dyscharge to make the rekening perfit at the begynning of this ordre; allowing unto the said Tresaurer the somes of money by him defrayed for the hyering of certen kernes in the tyme of the busynes ther, for a certen vessell sent to the sees for the annoyaunce of the Kinges rebelles, and for all suche other thinges, as he can duely prove that he hathe layde oute for the advauncement of the Kinges affayres ther.

And to thentent His Magestie may be the more trewly servid, his pleasure is, that the saide Commissioners shall take ordre, that the Chauncellour, the Highe Tresaurer, the Chief Justice, and the Master of the Rolles, for the tyme being, or twoo of them at the leaste, shalle monethly take musters bothe of the Deputies and Tresaurers men; and that they shalle charge them, uppon ther othe, and uppon ther duties of allegeaunce, that if any of them shalle wante fower of ther nombres, at any tyme, by the space of two monethes, or otherwyse use any maner of fraude or covin to receyve His Graces money, and not to kepe so manye able men with the same to serve His Grace at all tymes requisite and convenient, as they be chargeid with all, they shalle advertise His Magestie therof, withoute delaye, as they wille aunswer for the contrarie. And the said Commissioners shall geve speciall advice and exortation to the said Deputie and Tresaurer, that they shalle not suffre His Magestie to kepe

kepe all these men in vayne, but that they maye be soo occupied from tyme to tyme, as they maye deserve some parte of ther wages. And His Graceis pleasure is, that the said Commissioners shalle gyve lyke charges to the Vicetresaurer, that he shalle vysyt, quarterly, the garnisons, to see whether they be duely furniseid; and, upon defaulte, to advertise that the rulers therof may be removeied, or otherwise punysheid for the same accordingly. And for the certen instruccion, howe the said Commissioners shalle use themselfes in the appointement of the said garnisons, the same shalle understande that the Kinges Magesties pleasures is, they shalle appointe William Sayntlowe to suche one of the best of them, not being allredye geven by His Graces lettres patentes, as himselfe wille chewse; and for his furniture therin, they shalle appointe unto hym as many men, and in lyke ordre, as be lymytid to Carlingford; and for his better intertaynment, they shalle lette unto hym a resonable penyworthe of suche waste landes, as shalle lye about the fortresse, that shalbe so committeid to his charge. An other of the best they shalle lykewyse, and with lyke favor, committe unto yonge Dudley; and the rest of the nombres of men appoynted for the garnysons they shall bestowe by 10 or 12 or lesse, after their discrecions, in suche places as they shall thinke most convenyent, being Dublyn first furnisshed as apperteyneth.

And forasmoche as the Kinges Majestie is enfourmed that the lordes and great men of that lande doo moche oppresse His Graces subjectes with unreasonable exaccyons and ymposycions, and that they doo also of His Graces Irishe rebelles take certeyn knowleges, called blakrentes, whiche in any exployte to be doon upon the said rebelles causeth those lordes that have suche rentes of them to goo coldly and fayntly upon the said rebelles; like as His Majesties pleasure is, that the said Commissioners shall make due inquisition touching the said imposicions, and exaccions, and endevour themselfes to take suche a meane therin, as nether the lorde be of his tenauntes, or his inferyours, contempned, ne the poore subjectes so pilled and polled, that he shall not be able to live; so His Grace dothe specially charge the said Commissioners to enserche well the nature of those blak rentes, and suche other knowleges as be taken of the Irishe rebelles; and that they shall either take suche ordre and direccyon in the same, as, rather then it shuld ympesshe His Highnes affaires, they may be holly laied downe, withdrawen, and no lengar used; or if they shall not frame the said lordes to be contented therwith, they shall writte their oppynyons therof to His Majestie, and what they thinke mete to be doon therin, to thende His Grace may therupon take suche ferther direccion touching the same, as to His Majesties high wisdom shalbe thought mete and convenyent.

And

And where as divers of the Kinges Highnes landes, aswell of those commen to His Grace by thActe of Suppressyon, as others, that have commen to His Majestie by forfaiture, by attayndour, and by the Parliament, remayne, as it is infourmed, moche in waste, not letten; the said Commissioners shall in their survey have speciall regarde to all suche landes, and see them so letten forthe, as may be to His Graces convenyent benefyte, and as the same were in yerely rente and value to others, that had the possession of them before His Highnes accordingly.

And where as the Kinges Majestie is enfourmed that Obrennes Brigge, with the towre standing upon the same, whiche was throwen downe the last yere, and the exployte therof, which was moche chargeable to His Highnes, taken for a great enterprise, is nowe nevertheles reedyfyed and buylded agayn, and so reedyfyed, that it is more stronge and noysom then it was before; His Highnes, thinkyng the said bridge and towre kould not so have been so sone made agayn, if either any order had been taken by his Deputie and Counsaill for interrupcyon therof, or that those that border upon it, whom His Majestie taketh for his good subjectes, hadde bin content to winke at the doing therof, and so willeingly to suffre it to be don, willeith his said Commissioners in any wise to examyn diligently howe the matier of the reedyfying of the said bridge hathe bin wrought or sufferid, to thentent they may bothe declare the lacke and neglygence therof to the Kinges Highenes, at ther retorne, and to the Deputie and Counsaille, in the meane season, soo inculce the defaulte therof, as they maye devise amonges them howe to redubbe it to His Magesties satisfaccion; and lyke as the said Commissioners shalle make diligent inquisicion for the findeing oute of this greate neglygence, so His Graceis pleasure is, that they shalle duely enserche, who hath servid His Magestie best, and who hathe moste ernestly and trewly, from the begynnyng, perseverid his faythfull subjectes; that His Grace maye remembre every man for the same, as the qualite of service, and the contynuaunce therof, shalle require.

Finally, forasmuche as the Kinges Highnes, haveing, lyke a goode Prince, suche a greate zele and desyre to the reformation of that his lande, and the bringing of his peoplle therof to the knowlege of Godde, and to an honest civile maner of lyveing, entendeith, when His Magestie maye take his tyme therfor mete and convenient, generally and universally to reforme the same; His Graceis pleasure is, that the said Commissioners shalle inserche the opinions of all men of wisedom and reputation ther, aswell of the Counsaille, as of all others, with whom they shalle thinke mete to entreate therof, by what meanes, and in what ordre the same maye best be compasid and brought to passe,

passe, to thentent they maye, at ther retourne, instructe His Magestie therof accordingly.

And where as the titlle of thErldom of Desmounde dependeith in variaunce betweene the sonne of Fitzmoryce, being here, and the sonne of Sir John Desmounde, callid James of Desmounde, nowe by force usurping the saide Erldom; the Kinges pleasure is, that the saide Commissioners shall debate the matier with the Deputye and Counsaille, and shalle, by ther adviseis, sende for the said James tappere before them, for the scanneing of the titlle bitwene him and this younge man; and if he shalle refuce to come withoute saffeconducte, the Deputie and they shalle awarde him a saffeconducte under the Great Sealle ther; and yf they shalle or can therby induce him to appere before them, they shalle firste shewe unto him, that the Kinges Magestie dothe muche mervell that he useith himselff in suche a vialent sorte, and so take uppon him to be his owne judge, and therewith shewe him selff His Highnes rebell; and that His Grace hathe commaundyd them expressly to intymate unto him, that oneles he wille humbly submyt hym selff, and desire his pardon for his former offenceis, and stande to ther ordre upon thexamynacion of his title for the possession of that Erldom; whiche pardon they shalle, in case of his submission and contentation, upon assuraunce to abide somme reasonable ende, graunte frely unto hym; His Majestie will not faile to take suche ordre for his punishement, as all others of that lande shall have cause to beware by his example. And if they shall, by this meane, and by suche other good perswasyons, as they shall thinke mete, induce hym to a conformytie therin, they shall then duely and substancially examyn the tytle bitwene hym and this yonge man, whos parte they shall avaunce, bycause he is here with the Kinges Highnes, asmoche as they may without thoffence of justice, callyng all men that can any thing say for his parte; and forsee that all affeccyons may be therin secluded, and that by no bearyng his tytle be in any wyse hindered; traveling to bring the said James of Desmound to some poynte reasonable, by waie of submission, and not as it were by composycyon, or indentyng withe theym. And when they shall have brought the matter to some good poynte, in whiche case they shall take ordre that such revenewes, as he shall agree shall come to the yong man, may be receaved to the Kinges Highnes use in parte of payment of suche money as His Grace hath here defrayed for his entertaynement; orels that they shall have found hym so unreasonable, that no good perswasyon kould helpe; they shall therof, and of all other their procedinges, advertyse the Kinges Highnes accordingly, that His Majestie may take suche further direccyon therin, as to hys wysdom shalbe thought convenyent.

CLXXIII. KING HENRY VIII. *to* GRAY.

RIGHT trusty and right welbeloved Cousin, We grete youe wel. Lating youe wit, that sending at this tyme thither oure trusty and welbiloved Servauntes and Counsaillours, Anthony Selenger of Ulcombe, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, and John Barnes, Esquires, aswel to take a certain order and directyon for the contynuaunce of the state of that our lande of Irlande, tyll suche tyme as We shall further entende to the same, and the passing of certain good lawes in our Court of Parlyament for that purpose; as to bring unto Us a certain extente of our revenues there: albeit We doubt not, but yow wil, in all thinges, bothe travail to thuttermost of your powre to set forwarde suche purposes, as they shall propone and preferre on our behaulf, helping them with your good advise and counsail touching the same, and also employ your wisdom and good dexteryte to see the same put in due execution, which at ther being there shalbe determyned; yet, to thintente youe shulde knowe that We put our said Commyssyoners in suche truste for this affaire, that We wolde have there woordes and doinges for the credyte of the same no lesse estemed, thenne yf the lyke shuld be doon by Us, if We wer present there in personne, as We thought mete to require youe bothe to use, in all thinges to be sett furth or ordered by them, suche a conformyte, as may be consonant to our pleasure in that behaulf, which We doubt not but you wol doo; aunswering therein to the great trust We have reposed in you, and to the good opinion that We have conceyved of you, to thaccomplishment of all thinges that may sounde to oure contentacion; soo We desire and pray youe, in all the same thinges, to gyve as firme credence unto them, as you wolde to our owne Personne.

And right hertely We thank you of your good service lately doon unto Us against that traytour Ochonour, which you may be assured We shal not put in oblivion. Not doubting but as youe have therein doon a notable exployte, to our singuler contentacion, soo you wol have suche regarde that he entre not again, as others by him may lerne to knowe their dieutes; for, otherwise, if he shuld be suffered to entre again, it shuld but adde a further courage to that traytorous malice, which by all lightlywode is soo entred, that it wil not be removed, which We trust yow consyder accordingly.

CLXXIV. King Henry VIII. *to* Archbishop Browne.

To the Archebishop of Dublyn.

Right Reverend Fader in God, trusty and welbiloved, We grete you well. Signifieng unto you, that wheras, bifore your promotion and advauncement to that ordre, dignite, and auctoritie of an Archebishop, ye shewed an apparaunce of suche entiere zele and affection, aswell to the setting furth and preaching the syncere Worde of God, and avoydyng of all superstition used agenst the honour of the same, as to employe your self alwayes diligently for your part to procure the good furtherance of any our affaires, asmoche as in you laye, and myght appere to be to our contentement and satisfaction, that thinking your mynde to be so ernestly fixed upon the same, that ye wold persevere and contynue still in that your good purpose; yet nevertheles, as We doo both partely perceyve, and partely by sundry advertisementes and wayes be enfourmed, the good opinion that We had conceyved of you is, in maner, utterly frustrate. For neyther doo ye geve your self to the instruction of our people there in the Worde of God, ne frame yourself to stande Us in any stede for the furtherance of our affaires; such is your lightnes in behaviour, and suche is the elation of your mynde in pride, that glorieng in follishe ceremonies, and deliting in *We* and *Us*, in your dreame comparing yourself soo nere to a prince in honour and estimation, that all vertue and honeste is almost banished from you. Reforme yourself, therfore, with this gentle advertisement; and doo furst your duetie towardes God in the due execution of your office; doo then your duetie towardes Us, in thadvauncement of our affaires there, and in the signification hither, from tyme to tyme, of thestate of the same; and We shall put your former negligence in oblivion. Yf this wil not serve to induce you to it, but that ye will styll so persevere in your fonnde foly and ingrate ungentilnes, that ye can not remembre what We have don, and howe moche above many others ye be bounde, in all the poinctes bifore touched, to doo your duetie, lett it synke into your remembraunce, that We be as hable, for the not doing therof, to remove you agayn, and to put an other man of more vertue and honestie in your place, both for our discharge agenst God, and for the confort of our good subjectes ther, as We were at the begynnyng to preferre you, upon hope that you wolde in the same doo your office, as to your profession, and our opinion conceyved of you, apparteyneth.[1]

[1] A letter, in many respects similar, was at the same time written by the King, to Staples, the Bishop of Meath. It states, that the King had advanced him to his Bishoprick, on account of his

CLXXV. CRUMWELL *to* SENTLEGER AND OTHERS.

AFTER my right harti commendations. You shall understande that the Kinges Majestie hathe, sythens your dispeche, receyved sertein letters from Jamys of Desmonde[1], the copy whereof you shall have herin inclosed[2], whiche His Graces pleasure is you shall duly consider, and at your aryvall in Irlande, you shall duely way there every point in the same, bothe touching the title, the demeanors of the trahentes of bothe parties, and the service that may be don be eyther partie, conducyng thole mater to as gode stay as you shalbe abyll by your wysedom; and therupon advertes His Grace of the perfectnes of every point in the same letters, and herin also expressed; using therin, also, thadvice of suche of the Councell ther, as you shall thinke mete. And thus fare you hartely well. From Wyndesour, the 6 day of August.

Your loving frende,

THOMS CRUMWELL.

To the Kinges Commissioners in Ireland.

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zeal in preaching the pure Word of God. It charges him with slackness and negligence, but not with affecting princely appellations; and contains no further threat, than that, if he does not ensue this advertisement, the King will look upon him, for his remissness, as shall appertain.

[1] James Fitz John.

[2] "Most Excellent and Gracious Prince, in the most humblist maner that I can, I recommende "me unto Your nobyll Grace. Please it Your Highnes to be advertesid, how that I am as a "poure servaunt, acording to my dute of alegeauns, profering my service unto Your Grace, as I "can or may, better then any of my predecessors dyd, sythens my grauntfader was heded at "Drodagh; save only my father, whiche was leader and forman of the Kinges hoste in Irlande, "and specyally in Monster, in all fightes and batelles, that ever were gevyn in his tyme, in your "name, and in your fathers name. But not withstanding, I do take in greate marvell, whyll "Your nobyll Grace dothe not remembre and consider in your hart the extorcions, treason, and "rebellion of the bastarde, called Jamys Fitz Moryce, whiche Your Grace receyvith, after that he, "and his fader, and his grauntfader, was ever contynuall rebellys ageinst the Crowne, robbyng "cytes and borough townes, kyllyng marchauntes, and other of your subjectes, and yeve the landes "and possessions, with plate and other goodes of the Inglische men, into the handes of Irische men. "Considering the same, if it were Your nobill Graces will, I wold fayne that you cause an inquesi-"cion to be don in all your cytes and borough townes of Monster, wherby it might be known, "whether it is better or more worthist to be worschiped then I, or whiche of us wold rather "complische Your Highnes intent. For, by the help of God, and Your Graces supportation, with "the cost of 300 men, I wold thinke that your nobilite wold take in greate marveyle the order and "rule, that I wold put thorough all Monster within two yers; wherby you might consider what "servaunt I am, in the name of God, who se Your Grace and Highnes mainteyn and augment. "Frome the toune of Kyllmallok, the eight day of this instant July.

"Your nobyll Grace is true
and humble Servaunt,

"To the Kinges Highnes Majeste." "JAMYS of DESMONDE."

CLXXVI. CRUMWELL *to* SENTLEGER AND OTHERS.

AFTER my right harty commendations. This shalbe to advertes you, that the Kinges Mageste hathe receyved suche an other letter frome Jamys of Desmonde, as the copy wherof was sent to you enclosed in my letters, adressyd by Patryk Barnwell[1]. And forasmoche as by his wryting ther aperith not only a gret conformyte in hym, but also an overture of the reducyng of hole Monster, within two yers, to a perfect obediens, having therunto the asistens of 300 men for that tyme; His Highnes desireth you to handell the sayd James in a gentyll sorte, declaring that His Majeste takyth his letters in gode parte, and to enter with hym upon the pointes of the same, that you may the better fele hym and his purpose; and, therapon devising with others, way what service he shall be abyll to do, if His Majeste shold take suche an order betwen hym and the young man, the said young mannes title notwithstanding, whiche most men do prefferr, as he might contyneu in his extenuacion, which I suppose assuredly His Grace wolle do, what recompens so ever he shall make to this man, if the said Jamys wyll contynew a feythfull obedyent corespondent to the lawes ther, and can therwith accomplische that he wrytith touching Mounster, if His Grace shold beare as moche with hym for the same, as he desirith. And what you shall fynde herin, His Graces pleasur is, you shall advertes acordingly. And thus fare you hartely well. From Ampthill, the 9th day of August.

Post scripta. The Kinges Majeste hathe sertein knolege, that the same Jamys of Desmonde hathe in his countre Jamys de la Hyde, on called Parson Walsche, two most detestable traytors, and the sonne[2] of the late Erle off Kyldare, whiche he may delyver at his wyll. Wherfor His Gracys pleasur is, that at your furst conferens with hym, and in your practyse for the same, if you shall think it convenyent, you shall declare that it is come to your knolege, that he hathe in his countre the sayd persons, and lyke men, that semyd of your selfys to favor hym, and wold be glad to have hym do that thing, that might, for his owne benefyt, be acceptable to His Majeste; you shall bothe demaunde the said 3 persons, and advyse hym the best you can, for an douted argument of his treuthe, whiche in wordes and wryting he sewith, to

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[1] Barnewall overtook the Commissioners at Chester, and wrote from thence a letter, which will be noticed hereafter.

[2] Gerald. See pp. 344, 367.

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delyver the same to the Depute. And if you shall not induce hym therunto, you shall yet assay by all meanes to you possible, whow to gett in to your handes the said persons, eyther with his wyll, or agenst his wyll, for I ensure you the Kinges Highnes hathe the same moche to hart, woll accept your service to be don therin most thankfully. Thus eftsones fare you well.

Your loving Frende,

THOMS CROMWELL.

CLXXVII. THE LORD DEPUTY AND COUNCIL OF IRELAND *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

OUR humble duties remembred, we commende us most hartelie unto your good Lordship. This shalbe to advertise the same, that sines the writing of our other letters to the Kingis Majestie, of our procedingis against OChonour, upon the wilfull procedingis of the Cavenaghes, which been the persons of whom we have made so ofte mention to be exiled, and that place inhabited by His Grace, being joyned in oon bande against the Kingis subjectes; I, His Graces Deputie, by the divise and assent of the Counsaile, marched towardis them, with 14ten dais vittels, and so entering ther border, ded take two piles of the Nolans, ther adherentis; which after we had prostrated, and executed other hurtis against the said Cavenaghes, they were constreyned to put in ther pledgis. Wherupon, remembring that OKarvaile receyved and socored OChonour, the Kingis traditour and outelawe, we sent for thErle of Osserie to us, and merching thorow OMoris and Macgilphatrikes landes, and with ther assistence on thoon side, and thaide of Chaier OChonour, governour of OChonours countrie, Omulmoy, and Macgoghegan, on thother side, we invaded the same OKarvaile. And notwithstonding the cumforte he had of OBreen, and of Connaghe, with all ther prowde braggis, we constreyned him, mawgre his will, to deliver his hostagis. And semblably, after we had wonne a castell in Omaghars countrie[2], and taken the gentleman, owner therof, and all that was therin, prisoners, we inforced OMagher to deliver his hostagis. And during our there being, OChonour, upon salve conducte, came and spake with us, and for 300 markis of money, he redemed his son, which was in hostage with us; which doon, he made humble supplication, by him self and

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[1] From the British Museum, Titus, B. XI. leaf 359.

[2] See p. 3.

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his frindes, to be restored to his countrie; promising that, if he mought have the same, he wold never demaunde tributes, ne blacke rentes, of the Kingis landis, ne subjectes, but yelde out of his countrie a certen sum yerely to His Grace. Wherunto our aunswer was, that we wold never graunt, untill soche tyme he mought obteyne his most gracius pardon, and favours therunto. Nevertheles our advise shalbe, that for no persuasion His Highnes never graunt to his desier; for we thinke he shall never fynde him true, lenger than opportunitie may serve him to the contrary. Therfore, considering the discorse of this journay, it hath not been hard, that the lieke hathe been doon with 14ten dais vittels. So, as we assure your Lordship, the Kingis affaires go prosperiusly forthwarde; and yet the same havyng soche good successe, yf the army had been furnished with money, at all seasons, in due tyme, sines ther hither comyng, the same had proceded after a farr higher sorte, beyonde expectation. For we assure your Lordship, we begynne to come to soche knowlege of Irishmen, and ther countries, that we consider no soche difficultie to subdue or exile them, as hathe ben thought; so as, to be playne to your Lordship, the Kinges Highnes may have his plesur upon them, if he wold ernestly set to them; wherin we be of that corage, that, His Majestie furnishing us with money, we thinke ther is no interprise, which by His Grace and his most honourable Counsaile shalbe thought mete to be attempted, but we thinke we woll achive it.

Maie it plese your Lordship furder to be advertised, that ODonell is decessed; whois place Manus, his son, hathe obteyned, by thassent of that countrie, and the favours of ONeile; whois two strengthes joyned togethers is a grete power, and to be feared of the Kingis subjectes, yf thothers have oportunytie to execute ther malicis.

Your Lordship shall also understonde, that the Chief Baron of the Exchequer is latelie departed this present lif, to whois rome it is veray necessary that the Kingis Highnes appoint a substanciall man. And percase it shuld plese His Grace to appoint therunto his Sergeant at Lawes[1], it shalbe as requisite to appoint to his rome a man of good honestie and lerning, which wold be

[1] Patrick Barnewall, who was at this time in England. In Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 116. is a holograph letter from him to Crumwell, dated at West Chester, 17th August, wherein he mentions the new events in Ireland; by which he considers Offaley to be clearly won to the King, and many countries more, which, in his mind, would be greatly to the King's honour and profit, and the common weal of the realm; and he recommends, that in the next letter to the Commissioners, (who were then on their road to Holyhead, and with whom he was to embark as soon as the wind should serve) they should be reminded to inhabit these countries, as much as they could. Barnewall also mentions Fynglas's death, and praises him as a true man, and one who effectually favoured the King's causes, and the common weal of the land; but he makes no application to succeed him.

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diligent in His Gracis causes. For His Majestie having soche revenues and seignories in his handis, as he now hath, if the Chief Baron and Sergeant be not men which woll have a diligent eye to his right, His Highnes may be gretely hindered.

We must also eftsones beseche your Lordship to be meane to His Majestie aswell to furnishe us with a batery peace (wherof we have grete neade), as with artillery, for our furnature, wherin for this grete while we have made so many shiftes, that here is no more to be had.

Finally, we all knowing your Lordship to be our good lord, by whois meanes we have, for the more parte, been preferred, must beseche the same, in this point, to tollerate our boldnes. For where, more by reporte of seditious persons (than in deade) it hath been bruted, that ther shuld be grete division and dissention amongis us, for redres wherof your Lordship (lieke our good lord) advertised us by your severall letters; wherunto albeit that diverse tymes we made aunswer, that no like thing raygned amonge us, yet it shuld seme that your Lordship is not therwith sufficed; whiles we perceive, by letters comeng thens, at every passage, that your Lordship is yet in the same opinion of us: which thing discorageth us not a litle, we (as we thinke) being in oon good conformitie to serve the King to our bestis. But peradventure soche busy reporters of soche thingis wold have it to be, as they reporte; which speke towarde every partie, as may best serve for their audience and purpoos. For, as we thinke, we aggrea better, than they wold we shuld. As knoweth God, who preserve your good Lordship long in moche honour. Written at Kilmaynan, the 12 day of August, the 29^{tie} yere of our most draid Soveraigne Lordis raigne.[1]

Your bounden Oratours,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.
(*Signed*) JOHN Lord of TRYMLETESTON, Chũncelo^{r}.
(*Signed*) EDWARD^{9} MIDEÑ.
(*Signed*) J. RAWSON, P^{r} of KYLLMAYNĀ.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BRABASON.
(*Signed*) GERALD AYLM̃, Justice.

(*Signed*) THOM̃S HOUTH Justc̃. JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honourable and our veray good Lord,
the Lord Privay Seales good Lordship.

[1] On the same day the Irish Deputy and Council wrote to the King a letter, differing from the above in very few words, except the last paragraph, respecting the dissension in the Council, which is entirely omitted. It is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 607. leaf 22. This expedition is treated by Cox, as if it were part of that against OConor, detailed before, pp. 440-445.

CLXXVIII. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

My singuler good Lord. After my moost hertiest maner and loving recommendacions, this shalbe to advertise your good Lordship, that after I had fynysshed the other jorney againste the Cavenaghes, Okarvile, and other, mencioned in other letters sent unto the Kinges Majestie and you by me and other of the Counsaile, being ascerteigned aswel of the dethe of Odonell, as that Oneil did not onely constrayn certen of the borderers, being upon the peax of the Kinges Highnes, to adhere to hym, but also of late his sone and servauntes had and made a vyage to His Graces castle of Ardglas, to thentent to evicte the same out of His Graces possession; by the advise of the Counsaile her, I proclamed a generalle hosting, to marche into those parties, provided wyth a monethes vyctelles, aswell to represse the same Oneil in suche his wylfull procedinges, as to prosecute others for theyr disobedience, as cause shuld requyr. And nevertheles, by thadvise of His Graces Counsaile here, not willing me to procede all by rygor, so that the same Oneil, upon commynycacion, wold conforme him self, I appointed him to comme to the borders thre days befor the hooste shuld marche: who so doing, I sent the Lorde Chauncellor, the Busshop of Meyth, and the Chief Justice, to common wyth him, wiche they did, and suche thinges as they objected against hym, they found him, as by theym I was perfectly informed, very resonable; concluding wyth theym to abide thordr of theym thre, being of His Graces Counsaile here, and of Maguyer, and M^c^Donel capitain of his galloglas; wiche determynacion they declared shuld be so resonable, that they advised me to accepte the same, and not to persever wyth any violence againste hym; whose advertisementes I folowed. Notwithstanding, to be playn wyth your good Lordship, seing he delyvered no pledges, if I might have ensued myn owne wylle and purpose, but that I wold not disobey the advisementes of the hole Counsayle here, seing also that the same Oneil had theyr a grete power bothe of Irisshe men and Scottes, surely I wold have vysyted him in his campe, wher I trusted to have saluted him after that sorte, as, God not disposing the contrary, I wold have so handled him, that nother he, ner any of his, the favorers, or partakers of hym, shuld have had any grete cause to rejoyse or booste them of that vyage made by any of them. And during my being thus upon the borders provided with the Kinges hooste, as above is seid, the new ODonell sent me certen letters, wiche letters, wyth the copie of myn answer therto made, I have

have closed[1] in my letter sent unto the Kinges Majestie; assuring your good Lordship, that if he be of that mynd and purpose, as his letters mencionyth,

[1] ODonell's letter is in the State Paper Office, but Gray's answer does not appear to have been preserved. ODonell writes thus:

"After all due ande humble recomendacion. It may pleas youre Lordeshipe, that it ys shewed "me by frendes of myn, that youre Lordeship, ande others of the Kinges Consaill, owith me no "goode fawor, sormusing that y was not true onto the Kinges Highnes, ne unto youe his Deputie. "Yf it pleas your Lordeshipe to understande ande knowe the troweth of the mature. By my "lorde my fader ys tym, that Jhesu have mercy on his sowell, he kept a woman against Godes "lawes and right, ande by the instigacion ande crafty meanes of that wickede woman, dayly "procurede my saede fader to have me out of his fawor, and allso causede hym to make gret "complayntes unto the Kinges Highnes on me, ande made wayes with His Grace and his Deputeis "to distroy me; and all this, be caues that y wolde that she shold adwoied his company, for the "discharge of his consience. This ys of a trowethe, es it ys well knowen, aswell in the Englishe "pall, as here; ande allso the Churche and the freres consaillede me to the same, which oppynion "y dud kepe during his lif; ande seing that he wolde not take non other way, but hir consaill, "and so to lyw yn syn agayn Godes law, ande Holy Churche, ande knowinge the meanes ande "wayes, that he ande she made for my distruxcion, for the safgarde of my self, and doubt of my lif, "y dud what y myzt agaienst my saied lorde my fader, to kepe me out of his danger, ande nothinge "against the Kinges Highnes, ne against your Lordeship, ne non of the Kinges subjectes in dede, "but ayded ande conforted them, at all tymes that they came wher that y had any power, ande "that y reporte me to the Kinges Consaill yn Erlande, ande to Mr. Robert Awintre, ande John "Capes, and Benet Jay, and ther company of Bristowe, and all other the Kinges subjectes that "usethe this partyes. Ande, my Lorde, to prove that y had non ill mynde unto the Kinges "Highnes, ne unto his Deputeis, but to serve His Grace, and your Lordeship his Deputie, seing "that my lorde my fader, that Jhesu have mercy on his sowell, ys departede, and that y have his "rome, ande the contre pesibly obedient onto me, I shall do the Kinges Highnes, and your Lord-"ship, as good serwice as ever my fader dud, to the uttermost of my power, ande also shall caues "all myn adherentes and frendes to do the same. My Lorde, on my faiethe, the lordes of the "west, ande of the soweth, parties of Erlande hathe sent unto me, that y sholde take ther partes, "ande kepe ther oppynions, ande allso that y sholde caues Oneyll to do the same, ande so doing "that they wolde do my consaill in every thynge to ther power, which otterly y refused. My "Lorde, opon this if it shall pleas your Lordshipe to advertiche the Kinges Highnes of this my "mynde, I were gretly beholding ande bownde unto youe, and to have his gracious letters of "aunswere, for y am enformede that His Grace ys somwhat displesed with me, by raysoun of my "fader ys complayntes afor this, which displesure y wolde not, for all the goodes that ewer y myzt "get yn the worlde, but fayn to serve His Grace during his lif and myn; and the meane tym, it "wolde pleas your Lordship to sende me your aunswer ande consaill, for y do take God to recorde "that ther ys not yn Erlande oon, that ys better wyllyng to do the Kinges Grace and youe serwice "for the welthe of this pore lande, then I to my power: and so my lorde my fader was mynded "yn his tyme. Your answer had, y shall send your Lordeship further of my mynde by other "persones, beseching your Lordeship that ye take no synester enformacion on me, but that your "Lordship sende me good comforte, for otterly y wyll take ne do no man ys consayll, but the "Kynges Consaill and yours. Thus Almyghty Jhesu prosper and kepe your Lordeship to his "plesure, and to your noble hartes desire. Wret yn Dongall, the 20 day of Augoost.

"Yours,

(*Superscribed*) "To the Right Puyssant ande Honorable Lorde, Lorde "Leonarde Gray, the Kinges Deputie yn Erlande."

(*Signed*) "Ego Odoñ."

This letter is sealed with a wafer, impressed with a lion or wolf, and a dexter hand shewing it's Palm, surrounded with the letters M + O. D.

and

and wyll performe theym, and also persever therin, he may do the Kinges Majestie good service, especially in the stay of Oneyl. And as I shall perceyve his procedynges, I shall advertise your good Lordship. So that the same shalbe corespondent to his writinges, I, and the Counsaile here, do thynke good, that the Kinges Majestie accepte hym to grace, wherby he may be encoraged to persever in his bounde duetie and obedience. Hertely beseching your good Lordship that I may be advertised of the Kinges mooste gracious pleasur, how I shall use my self in this, and suche like thinges, for elles I shall never be at certenteye, ne staye, wyth the seid ODonell, no more then I am wyth James of Dessemond, who, upon like submission, having no answer as yet, neither from the Kinges Majestie, ner from your good Lordship, standith in doubte; as he enclynyth not to his duetie, as he sayth he elles wold.[1]

My Lord, for the love of God, helpe us wyth a battry pece, and bowes and arowes, wyth other artyllary, wherof we have grete nede in this parties, and all other suche thinges, as we have wryten unto your good Lordship afore concernyng the artillary, wiche wyll not, ner is not possible to bee gotten here, neither for gold ner sylver. The lacke of that, and money, wiche we loke for every day, hath been the grete hynderaunce of many thinges, wich might have ben doon, if we had ben furnisshed wyth all suche thinges necessary at all tymes, when we had nede of theym. And shortely, upon the commyng of the money, I wyll send unto you my trusty servaunt, Stephen Apparrye, wiche shall shewe you more of my mynd, then I write unto you at this tyme, to whom I beseche your good Lordship to geve fyrme credence. And thus the Holy Goost preserve you, and send you to doo as well as I wold myn own self. Wryten at Bectif, the furst day of Septembr.

Assuredly your good Lordships,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable, and my very good Lord,
my Lorde Pryve Seale, geve this.

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[1] The letter to the King, which is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 602. leaf 50., is the same with this letter, mutatis mutandis, down to this point, where it ends.

CLXXIX. Gray *to* Crumwell.

After my moost hartye and lovyng comendacions unto your honorable Lordeship. Pleasyd the same to be advertysid, that at thys tyme I have reseyvyd our moost drede Soveraign Lordes letters, by thandes of Mr. Antonye Sayntleger and the others, our sayd Soveraign Lordes Commissioners at thys tyme sent hyther; and by the same doo perseve hys moost gracyous pleasure and comaundement. And besydes this, I have reseyvyd from your good Lordeshipe your severall lovyng and frendlie letters, for the which, my good Lord, I gyve unto you my moost hartie thankes, confessing my self noo lesse bounde unto your Lordeship for the same, then the naturall chylde ys to hys naturall father; assuring the same, that in all and every thing, according my sayd Soveraign Lordes pleasure and commaundement to me, and your good Lordeshipps avyse and counsayll, for the avaunsement and setting forth, at thys tyme, of hys moost gracious intended purpoos by hys sayd Commissioners, I shall nat onlie holye agree theyrto my self, but also ernystelye avaunse the same with my hart, good wyll, studie, and labours, to the uttermoost of my powre, and am sorie not a lytyll in my hart that I nether am, have, nor ever shalbe, able to doo unto Hys Majestie suche servyce as my powre hart doyth couvet and desyre, as to hym that I am moost bounde unto, under God, in erth.

And yff yt shall plese your good Lordeshipe to hyre of that arrant and ranke traytour, the late OConner, I trust in God, and in our sayd Soveraign Lord, that he ys now at the best that ever he shalbe at, now goyng from on to an other of hys olde fryndes, to have mete and drynke, and hath nat over foure knavys with hym, more lyker a begger, then he that ever was a captayn or ruler of a contre, and maykyth daylie sute unto me, and dyverse of the Counsell here; at whoes handes he shall have lytyll soccour, our sayd Soveraign Lordes pleasure, and your wyll, nat beyng to the contrarie.

Over this, according the teynour of your Lordeships letter adressyd unto me in the favoure of my fellow, Edward Wagham, the Quenys servaunte, I have to my powre accomplysshid your Lordeships desyre in hys furtherance, as I trust the sayd Edward wyll relate to youer Lordeship. Further I thowght to have sent my trustie servaunte, Sthephyn Apparie, unto youer Lordeship at thys tyme, whome I have stayed for certen purposes concluded betwyxte the sayd Commissioners and me, but I trust that the sayd Sthephin shall repayre unto your Lordeship in all convenyent hast, after our conclusions fynysshid, with a token for a remembrance unto your Lordeship. And thus the Holy Gost

Gost preserve your good Lordeship, and send you as well to fare as I wolde doo my self. From Dublyn the 19th day of Septembre.[1]

Assurydlie youers,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) Leonard Gray.

To the Ryght Honourable and my very good Lorde,
my Lorde Pryve Seale, geve this.

CLXXX. Remembraunces for my Lorde Prive Seale concernyng my Lorde Butlers dispatching with thErle of Ossories suytes, and his awne.

For the title to the name of honor of Ormonde, it apperith by dyvers examynacions, howe the last Erle of Ormonde confessid the same to be tailed to theires males, and said that he wolde not discontynue the same taile, and of trouthe, asfor the name of honor, he coulde not so discontynue it. Certain judges examyned, and others, substancially confesse to have seen the evidences and title accordingly. There is an office founde, proving the same. All the other erldomes in Irlande ar tailed to theires males. ThErle of Ormonde, for maynteynaunce of the honor, tailed his plate to theires males. There are dyverse writtes of allocateis and deliberateis to prove the name of honor, and the 10 £ Irishe of annuytie, tailled in like maner. Ormonde is in the Irishrie, and noo proficte, but a litle rent at tymes optayned by hostile invasions; and Thomas, the last Erle, intailed the landes and rentes of Ormonde, Tullugh, and Arcloo, to thErle of Ossorie that nowe is, whiche is more then a presumpsion that the name of honor was tailled in like course, orels undoubtidly thErle wolde have his name of honor renne in oon way without the lordshipp, and the lordshipp, wherof his name of honor is, in another way of inheritaunce. There is noon other hath comoditie in that name of honor.

By indenture, my Lorde of Wiltshire, and his coparcioner, ar bounden in one thouusaunde pounde, that whensoever my Lorde of Ossorie do shewe, within 30 yeres next after the date of that indenture, before certain judges in Englande, any further title, that he shulde have avauntage therby; whiche yeres are not past, and the premysses was not then shewid, neither dyvers other evidences to certain other landes in thErle of Ossories possession, and

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[1] Gray on the same day wrote a letter to the King to the same effect, except the last paragraph.

out of possession, and specialy concernyng Turvey, Castelwarnyng, and Oghterarde, whiche are fourthcomyng; and althoughe thErle of Ossorie both clamed the same in thErle of Wiltshires handes, and yet disturbed him therin, and for speking the same might be provided in the Parliament House, according his right, as dyvers others are, yet he never resisted the same, but, to bar others of like peticions, was content to be estopped and concluded.

The premissis are not movid as by suyt of peticion, but by moste humble supplicacion, that the rather the Kinges Highnes wold advaunce the said Erle to his old honor and possessions, inhabling him to do his Grace service accordingly. And asfor my Lorde of Witshire, the said Erle of Ossorie never presumed to wrastill in his right with him, but ever put every demaunde to his awne will; in asmoche as, after the departing with his landes to him by order takyn, yet was he driven newly to give further landes, and a yerely fee besides; yee, and for feyned arrerages at other tymes oon hindrith pounds, trusting alway that the good will and preferrement of him, being his nighe kynesman, shulde contervaile the same.

The examynacions, evidences, and exemplificacions, premised are reddy to be fourth comyng, and at suche tyme as your Lordshipp shall call for theme, Waltier Cowley shall bring theme fourth; and two patentes of the Kinges graunte upon Dungarvan and Callan, with provisoes, whiche your Lordship hath seene, may be renued and graunted without proviso.

And asfor my parte, to be suytor to the Kinges Highnes for further preferment, I am bounde first to recognise that my bringing upp in His Graces Corte, the admittaunce of me into His Graces service and favors contynualy, my advauncement to be oon of his Prive Counsaile in Irlande, being also His Graces Thesaurer there, and put alway both in high trust and estymacion, is a great dele more then ynogh to bynde me, besides my duetie, bothe to love and serve His Grace and his heires for ever; and can never have by preferment, nether inheritaunce, somoche as I am bounde to spende and exburse to do His Grace service. And where as upon thexile of the traditour Thomas Fitz Geralde, I toke the charge of defence and garding of Catherlaghe, and Kilkaa, standing in the marches next to the McMorroes, and Moores, and others of the Irishrie, wherin I had summe charges, as the Kinges Counsail knowith, and have received summe rentes, whiche I have not paied, but my fee as Thesaurer these 3 yeris, and other dueties retayned by myne awne good will, tyll sume convenyent deduccion thereof be for my charges: whiche it may please your good Lordship to consider, and to be further meane to the Kinges Majestie for estate in the same; whiche, for that the same lieth as a defence for the English pale, and nigh to OConor, OMore, and McMorrowe, the

the moste ravyners, movith me moste to deasire the same, that I may bee in place of stede there, reddy to joyne with the Deputie at all tymes, wherby I shall do moche the better service: and if a capitayne be not there hable to resiste the Irishrie, all that cuntrey shalbe in daily joperdie of destruccion and wasting. Or otherwise, considering I expurssid large money for apprehending of Burnell, ye, and have bene offrid large money of M^r^. Thesaurer and the Counsaile for him, whiche I refused to be delyvered, but by my selfe, for whome nowe I have sent to be brought hither according your Lordships comaundement; it wolde please the same for to be meane to the Kingis Majestie, that I may have his landes for my service, whiche landes, in revercion and all, do not extende the yerely valure of fourescore pounds, and a house in Dublin, sume tyme thErle of Kildares, whiche if it were put to the uttermoste peny rente wolde not passe 4 £ by the yere.[1]

CLXXXI. The Lorde Deputes Boke.

Fyrste, ther is noo marche borderer, lorde, knight, esquier, nor gentleman, but hathe more theffes belongyng to hym, then true men; and the same dothe robbe and spoyle the Kinges subjectes, and maynteyned by ther masters then knowing the same; and for every maner of offence doon by ther saide servauntes to the Kinges subjectes, ther masters wylle never doo any punyshement for the same.

Item, for the mooste of the greate men of the Englysherye, beyng borderers, makeith severall peaceis with the Iryshe men that borderyth upon them, whiche causeith dyverse spoles and invasions to be made in the borders, and the experyence therof is dyverse tymes seen; for whensoever suche spoyle or robberye is made, it is upon a poore freholder, or upon some poore gentyllmanes landes, and the greate capytaynes landes shalle goo free with oute hurt.

[1] Lord Butler appears to have succeeded in his object, at least in a considerable degree; for on the 4th of October, Crumwell gave directions to the Commissioners to allow Lord Butler for his expences in guarding the castles during the late rebellion; on the 23d of the same month, a grant was made to Piers Earl of Ossory and Ormond, alias Earl of Ossory, and to Lord James Butler his son, of various lands in the counties of Kilkenny, Tipperary, Catherlough, Wexford, Waterford, Kildare, Meath, Dublin, and the city of Dublin; and on the 27th, Crumwell informed the Commissioners that the King had appointed Lord Butler Constable of the castles of Catherlough and Kylka, and directed them to assign to him reasonable fees for the same.

Item,

Item, the greatest captayne of thEnglyshe borderers wille not kepe noo horse ne boye in his owne house, for the more parte, but all shalbe at coyne and lyverye upon the Kinges tenauntes all the yere.

Item, every marcher, in lykewyse; and, in effecte, every Englyshe gentillman in Meathe, Uryell, and the countye of Kyldare.

Item, if any of the saide marche captaynes have any sonnes, they shalle have suche lyberties, that what soever they doo to any of the Kinges subjectes, or whatsoever misdemeanour they be of, or what soever mysdemeanour or wrong they commyt, upon compleynte made to ther faders, ther shalbe noo redresse nor punyshement by ther fathers don therfor.

Item, if any of these greate captaynes be dysposed to have any poore mannes freholdes that is on the marche bordres, if the freholder wille refuce to selle the said freholde to his lorde, then the lorde wylle suffre the Iryshe borderers not onely to dystroye the said freholder and robbe hym, but also burne, dystroye, and waste the saide freholde; and then the pore freholder muste of fyne force be dryven to selle the said freholde to the lord, orelles to have no profyt therof.

Item, the saide lordes and greate men make penall lawes, upon hilles, to polle the poore peoplle, and if any poore man offende that lawe, he shalle paye the penaltye, withoute any forgeven.

Item, these greate men doo use suche royall jurysdyccion, that if a tenaunt of thers sell a cowe or a hogge to his neyghbour, he shall paye a fyne to the lorde, bycause he hadde not the lordes lycence to selle that cowe or hogge.

Item, these marche captaynes hathe servauntes under them, and so have every gentillman of lande; and if oone man owe another dett, or doo trespas, he that the det is owing unto come to the servaunt, and shewe him that suche a man owyth money or det, the servaunt furthwith wolle take a pledge for that det, withoute any further cyrcumstaunce or examynation; so that amongst these men, nede no lawe for dett or trespas.

Item, thes captaynes wolle have every thing, as keyn, swyne, hennes, chykeins, capons, or any other thing, that the poore peoplle hathe, that is under them, at ther owne pryce; and if the poore men make any refusell, ther pledges shalbe taken furwith.

Item, the saide marche lordes and gentyllmen, if they have any landes in thEnglyshe pale nighe Dublin, when they come thyder for any cause, they sette ther horsseis to coyne and lyverye upon ther tenauntes.

Item, ther is noo lorde nor gentyllman, in effect, upon the marche in any quarter, that bringeth up ther children after any goode fashion.

Item,

Item, all the Englyshe marche borderers, aslong they byde upon the borders, use Iryshe apparell, and the Iryshe tounge, and all ther servauntes in lykewyse, aswell in warre as in peace, and for the moste parte use lyke, being oute of the marche in thEnglyshe pale, oneles they come to Parlyament or Counsayll.

Item, the said Englyshe captaynes, being marche borderers, put ther chyldren to foster to Iryshe men, and syenges for them.

Item, every man of landes, for the more parte, if an Iryshe tenaunt wille geve hym more money for a ferme, then an Englyshe man payeth, he wylle put oute thEnglysheman, and put in the other; and this many Inglyshe fermors be put from ther fermes.

Item, that dyverse of the lordes and captaynes upon the borders do make parlyamentes of pease, and also of warre, and feche prayes upon the Iryshe men, withoute thadvyse or counsayll of the Lorde Deputye, or any other of the Counsayll.

Item, that suche lordes or gentillmen, which have servauntes that dothe dayly robbe and spoyle the Kinges subjectes, ther lordes and masters knowe ther robbeing and spoyleing; when they be compleyned on to ther lordes and masters, and so taken, then they kepe them for a tyme, and after, for fyve markes, or suche a fyne as the master and the theffe can agree, the thieff shalle goo at large agayn, and the poore man shalle have no remedy of suche thinges, as was taken from hym.

Item, all suche men as have landes lying upon the borders dothe comynly lye within thEnglyshe pale in savetye them selfes, and see nothing to the kepeing of ther landes, nor of ther countrey, whiche is greate hurte for the defence therof.

Item, moste commynly, when the Deputye goithe furthe an osteing, sendeing his letters to the lordes and gentyllmen to wayte upon hym to serve the King, they doo fayne excuses, one or other; that, in case they doo not goo upon one that is ther mortall enymye, orelles the jorney to be to ther fantasye, they tarye at home, by reason wherof they put the Deputye and his companye in greate daunger.

Item, when any gentyllman of the countrey be commaundeid by the Kinges Deputye, for sodein defence, to bryng him some kerne, they wille ceasse them of the countrey wythin three dayes agayne, and wille restore nothing to the countrey agayne of the same.

Item, for moste parte all the castelles of the marcheis, being the inherytaunce to Englyshe men of this countrey borne, be inhabyt eyther wyth men of Iryshe nation, orelles wyth suche as be combynde by gosshipred or fostering

fostering wyth Iryshemen nyghe to ther borders; by meanes wherof the said castelles be not for our defence agaynst ther stelthe and bodrakes, according as they were fyrst ordeyned, but rather take part of suche botyes as comeyth by them towardes the Iryshery, to kepe the thyng secrete.

Item, it maye be well perceyved by the perswasions, policyes, and distres by the greate captaynes of this countrey, that they rather covet ther owne promotions, lucre, and profyt, then they doo exteme ther duetyes to Godde and to the Kinges Magestye, or yet regarde his gracyous honour and profyt, or the comyn welthe of his subjectes; for they goo aboute to fykkle wyth Iryshe men, after suche sorte that they rekyn therby to weyrye His Grace, and all suche other, as wolde His Graceis honor or comyn welthe here.

CLXXXII. A certen Information for our Soveraigne Lordes moste honourable Commyssioners in Irlande.[1]

Fyrste, where the Iryshe men, of long contynuaunce, hathe supposyd the Regall estate of this lande to consyst in the Bysshop of Rome for the tyme being, and the Lordship of the Kinges of Englande heere to be but a governaunce under the obedyence of the same, whiche causith them to have more respect of due subjectyon unto the said Bysshop, then to our Soveraigne Lorde; therfore me semeith it convenient, that His Highnes be recognised heere, by Acte of Parlyament, Supreme Governour of this domynyon, by the name of the King of Ireland, and then to induce the Iryshe captaynes, aswell by ther othes as wryteinges, to recognise the same, whiche thinges shalbe, in contynuaunce, a greate motyve to bring them to dew obeydyence.

Item, where His Highnes is recognised, by Acte of Parlyament, the Supreme Hedde of the Churche of Ireland, and enacteid that every man, aswell spirituall as temperall, shulde be sworne to the same; it is convenyent that the said othe be offerid untill every of the Kinges subjectes by Commyssioners in every countye, and all the Lordes to be sworne thereunto at the next Parlyament; for as yet the said othe is not put in execution.

Item, where as men, being of greate power, so long as they be trew, maye therwyth doo greate service, so, if it shulde chaunce them to be otherwyse, they may doo muche myschif, as lately hathe appered by the Garrentynes; it is

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[1] This is in the handwriting of Alen, the Master of the Rolls.

therfor

therfor necessary to practise, that no man growe to eny power suspect, ferther then the Kinges power here, if nede be shalle requyre, may easly them suppresse.

Item, bycause suspect power hathe chiefly growen by to muche auctorite, commytted by the Kinges Highnes to some severall persons, wherby at ther pleasure they myght doo men, to largely, other goode or hurt, which thing hathe made a great multytude to contende to be towardes them, and to become ther folowers; it is therfor necessary, that not only the auctoryte of His Graces Deputation be sequestrid from all men of this countrey born, but allso that every man, haveing great power in any parte of this lande, shalle have some other grave person ther joined with him in the same, so that devydeid auctoryte shalle cause dyvysion of mennes favors. I meane that all men shalle not perteyne only unto any one person, for the cause before rehersed.

Item, bycause that thEnglyshe pale is invyroned aboute with Iryshe rebelles, whiche by soden roodes maye doo muche hurt to the Kinges subjectes, before that the Deputye, being far of, maye make resystaunce; yt is therfor necessary, that his chief abydeing be at Trym, as a place most indyfferent to aunswer all partyes. Where it shalbe requysit that the castell ther be suffyciently repayred; and the tymbre, and stonys of the monasteris of Seint Peter the Bettye [1], and, if nede be, of the Blakfryers ther [1], be drawen thyther for the same purpose, and also that 4 or 500 greate okes be fellid in Offally, whyles we have it at owre comaundyment, and caryed the next somer towardes the byldeing of the said castell.

Item, bycause these chief lordes and gentlemen of the marcheis, callid captaynes of ther nation, whiche shulde be the contynuall defence of the Englyshe pale, sometymes lackeith wysedom, actyvyte, and dyscretion, requysit for the same; yt is therfor necessary ther be an Acte made by Parlyament, that whersoever any suche may be founde unsufficient, that the Kinges Deputye, with the Counsayll, shalle apoynte one other of the same nation, moste mete to be in the same roome, whiche shalle have not onely the expensis of all the tenauntes and freholders in the same lordship, but also yerely a reasonable pension or stypende oute of the said lorde or gentilmans landes dureing his lyf, suche as shalbe seen reasonable to the said Deputye and Counsayll.

Item, where as ther is suche scarnes of thEnglyhe blodde in this parties, that of force we dryven not only to take Iryshe men, our naturall enymyes, to our tenauntes and erthetyllers, but also some to our housholde servauntes, some

[1] The Priories of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of St. John the Baptist, at Newtown near Trim.

horsmen and kerne; yt is necessary to be enacteid by Parlyament, that none of an Yryshe natyon, oneles his graundefather, fader, and hymself were borne in thEnglyshe pale, shall byde emonges us, except suche as some gentilman or man of substaunce, Englyshe, wylbe bounde for conserveing the demeanour towardes the King and his subjectes; for execution wherof it is goode that certene commissioners be apoynteid, in every countye, to take the assuraunce for every of them, suche as shall seme convenient, after ther dyscretions.

Item, where there is much hyrt don emonges us by Iryshemen whithe going from place to place, aspying the countrey to robbe and praye, the same dothe name themselfes Englyshe mennes servauntes, bycause ther is no dystinctyon betwyxt many of oure marchers and Iryshe men in habyt, so that it is harde to knowe one from an other; it is expedyent that all men dwelleing within the pale, aswell horsemen, fotemen, and kerne, shalle have no upper bearde, callid a Crommell, nor turffid hedd, but other weare a bonnett, orelles polled heddes, from tyme to tyme: and if any, after proclamation therof, shalbe founde otherwyse, they to be punysheid by the commyssioners appoynteid for the same, after ther dyscretion.

Item, bycause in tymes past patysing and sylkeing of owre marchers with Iryshemen hathe causyd them slaak the erneyst defence of the countrey, suffering ther neyghbors to be prayed, being suer for themselfes, and ther frindes; yt is mete that by commissioners it be duely inquyrid of all suche as hathe made mariage, gyven byinges, or fostrid to any Iryshe man of late; and some small punyshement to be don for that whiche is past, takeing bondes of them in recognysaunce, that they shalle doo so no more apon greate payne.

Item, bycause the castelles of the marcheis be the kayes to shytt furth Iryshe men from evyll doinges to thEnglyshe pale; yt is expedient that it be made by Act of Parlyament, that none of an Iryshe natyon shalle dwell, and have the keping of any Englyshe mannes castell on the borders.

Item, where as the poore comyns be most comynly dystroyed by the soden invasion of ther enymyes, which, espying the Deputie to be in farre partes, wille breake peace and invade as they see ther advantage, yt is therfor necessary that in every baronye ther be chosen 2 captaines, moste of actyvyte and hablenes for that purpose, whiche shalle have gyven unto them the charge of defence, to ordre and have the ledeing of all the Kinges subjectes within the same. It is also necessary to have in every paryshe 2 connestables, whiche shall rere oute, and bring all the hable men of the same unto the said capytaynes, to be orderid by them for the defence of the countre after ther dyscretions. And also the said captaynes shall, every moneth ones, muster

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ther barony at suche place as shalbe moste indyfferent; seyng, from tyme to tyme, that every man have harnes and wepyn, according to ther habylytie, apon suche payne as shalle seme to ther dyscretions. And ferthermore, it is mete that ther be commissioners apoynteid by the Kinges Deputye and Counsayll, every quarter ones, to muster every barony, to see and inquire how the sayd captaynes and connstables doo ther dewtyes, and to punyshe the offendors, as they shalle see cause.

Item, bycause that lyke langage and lyke habyt by great occasions to induce lyke obedyence, it shalbe expedyent that in every towne the peoplle be compellid to teche ther chyldren, or cause them to be tought, to speake Englyshe, and also that every man, that one ploughe of his owne, doo were other coote, gowne, or cloke of thEnglyshe fasshion, and that every merchaunt of the value of 40 £ do not ryde but in sadell; and provysion must be hadde for saddelers with stuff accordengly.

Item, bycause the strengyth of this countrey is muche decayed in defaulte of archers, it is therfor mete some provysion shulde be made that 3 or 4000 wyche bowes, of all sortes, be brought hyther, and solde emonges the power comyns, with commaundyment that buttes be made in every paryshe, and none other game usid but shooteing.

Item, where as notheing dothe more cause men to forbere evyll doynges and doo well, as the right knowlege of the lawys, and obedyence to the same; yt were therfore convenyent, that the termes shulde be kept, and the lawe ministryd in suche place, as with least cost and charge the Kinges subjectes from all placeis might resort therunto; thynkeing no place so convenient for that purpose as the towne of Trym; wher myght the Dyllons, Tyrrelles, and Daltuns, with all West Meathe, aunswer the Kinges wrytes, and so growe to due obedyence; from whiche nowe they be farre astraye, for lak of due knowlege of the same.

Item, forasmoche as the borroughe townes be not only a greate defence and socour for the countrey at the tyme of sooden invasions, but also a great inducement to bring the rewde countre to cyvill fassion and maners, it is therfor necessary that they be mayntayned wyth all laudable lybertyes; and also that certen commyssioners be appointeid yerely to see that with ther customes and tollage they make ther walles defencyble, and ther townes well pavid.

Item, where as greate parte of the comyn wealthe standeith, not only by indyfferent admynistration of justice, but also in makeing suche juges, as shalle well knowe the lawe, with the due cyrcumstaunce howe it shulde be executeid; yt is therfor moste necessary, if we maye not have all our juges Englyshemen

naturall, for lykelyhodde of indyfferencye, that we have one grave person of highe lernyng and substancyall understandeing in the lawe, wyth well approved consyence, whiche shalbe onely the chief justice, informer, and moderator of all the other juges, but also an hedde counsellour, devysor, and orderer in all our Soveraigne Lordes weyghte affayres. And bycause reason wyll, that suche a person shulde be honorably interteyned, lest that staye myght be made for the greate charges of the same, I thinke it rather expedyent to forbere a greate nomber of our monnkes and chalandes, namely as thay nowe use themselfes, then so necessary a thing for the comyn wealthe shulde be lakked and sett asyde. Wherfor it may be the Kinges pleasure to suppresse the abbeys of Seynt Thomas Courte by Dubling, Allhallowys, and the hospytall of Seynt Jamys withoute Newe Gate by the same, where is nother greate hospytalytie kept, nor yet ther nedyth greatly. The rentes of them dothe amounte to 1000 markes sterling, wherof it maye please His Highnes to rewarde the saide grave person with 500 markes sterling, yerely, for his stypend. And bycause the fees of the other justices be to small in respect of ther charges, yt maye please the Kinges Highnes to devyde the other 500 markes sterling emonges them and his Chauncelour, which makeith to every of them 500 markes sterling; and so may they well, and wyth His Graces honor, doo him and dyligent service.

Item, where a greate cause of the dekaye of the Kinges landes and tenementes hytherto hathe byn, bycause that tenauntes coulde not have no longer assuraunce to dwell in them, then the space of three yeres, whiche causid them to forbere ether to buylde, or make any sure defence aboute the same; yt is therfor necessary, that suche as wylle shalle have the said landes in ferme, by indenture, for terme of 21 yeres, with promys that in the ende of termes, doyng as thei wylle do, shalle have the same of newe for so muche lenger. And if any extortion or oppression to be don to any of the saide tenauntes, let the Kinges officers see more extreme punyshement for them, than for others, whiche hathe ther severall lordes to revenge ther injurys; and this shalle make men to contende, who maye fyrst optayne to be the Kinges tenaunt; and soo, God wylling, ye shalle have lytill waste of His Graces landes.

Item, where apon the marchesse, for the defence of the same, it is necessary the gentilmen have moore horsmen and kerne than they be able to fynde in ther owne houseis, and therfor they be accustomid to take horsemete and mannesmete apon the husbondes and freholders, as it were wages to meyntayn them for ther saffegarde from ther enymyes; yet, bycause the said expenceis shalle not be unreasonable, yt shalbe mete that every yere, ones at the leaste, certen

certen commyssyoners be apoynteid to vewe the marches, and, by ther dyscretions, moderate suche expenceis, straytlye punysheing suche as dothe use excesse.

Item, bycause that all men hereafter maye have warneing, not to conspyre agaynst ther Soveraigne Lorde, it is convenyent to dyligent inquisition of suche as were wylfull malefactors, and ernystly, withoute compulsyon, did latly heere rebell agaynst His Highnes; and al suche as shalbe so provid, let them make suche fynes to be paide yerely oute of ther landes, as unto the 3de generation, to ther reproche, ther lewde demeanour maye remayne in remembraunce; and suche payment to be callid, and demaundeid for, by the name Treasonne money.

Item, for ferther restraynt of suche lewde demeanour, it shalbe well don that every man, that is worthe 20 £, have a severall pardon, with a fyne of 20s; and he that is worthe 40 £ paye 40s for a fyne, and so furthe, after ther substaunce, if it may be proved that they have any thing offendeid, allthoughe it were halfe agaynst ther wylles; and lykewyse suche reasonable fynes be to be made by all lordes, gentilmen, and freholders, according to the stynt of ther landes, as cannot excuse themselfes hoolye, but they have partly offendeid; and this wylle amounte to 1000 marke, yf it be well handelyd and duely examyned, besydes the fynes of the ranke traytors; and then the Kinges generall pardon maye be declarid for all other persons, except suche as be atteintid, and mention to be made of any generall pardon, untyll this be fynysheid.

Item, where the countrey of Offally, callid Okynhowres contrey, hathe of long tyme byn the doore, wherby muche warre and myschyff hathe enteryd emonges the Kinges subjectes; yt shalbe necessarye nowe, that we have it at the Kinges commaundyment, to take suche an order therwith, that hereafter it shalle no more so greve us. Wherfor me semeyth it were expedyent, that the hyther parte of that countrey, untyll Tower Trowan, whiche, of olde tyme, was inhabytid with the Brymmyniames, shalbe restored unto them agayne; and William Brymmyniame, bycause of his actyvyte, to be lorde therof, and have the same for him and heyres for ever, gyveing some chyef yerely oute of yt, as shale seene to your dyscretions; and the rest of Offally to be gyven hooly to Kayer Oconer, for hym and his heyres for ever, he to be namid Baron of Offally, paying lykewyse some chief rent yerely for the same to our Soveraigne Lorde, and bothe the said Brymmyniame and he to be made Lordes of the Parlyament.

Fynallye, bycause the nature of Iryshe men is suche, that for money one shall have the sonne to warre agaynst the fader, and the fader agaynst the chylde,

chylde, yt shalbe necessary the Kinges Grace have allwayes treasor here, as a present remedy agaynst soden rebellyons. His Highnes, therfor, may be advyseid to gyve awaye clerely none of his landes, otherwyse then some yerely rent thereof may come to his cofers, and the customes of Waterforthe and others to be resumyd; abateing some thing yerely by waye of rewarde unto suche, as, from tyme to tyme, by ther goode service shalle well deserve it.

And, for conclusion, bycause ther is no place so mete to kepe the Kinges treasor, as is His Graces castell of Dublyn, in the tower called Brymmyniames Tower; yt is convenyent that not only the said castell be substancyally repayred and fortyfied, but also for the custodye therof, and many other daungers, the connstable of the same be an Englyshe man, of Englond born, whose dwelleing shalbe contynually within the saide castell, withoute apoynteing of a deputye; and he to be assocyat with 4 gunners, of the whiche numbre 2 shalle alwaye be present. And where in tymes past the neglygent kepeing of the Kinges recordes hathe growen to great losses to His Highnes, aswell conserneing his landes as his lawes, for that every keper, for his tyme, as he favorid, so did other inbesell, or sufferid to be inbesyllid, suche mynymentes as shulde made agaynst them, or ther fryndes, so that we have lytill to shewe for any of the Kinges landes or profytes in this partyes; yt is therfor necessarye that, from hensforth, all the rolles and mynymentes to be hadde be put in goode ordre in the foresaid tower, and the doore therof to have 2 lockes, and the kayes therof to one to be with the connstable, and the other with the Undertresorer, which lykewise it is necessarye be an Englyshe man born; and that no man be sufferid to have loone of any of the said mynymentes from the said place, nor to serche, viewe, or rede any of them ther, but in the presence of one of the kepers aforesaid.

CLXXXIII. To the Honourable, by the auctorytye they use, Mr. Anthony Seintleger, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, and William Berners, the Kinges Commyssioners in Ireland.[1]

Where it pleaseyd you to requyre me to dysclose to you in writeing, whiche ye promysed to be secrete, suche enormytyes and abuseis within this land of Ireland, as I judgeid worthie reformation, and any other thing that I thought

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[1] This paper is headed in the margin, "Presenteid by the Master of the Rolles," and is in his handwriting. A place is given to it earlier than it ought, in respect to date, to have, for the sake of bringing together the various suggestions made to the Commissioners.

meate

meate to be orderyd for the governaunce of this land, for your better instruction to proceed to the dyreccion thereof; albeyt that afterwarde, lesse by severall bookes severall senseis, opinions, and diviseis shulde appere, wherby confusion mought ensue, ye were contentyd that I shulde wyth others joyne to geders for the conseyveing of a booke, whyche hytherto by those joyned wyth not being perfecteyd, I have thought goode, by this rude writeing, to expresse my mynde: whiche I have donne, rather to satysfye your desyre in accomplyshement of my duetye, than I thinke any thing goode matter to be in the same, whiche mought be a sure grounde for you to folowe. And the trouthe is, I have byn the moore slakker, or forborne hytherto to expresse my mynde in wryteing, bycause at your hyther comeing, and long after, I was very sykke, and, my helthe partelye recoverid, ye knowe I was busyed in the matters of the Parlyament, as I coulde not attende to doo the same; and yet by mowthe, and also by an other booke, which I delyverid you at your fyrste comeing, ye hadde asmuche instruction in this behallf, as by this boke or any other, in effect, shalbe declareyd; and also doubteing les my soole writeing and opinion mought vary from others, and soo be taken otherwyse then I mente yt, and especially haveing made others bookes, heretofore, to the Kinges Majestie and his Counsayll, and at this season not haveing the copyes therof, I mought digresse from the same, and so be deprehendeyd therin. Albeyt that I am sure ther be not many artyclles in the same booke, yea, peradventure in effect not [1] all, but were proveid trewe. And the Kinges revenues be increaseayd above the some there promyseid, in effect to asmuche more, and His Highlye recognised in obedyence within this land, and of his enymyes more feareyd, then or any of moste noble progenitours were at any tyme thys 60 yeares past and above; whiche I trust shalle not oonely contynue, but increase dayly, if by the neglygence of the governours yt decaye not.

Fyrste, to be shortte. Bycause this matter muste tende to goode orders, I ought to presuppose for a grounde, that here is obedyence and peace; but forasmuche as a man muste nedes confesse that this lande being in severall monarcheis, I am constreyned to make commyxion of obedyence and dysobedyence, peas and warre, every of them being contrarye to other; whiche being soo dyversly useyd and practysed within this land, as it is no where elles, causeith suche an instabylytye and incerteyntye, that noo ordre ne lawe can bee perpetuall, but in maner depende upon a dyscretion of the governours, to use the same, as tyme shalle requyre. And bycause the warre and peace be

[1] Blank in the original. Great inaecuracy is observable in other parts of Alen's papers.

fyrste

fyrste to be entreatyd of, confesseing that I am noo man of warre, and yet dare I boldely affyrme, that ther is noo oone man of my shortte qualytye and degre, within this lande, that, for this 8 yeres paste, hathe byn at moore journeys upon the Kinges enymyes and rebelles, and intercomynaunceis wyth them, then I have ben, as it is well knowen to the King and his Counsayll. I muste understande that the hedde of this comen weale, under the Kinges Magestye, is His Highnes Deputye for the tyme being, whiche representeith the magestye and auctorytie of the hedde, the Prynce, our Master the King; soo as, in my opinion, that he being of those qualyties that his rome requyreyth, all the comen weale shalle prosper, and otherwise peryshe. For lyke as, in civille countreis, the peoplle folowe muche the useages of ther heddes in goode or evyll, soo in this lande, as farre as ever I coulde lerne, the greate mysordre hathe byn in the heddes; eyther for that they themselffes, and ther servauntes, fryndes, and adherentes were the examplle of evill, orelles by ther negligence enormyties of other were sufferyd unpunnysheid. For by suche meanes was fyrst coyne and lyverye brought in place, the lawes subvertyd, wylfull warres styred and excyteid, the Kinges peoplle moste oppresseid, and fynally insurrections and rebellions provokeid and executeid. I wille not saye but others hathe don evill, besydes the Deputies, and yet no dought ther hathe ben noble men Deputyes, and goode, as the Duke of Norfolke, and others. Howbeit, for the more parte, suche others were eyther the Deputyes servauntes, or adhered unto him, or elles by his corruption they dyd the same, or at leest they correcteid not others, bycause the lyke offenceis was in them selves.

In goode faythe, thoughe my Lorde Deputye, that nowe is, be a noble man, and a goode gentyllman, yet peradventure, if trewethe mought saye trewythe, men saye ther wolde be noteyd more abuseis in him, then in the moste of the resydue of the Kynges offycers. I have herde and seen manye lawes made. I wolle saye they were all goode and beneficyall for redres of abuseis and enormyties: howbeit I cowlde never hytherto perceyve, that the Deputye was bounde by anny of them; or, at the least, if he were, who shulde correct hym, or durste accuse hym, haveing lande or lyveing in Ireland? for what is he, that can escape the Deputyes lasshe? so as I conclude that the fyrste and chyeff grounde for the reformation of this lande, and the goode ordre of the same, is to have a goode Deputye, whois rome requyreth suche knowlege, experyence, wytte, actyvetye, dyscretion, and other qualyties, that it is not a lytyll diffycultye to gete a perfyt man for the same. And therfor, whyles it shalbe the Kinges pleasure, that this noble man shalle use the same rome, it shalbe goode it be deviseid to induce him to rule by an ordre and counsayll; for lyke as he nowe, peradventure for lak of knowlege and expe-

ryence,

ryence, dothe thinges not consonaunt to his auctorytie; so hathe others in tyme paste don the lyke, and worsse, of covetous appetyties and other evyll affeccions, for the refrayneing wherin dyverse goode and holsom orders hath ben made; whiche, or the lyke, in myn opinion were yit goode to be useid.

Amonge whiche I thinke goode, that ther were, in every marche, wardens and conservatours of the Kinges peace, whiche shulde have auctorytye, by letters patentes, to here and redresse all robberyes, marche causeis, and to comen with Iryshemen and borderers for restitution, and to take restrainte of warre for a tyme, when nede shalle requyre; and of thois thinges, that he coulde not ordre, to make relation to the Deputye and Counsayll, and they to devise remedy for them; so as the Deputye, or any other, for every lyght cause, shulde not make warre wylfully, to the charges of the Kinges subjectes.

Item, upon anny pety robberys don by any Irishemen, warre not to be made immediately for the same: but if, upon the proyffe of the commytteing therof, he wylle redresse the same, the peace to contynue; and yf he doo not, then the Deputye, takeing with him the warden of that marche, and the lordes and other the gentyllmen and borderers next adjoyneing to that marche, to parlle and intercomen wyth suche Iryshe men for amendes to be hadde; and, if he be wylfully dysposeid, and wylle make no suche amendes, then let him be prosecuteid by sodden roodes, as all goode capitaines useid in tymes past; whiche sodden jorneys hathe more daunteid and impoverysshеid Iryshemen, in tymes past, then manye hosteinges, whiche never can be executeid, but that the adversarye, having the knowlege therof, practyseith so muche for his salvegarde and defence, as we suffre more hurte by the same, then he. And, of trewyth, suche many journeis hath not muche ben usyd, but upon goode consultations and mature delyberation, and that but in the harveist tyme, for the destructions of cornes, or sometyme at Candlemas tyme, for the letteing the sowing of the otys, whiche is a greate impoveryshement to Iryshemen. And yet yf governours, peradventure, regardeid or pyttyed the oppression of the Kinges subgectes by suche meane hosteinges, asmuche as they desyre the satisfaction of ther owne wylfull appetytes, they mought devyse other tymes more propice to waste that thing upon ther enymyes with a small charge, whiche nowe doo not with a greate charge. For though I be no man of warre, yet me semeith that a captaine, haveing experience of Ireland, maye adnoy his enymyes more in a daye betwyxte Mighilmas and Candellmas, then he shalle in 20 dayes from Candylmas to Myghilmas; and also from Mighilmas to Candelmas it greveith the Inglyshery lesse to beare men of warre, of any tyme in the yere, and in that season, dureing the long fowle nightes, thEnglyshery is most daunger of

ther enymyes; whiche thing the same men of warre, reteyned for thother purpose, mought resyst.

And as for any jorney to be made, the Deputye, with the marchours and a certen holdeing kernne, and two batell of gallowglassheis, whiche the Deputye with goode provision maye have founde, wyth lytyll grevaunce of the Kinges subgectes, the most parte of the yere, shalbe able, at all tymes, to invade any borderer upon thEnglyshery; and yet may he have to his furder ayde for suche purposes other Iryshemen, if he be a wyse man, that can soo retayne them as other hathe don in tyme past.

For, in myn opinion, whosoever regardeyth not the hartis and service of Irishemen, shalle doo the King but slender service; and, as I have lerned, the Kinges domynyon, this many yeres, hathe ben defended muche by the strengyth of Iryshemen; for whoso wylle refuce them all, and sett them at nought, shall not be able, with all the Kinges subgectes, to defende the Kinges domynion, wythoute extreme impoverishement of the same. And the Kinges Deputie, upon suche sudden roode and forrey made upon any Irisheman, maye not at his retourne departe home, and leave the countrey at large; but he must, if he wille shewe hymself a goode captaine, tarye in the border with his galloglasse and kernne, and other his men of warre of his owne retynue, and the gentyll-men of that border, in the face of his enymye; whiche shalle soo dyscorage his enymye, that he shalle not dare invade againe, or yf he doo, it shalbe to his dyspleasure; and lying ther must have spies for his enymyes catalles and goodes: and every weke he maye invade him agayne, and soo contynue, untyll he dystroyed him, or inforceid him to conformytie.

And in doing of this, or parleing with Irishemen upon the border, the Deputye shalle not nede to charge the hoole countrey; for if he have causeis with the borderers of Uriell, he maye be in Dundalke, and make his parlya-ment or warre oute of the same, and his owne person to be sure ther. Iff he have suche causeis with Orayly, he maye lye in Kynleis, in the Navan, or Arthboy. Iff with Ochonour, he may be in Trym, in Bremynghams countrey[1], Rathangan, or Kyldare. Iff with Omore, in Athye. And soo upon every border where he hathe suche cause.

And I thinke it goode, that the Deputye, twyce every yere, peruse the merche, bothe for redresse of causeis amongeis the Kinges subgectes ther, and intercomynyng with the borderers of Irishemen; and if he shalle perceyve dyverse Iryshemen, at one instaunte, to be dysposed to evell, lett hym dyssemble the hurttes of the one, pacyfye thother, and punyshe the thyrde.

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[1]Anciently Clanioris, now the barony of Carbury, in Kildare.

I wolde

I wolde have trewythe used to them, that they moughte perceyve, that we desyryd more the weale and quyete, than ther catall or goodes; for by peace they shalle growe welthye, and then they cannot endure warre. I wolde have them, if I mought, be put oute of practyse of warre.

I have byn of this opinion, or nowe, that Irishemen were more confyrmable to goode ordre, then diverse of the Kinges subgectes, and kept ther trowethes better, whiche in thErlle of Kyldares tyme was proveid trewe. I pray God yt be otherwise nowe.

Ye muste understande, the defence and goode governaunce of the Kinges subgectes, and conservation of the Kinges peace, appertayneth chyefly and principally to the charge of the Deputye; for lyke as the justices, and other offycers, receyve the Kinges fees to travayle for thexecution of the thinges whiche onely appertayne to ther office, so must the Deputye travayle in the premisses, being his principall charge.

I wolde not have the Deputye, representeing the Kinges Majesties person and estate, be a comen skurrer for every lyght mater; but, whan he shulde begynne a warre, begynne it upon a juste goode grounde, and whan it were soo begonne, to be soo profoundelye executeid, that all other shulde take example therby.

I wolde also have the Kinges Deputye, remembring whois person he representeith, be sober in langage, being more dyspleasid wyth thoffence, then with the person; for he owght to be the myrrour bothe of justice and chyvallrye; so as it is not semeing to his estate and nobilitye to use vyle langage, whiche dothe not conquest ne subdue his enymye, but rather exasperateith him to more malyce. The mysuse, or lyberalitie, of suche speche, I feare, hath don more hurtt of late, then men with all ther forceis and polycie canne redubbe agayne.

And, to be playne, except my Lorde Deputye use another moderation and temperaunce then he hathe don of late, he shalbe more meate to be ruleid, than rule; for no dought he hathe lost, in effect, the hartys of Inglyshe and Iryshe, frynde and foe; so as the dutye, whiche men beare to the Soveraigne, set aparte, he is serveid with colde harteis: whiche thing ye must in any wyse se to be refourmeid.

And as conserneing thassemble of counsaylles by the Kinges Deputye, I thinke it goode that tholde auncyent orders be therin observeid; that is, no Counsaylle be assemblyd by wryte conteyneing 14 monicion, which ordre was taken upon goode reason, for the redresse of the Deputyes wylfulnes, whiche for every cause, or peradventure for noo cause, wolde sende for the Counsaylle without geveing reasonable respyt; yea, to suche placeis, where peradventure they mought not resort surely, or at ther comeing shulde be useid to lye

in the cosherye, or otherwise, lyke noo Counsayllors; whereby, and trayneing of them to hosteinges and journayes, they, for to have his favors to be allevyated therof, wolde condescende to write and doo all thinges, that he wolde desyre of them; so as the King therby was greatly deceyveid. Werfor it was ordeyned by the King and his Counsaill, that no Counsaille shulde be assemblyd, but in maner aforesaid, and that also the Judges of the 4^{or} shuld be dyschargeid from hosteinges, parlings, roodes, and jornayes; whiche ordre is necessarye to be contynued.

And conserneing many hosteinges and jorneys, it hathe ben accustomyd, that no suche shulde be graunteid, but by the assent of the Lordes and the Kinges Counsaylle, and the proclamation therof to be made by write; for, before suche ordre be taken, the Kinges Deputye, at his owne pleasure, chargeyd the countrey with generall hosteinges, many tymes for lyght causeis, to thextreme dekaye therof. For besydes the rent to the lorde, every 120 acres is chargeid yerely with 13^{s} 4^{d} of subsydye to the King for the defence of the lande, and when any generall hosteing goyth furthe, ther is not one ploughe lande, as it is now useid, whiche hathe not been heretofore, but is chargeid with 20^{s}; so as, yf ther be fower hosteinges in the yere, the subsydye and caryage, besydes the lordes rent, and besydes the coyne and lyverye for holdeinges, together with the sergeauntes fees, the charges of sodden rodes and jorneys, therthe tyllers costes to attende upon courtes to passe inquestes, whiche all together peradventure shalle amounte to asmuche more, the charge therof wolbe an 100^{s}. Then consyder, whether it be not a goode cause, and a reason inevytable, that the lordes shulde assent or dysagre to this thing: and to reason therin, the Deputie being absent, lesse he wolde be in dyspleasure wyth any that shulde reason to the contrary his appetite therin, whiles they, with all the freholders of the countrey, muste goo in proper person therto, uppon ther charges; so as necessarye it is to provyde for ther securytie, and, on the othersyde, to preserve ther tenantes from utter undoing. For whether ther landes be wasteyd by the vyolence of the Irishemen, or by the said charges and impositions, they have loste ther rentes, so as it twicheith them nyghly to forsee the defence and preservation of the same. The causeis also whye suche osteinges shulde be graunteid muste be declareyd to them by the Kinges Deputye; at what season, in myn opinion, it shulde be necessary that two of the dyscrete gentyllmen of that border, where suche cause of warre shulde happen, mought be present ther with the Kinges Deputie, to reason and debate wyth the said Counsayll of the causeis aforesaid. And when any suche osteing is agreid and concludeid, I thinke it very necessary that no man, chargeable to goo to the same in propre person, be licenceid to tarye at home, oneles he be sycke, or have other reasonable

able and lawfull cause; for by suche lycenceis bothe the Deputie, and all the resydue, mought be infeblysheid and in perell.

And forasmuche as I here of pryvaye wisperinges and muttring, that men goo aboute to persuade, that it were necessarye to have the said Judgeis, and other officers of the Kinges Cowrtes, to goo to suche hosteinges and jorneys, under colour to gyve ther counsayll in the proceedinges therof, as who sayeth thexperyence and counsayll of men of lawe be better and more frutefull in warres, then thexperience and counsaylle of all the lordes and men of warre in the lande? I knowe not what men therby meane, except they wolde have them to suche warres ther, to wery them for the purpose before rehersid; orelles they, spekeing many tymes playnely, to have them the soner dyschargeid: wherfor let them attende ther officeis commytteid unto them, for the whiche they have ther fees, and lett other men applye the warres, whiche have ther salarys for the same; and if men, in this late ruffell, toke paynes to bring thinges to a frame, lett them rather be thankeid for the same, then the lyke to be claymeid of them of a duetye.

And yet, if men wolle consyder all thinges indyfferently, ther presence in warres, for any suche counsaylle, is not nedefull; for I am well assureid, when suche an osteing shalbe concludeid, it muste be purposyd that ther is a peace broken, whiche the breker wolle not redresse wytheoute he be constrayneid by force; this peace muste appere in writeing, or confession of the partyes. And, what soever men saye for ther pleasors, ther be fewe or no borderers upon the Inglyshery, but ther is a payre of indentures betwixte the Deputye and him, made synes thys rebellion, thoughe it please not men to shewe them, les peradventure it shulde appere by them that have receyved, by force of them, more then ther duties. Lykwyse as ther is none almoste, but have delyverid hostages, which I am sure shalbe furthe coming at leasure; so as before this Lordes and Counsaylle departe, and the jorney advaunce, necessarye it is, that, accordeing tholde usage, they conclude what redresse they wolle have the rebelle agaynste whom the jornaye shalle procede; whiche conclusion, so taken, the Deputye must folowe.

And generally what peace is ther to be taken wyth any Irishemen, but, upon hurttes don, to redresse the same as indyfferent men shalle ordre? and for the kepeing of peace in tyme comeing, and doyng of service, if he maye be allureid, and for the performaunce of the same to have hostages, if it may be, wherfor ther be to manye presidentes. And albeit that this is the olde praktyse, yet men wylle not knowe it, but dalye oute the tyme with convocation, eyther bycause they wolde be seen to be wyse, orelles to shewe themselves otherwyse.

And

And if any Irisheman, of his owne fre wille, wolle submytte hymselffe after any other sorte, as Omore, or M^c^gilphatryk hathe donne, therto it is necessary to have all the Counsaylle.

Item, that all suche indentures of agrementes be made in writeing, thone parte therof to remayne with the warden of the marche, next adjoneing to suche Irishemen, with whom the same peace shalbe concludeid; to thentent that the same may be as an open instrument to all the Kinges subgectes ther; and the same to be inrollyd by the clerke of the Crowne on the backe of the open rolle in the Chauncery, as was accustumyd of olde tyme.

Item, I wolde that no man shulde mervell, that no indentures of suche conclusions, nether letters, instructions, ne orders, be made by the King and his Counsayll, be to be shewed, whyles the Deputys, or the Kinges Chauncelours as chief of the Counsaylle, kepe the same, whiche, upon ther deathe or admocion from ther rome, shalle never be hadde; insomuche that, in myn owne tyme, I am pryvaye of many indentures and other instructions and orders diviseid and made, whiche, upon suche chaungeis, never coulde be hadde. But I have seen of oolde tyme, that suche letters, instructions, and orders shulde be lykewyse inrollyd in the Chauncery, whiche were yet goode to be useid.

Goode, also, and necessarie it were, that peaces made shulde be kepte, and not open warre rererid upon small occasions, when the Deputye, or marche captaines, lacke keen to ther kecheins; for, as I have harde, in this lande sobur captaines, desyring peace, and folowing the same, have more enriched ther owne domynions, and by polycie conquest more land, then ruffelers in the warre, redy for every tryffill to invade ther neighbor, ever coulde do, but suche many tymes impoverysheid asmuche themselfes, as ther enymyes.

Leveing the peace and warres to thordre of those whiche hathe the very knowlege of them, I wolde a lytill treate of extortions. Surely, howsoever it be nowe, I have harde that, in tymes past, the Deputyes were the mirrors of extortion; I speke not of the goode Deputyes. Howbeit, be he Inglyshe, be he Irishe, that is or shalbe Deputye, yf he setteith his pleasure uppon getteing of money, and makeing an hande for his tyme, he shalle never do goode in Ireland in that rome.

And among other thinges it hathe be useid of late, as I am enformyd, that when osteinges be proclaymeid, somes of money, carttes of vittayles, and other rewardes of cytyes, corperate townes, lordes, and gentyllmen, be receyved for ther lycence to tarye at home from the jorney; wherby the Deputies person, and all other the Kinges peoplle going in suche vyage, be in greate perell: and besydes that, if it bee soo, it is not indyfferently don, for the resydue,

resydue, if they mought have lycence to tary at home, wolde lykewyse gyve money.

Item, it shalbe goode ye take ordre that the countrey be not chargeid with cariage, otherwyse then it is wonte to be, causeles; for as I have herde, the cariage apointeid to manye jorneis, of late, is more then necessary, insomuche that some men have caryage at the charge of the countrey, to sell ther owne vytaylle in the fylde. I wolle not saye here the thing I heere of others, that it is no reason that the Deputye haveing 1000£ stypend, and the King 13^{s} 4^{d} of every ploughe land, that he shulde have caryage upon the poore peoplle.

Item, that horsseis be not lyvered withoute money paying, and abbeis, and gentyllmennes howseis, but men to kepe them in ther owne stables; for elles it is coyne and lyverye.

Item, that ye take an ordre, that poore peoplles caryages be not taken to carye no persons woodde or vytaylles, withoute paying for the same.

Also many rewardes be taken some tyme, as men saye, for selleing of justice. I am not he that wolde accuse any man; but rather I desyre all thinges otherwise to be amendeid. Howbeit, hoosoever the case be, men dare not speke.

Item, that no coyne ne lyverye be useid, but by suche as be appointeid by the Kinges printeid booke[1], and thorders ther mencyoned observid.

Item, that the greate peckes of otes, kepers of stoode, cuddeis, cosherers, and suche other nedeles extortions, wherby no defence growyth, be clerly abolysheid.

Item it shalbe goode ye inquyre of cessours of cartes, cessours of coyne and lyverye, and sergeauntes extortions, and take an ordre of them.

Item, that the lordes and captaines assembled togeders in counsaill before youe, and dyverse orders for the rule of the oste in jornaies, and agre among them selffes upon a Marshall, that canne bothe speke to men in ther langage, and use them after a sorte that hathe byn accustumyd in this land; or elles ye shall have but a fewe Irishemen or marchours to come to your oste, or to your ayde; assureing youe that among all abuseis, misordres, and extortions, ther is no oone thing which requireith spedier redres.

Ther is a Marshall of the oste, with whom I wolde shulde be joyned substanciall persons, orelles ther maye be muche extortions and brybery useid; for he, haveing the viewe of muster, of dysabylytie, or abylytye, of all men whiche come to the fylde, and cariage also, he may dysable those that be per-

[1] See before, p. 207–216.

adventure

adventure able, to the intent he wolde acquire the penaltye of the defaulte; and so mought the pore gentyllmen of the countrey, and all the inhabytauntes, be doble chargeid.

As for the Marsshall of the armye, whiche nowe being brought to a garryson, I thinke it not muche necessarye to have suche an officer nowe; for the poore peoplle of the countrye hathe ben more trubleid and indomageid before the Marshall, then in all the Kinges Courtes; and as I suppose it is not mete to have the Kinges subjectes, in one case, justyfyed by the comen lawe, and in lyke case before the Marshall.

And consydering that moste of tharmye hathe fermes and habytations in the countrye, betwyxt whom and other the Kinges subgectes dyverse actions, reall and personall, maye growe; that suche actions shalbe tryed before the Marshall, whiche hathe no knowlege of the nature of thaction, neyther of the tryall of yt: wherfor I thinke goode, that all causeis, except in the fylde, the banner being dysplayed, be tryed by thordre of the Kinges lawes; for, seing all be the Kinges subgectes, let them all be justyfyed by His Graceis lawes.

Item, that no Brehonnes lawes be useid; neyther canes, erykes, sawtes, ne byenges, taken amonges the Kinges subgectes, but every of the Kinges subgectes to be justyfied by the Kinges lawes. And where I have byn enformed, that diverse marche lordes and captaynes hathe made lawes amonges themselfes, that whosoever under any ther rules pursue any action at the Kinges lawes, shall forfete 5 markes; and allso, when themselfes come to Parlyamentes or Counsayles, they leyvye ther expenceis and costes upon the Kinges poore subgectes under ther rules; I wolde ye shulde redresse the same, and have suche captaynes bounden not to use suche manyfest extortions.

Bicause the admynistration of the Kinges lawes, and thordre of the Counsaylle, and the Fower Courtes, is nowe to be treatyed of, wherein albeit that my knowlege be leyst, yet I wolle twiche some thinges conserneing the same. It is nedefull ye consyder, whether the Counsayllers be of those conditions and qualytyes, that Counsayllors ought to be. As for my self, I knowlege I am not; and specyally those, that be of the Privye Counsayle. Serche that they be no brybers, extortioners, or merely affectyonat; seing that harde it is to man, infecteyd in those abuseis, correct others. Consider therfor, besides ther maners and conditions, ther dyscretions, and that they be unyforme, wythoute dyssention or grudge amonges themselffes, as ye be. For elles harde it shalbe to them to use the parties of goode Counsayllours, to reforme and amende others, whiche cannot agre themselfes to geder, but one to dysdayne an other. And if ther be any rancor amonges them, lett it be clerely extyrped and extincte; especyally the grudge, the whiche I have perceyved, of late, to be betwyxt my Lorde Deputye

Deputye and the Erlle of Ossery and his sonnes: for yf the same shalle contynewe, the King shalbe evyll servid, and the countrey soore hynderid; so as, except they drawe by oone lyne, it were better they were bothe of the countrey, then in hit. And after myn opinion, it were goode to examyn the causeis of ther dyspleasors, so as it mought playnly appere, where defaulte is; for yf it be clotterid up in an hobyll shoffe, ther endure amytie and conformytie, but aslong as ye shalbe here; being well assured, that ye wolde be sory to leave thinges in worsse sort att your departure, then they were at your hyther comeing, as I feare me ye shalle, lesse ye be very syrcumpect in ordre of thinges.

Item, I thinke it goode, that the Lorde Chauncelor, with certen others of the Lordes and Counsaylle, sitte in the Counsayll Chambre every terme, twice in the weeke at the least, to here and ordre compleintes of the poore peoplle; the omission wherof hytherto, in my opinion, hathe don muche hurtte; and that the Clerke of the Counsaylle, or his deputie, attend ther, to entre suche ordres and other thinges, as shalbe don before the same Lorde Chauncelor and Counsaill in suche partyculer causeis; whiche thing oonely, as I do take it, apperteyneth to his office, and not to attende upon the Kinges Deputye, for how coulde he then serve in thother place? And, as I do take it, the Clerke of the Counsayll is bounde to doo the same thinges before the Lord Chauncellor and Counsayll in comen matters, that the Master of the Rolles, and his clerkes, ben bounde to do in the Chauncery; that is to saye, to awarde proces, kepe and gyve the copies of billes and other maters ther in debate, examyn the wytnes, enter recognisaunces, and all other thinges ther don.

And as to attende upon the sayd Counsaylle in any other causeis of secret counsayle, it is no parte of his office; for eyther muste it folowe, that the Clerke of the Counsayll must be alwaye of the Counsaylle by reason of that office onely, soo as he may heere all the secretes therof, orelles can not make entries of those thinges whiche is don in secrete counsaylle. But if men wolde make a dystinction betwyxt the Secretaries office, and the Clerkes of the Counsaill, they wolde not saye as they doo; so as I am sure your wisedoms wolle ordre the same accordingly. And, as I said before, if any man hath don more then to his office apperteynith, yt were better to gyve him thankes for the same, then eyther wythe evyll entretement clayme the lyke for a duetie, or yet taunte him with the benefyghtes he hathe receyvid frely of the Kinges benyvolence. For, as me semeith, it shulde neyther become noble ne gentyllman, yf he consyder the begynnyng of nobylitie, to dysdayne or taunte any man with the Princeis guyftes, supposing that ther ben very fewe of estimation, but eyther he, or his auncetours, hathe ben avaunceid by the nobilitye and lybe-

 ralytie

ralytie of the Prynce, or some other noble man, or by those whiche receyvid the same by suche meane.

I thinke it goode, also, that the Judgeis kepe Quarter Cessions, especyally within this fower shyres, and that the Generall Cessions be kept at suche tyme as the Deputye shalle ryde the marche; to the intent that by his power the justices maye be defendeid, and the marchours brought to justyce.

And asfor the fower shyres above Barrowe, I thinke it necessarye, that untill the Kavenaghes, the Byrnnes, and the Thooles been banysheid and reformeid, that the Kinges Highnes a Justice, a Baron of the Escheker, and other necessarye officers to minister his lawes, within the citie of Waterfford, to His Graceis subgectes of the same fower shyres; untyll whiche thing be donne, doubtles small obedyence of the lawe shalle encrease ther; and the fees, which been paide the officers of the lybertye of Waxford, wolle helpe well to the furnature of thother. And there is a pryorye besydes Waterford, callid Seint Katherins, and diverse other within the same shyres, whiche yf they were suppressed, the revenus therof, wyth the fyrst frewtes and 20^{tie} parte and some subsydye, wolde make an honest revenus towardes the Kinges charges.

Item, that my Lorde of Ossery, and his sonne, be bounde not onely to constreyne the inhabytauntes ther to thobedyence of the Kinges lawes, but also bothe to ayde the Kynges Shyrif, and other the Kinges officers, and to permyt the yerely subsydye of the ploughe landes to be levyed accordeing the graunte of Parlyament; wherat, in myn opinion, they shulde not stycke, considering the Kinges goodenes them, and that they themselffes, with the knightes and burgesses in thoys parties, assentyd to the same in open Parlyament. Neyther is ther any reason, in my opinion, to the contrarye, but that the subsydie shulde be levyable ther, aswell as it is in the countyes of Kyldare or Wexford: and therfor I wolde ye take order wyth them aboute the same, before your departure, and the Kinges regall service, his wardes, and other revenus ther; and they have neyther the makeing ne appointeing of any captaine of the Irishery, neyther have any suche at ther warre and peace, but every suche lorde, or Okarrayle, Omore, Ochonour, Macmurroughe, and all suche lyke, to be upon the Kinges pease and warre, and at not thers.

Item, that at suche garrysons as they have of the King, to put honeste persons to guarde them, so as the Kinges subgectes goodes be not conveyeid awaye by them withoute rescouse, neyther the Kinges peoplle passing by them indomageid, but releaved and succurryd.

As for the Lord Chauncelor, and other Jugeis of the Fower Courtes, among whiche even as I am taken to be oone of the inferiors in degre, so am I moste

I moste barbarous of wytte and lerneing, so as lyke as a blynde manne canne judge noo colours, soo I, destytute of conneing and learneing, cannot dyscerne ther abylytye or dysabylytie; wherfor I leve the judgement therof to your highe wysedoms and lerneinges, except that I wolde they hadde ther robes or habytes accordeing the statute, supposeing that ther fees be to smalle to attende to thexecution of ther offices. And I wolde, if it mought be, that the Kinges Sergeaunte, Sollicitour, and Attorney, shulde take noo fee but the Kinges onely, wherby I am well assureid the King shulde be serveid. Howbeit, consydering the contrarye is useid in Ingland, I referre the same to your owne ordre.

And, bycause the shyre of Meathe is soo large, that one shyre cannot well execute the Kinges proces, I thinke it goode that the same be devideid into twoo shyres; one to be callid the countye of Meathe, and thother the countye of Westmeathe, to be lymytid from Athboy westwarde &c.

As to thordre of the Fower Courtes, haveing lytill or noo experience in any of them, except the Chauncery, and a lytill in thExchequer, I entende a lytill to devyse for thordre of the Chauncery, leaveing thordre of thothers to thois whiche better experience of them.

Fyrste, that the Lorde Chauncelour carye the Greate Sealle with him, whersoever he goithe, aslong as he shalbe any where resyaunte or trayvaileing within the Kinges domynion.

Item, that he bring the same Sealle with him, at suche tymes as he sitteith in the Chauncery, and ther sealle the Kinges proces openlye.

Item, noo clerke write no proces, ne other thinges whiche shalle passe the Greate Sealle, but he be fyrste admytteid and sworne, accordeing the ordre useid in Ingland.

Item, no writes, ne other writinges, whiche shalle passe the Greate Sealle, be put to the sealle by any clerke, before the same be examyned by the Master of the Rolles, or Master of the Chauncerye.

Item, noo subpena be awardeid, before a bille of compleinte be exibytid, and filaceid with the Master of the Rolles clerke; upon payne that the clerke, writeing suche writte, to paye the costes of the partye appereing upon suche wryte; and that the name of the plaintyf be indorceid upon every suche write.

Item, that the Lorde Chauncelour, ne the Master of the Rolles, heare, ne dyscusse, oute of terme, nother in the terme tyme, but suche place where thother Courtes be kept.

Item, that all entres of any ordres be made in the same Courte by the Master of the Rolles, or his clerkes.

Item, that the same Master of the Rolles cause the open rolle, callid

" Rotula Patent'," to be made duely, and that the Clerke of the Crowne make and enrolle commissions, and all thinges that twiche the King.

Item, that the " Close Rolle" contain wrytes whiche be fynable, recognisaunces, amerciamentes; the patentes of accomptauntes be duely made and certyfied in the Kinges Exchequer &c.

Item, an ordre to be taken, howe the Clerke of Hanaper shalbe chargeid to accompte for the fees of thinges that passe the Greate Sealle.

Item, upon an issue joyned in the Chauncerye, three severall dayes to be gyven to bring in the proves and writes for the same, and after the last peremptorie daye past, no more dayes to be guyven for that purpose.

Item, in advoydeing subornation, after the publication of the witnes, no more witnes to be receyved, admytteid, ne examyned, upon the proffe of thissue, except upon thexceptions ministred againste the same witnes, and ther sayinges; whiche witnes, callyd " probatoriorum reprobatorios," so receyved, no more wytnes to be admytteid or examyned after ther publication, except upon exceptions to be ministred againste ther witnes, so reproveing the firste witnes, callyd " reprobatoriorum reprobatorios;" whiche soo admitteid, examyned, and publysheid, none other ne more witnes after to be receiveid in that cause, but to procede to fynall decre and judgement: and after any decre or judgement gyven, the same to stande in force, untill upon a newe bille and proces the same shalbe rekoned.

Item, that no witnes be made, admitteid, and receyveid in the Chauncery, to be examined " ad perpetuam rei memoriam," but upon a sufficient bille exhibited; and that the adversarye partye, whom the same twicheith, shalbe callid by proces to see the same witnes produceid, to the intent he maye, if he see cause, except peremptoryly againste them, wherby they may be repeleid from any testimonye.

Item, it shalbe well don that ye inquire, by what auctorytie the Lorde Chauncelour, and the Master of the Rolles, and his clerkes, receyve to ther owne use the fynes of writes of entres in le post, and all other fynes of wrytes fynable, whiche be paide to the Kinges use.

Item, that ye ordre what perquisites the said Master of the Rolles clerkes shalle take for the copye of every bille, aunswer, replication, and suche other proces. It hathe been accustumyd hitherto, that they toke 2^{s} Iryshe, for every copye.

Item, the Master of the Rolles, haveing auctoritie by his lettres patentes to examyn all wytnes there to be producteid, it were goode ye shulde ordre what he shulde take, bothe for thexamynation of every witnes, and the copye of the same.

Item,

Item, what fees shalbe taken for every decre to be enterid in the recordes.

And generally, I thinke goode that bothe thofficers in that Courte, and all other Courtes, exercyce ther offices after the maner of Ingland, doing ther dueties therin accordingly, and for ther so doing to have the lyeke perquisites; for surely, untyll men maye have suche advauntages in ther offices, as they may have an honest lyveing therby, they wille never travaylle to attayne the knowlege of ther duetyes.

Item, it were goode, that some place were assigneid to the Master of the Rolles, for the kepeing of the fylaceis and recordes of the Chauncery.

Item, that the Marsheall fynde a cryer, to serve the Courte of the Chauncery.

And as conserneing all the Kinges recordes, ther wolde be some ordre taken for the sure kepeing of them, for as they be handeleid nowe, it is pytye to see them; and therfor I wolde have a man appointeid to kepe them, to whom they shulde be delyverid by indenture; and any person that wolde make serche, to paye bothe a certen for suche serche, and for the copye of the recordes; so as none of them shulde, at any tyme, be taken owte of the place where they shulde be in custodye.

Item, in my mynde it were a goode deade, that with thadvyse of the justices toke some ordre that the poore inhabytauntes of the country were not so comynly callid to the castell of Dublyn, owte of the shyres where they dwell, to passe inquestes; whiche, I assure you, is a mervelous vexation and impoverishement to them, insomuche as men dayly sell ther freholdes to advoide the same.

And in any wyse some ordre to be taken immedyatly for the buildeing of the castell hall, where the lawe is kept; for yf the same be not buyldeid, the magestie and estimation of the lawe shalle perryshe, the justices being then enforceid to minister the lawes upon hylles, as it were Brehons, or wylde Irishemen, in ther Eriottes. Orayles fyne of the 1000 kyne wolde buylde it, and amende the gaylle of Trym.

Item, that ye appointe in every shyre a comen gayle; the lacke wherof causeith many malefactours to escape ponyshement, which is oone of the chyef causeis that ther be so many theves.

Item, I thinke it necessarye that all compleintes of the Kinges poore subgectes exibytyd to the Lorde Deputye be delyverid, from tyme to tyme, to the Clerke of the Counsayll, and he to make proces immedyatly for the defendauntes to appere before the Lorde Chauncelor and Counsayle, to make aunswer to the same, and they to take an ordre therin, after a formall faction, as hathe been useid in tymes paste.

CLXXXIV. The Justice Luttrells Booke.

In my conseyt, the takeing of coyne and lyverye, and the abuseis and enormites that is introsid upon the same, wherof coyne and lyverye is the rote, is the moste cause of the decaye of Kynges trewe obbeysaunce of the lande, and the comyn weale of the same, whiche daylye encreaseith more and more; soo as, if reformation therof be not hadde, is lyke to make this small parte of the shyres of Dublin, with Kyldare, and Uriell, whiche unto this tyme have useid Englishe ordre, resembling partely to the goode ordre of Englande, to be lyke Mownyster, Conaght, and Ulster, wherin there is but a feyned obeysaunce to our Prynce, noo lawes useid, but suche as the rulers therof orderith after ther owne sensuall appetites, and daylye occysion of them by thordre.

For fyrst, as I have herde, coyne and lyverye was the moste cause of the dystruccion and exyle of the trewe Englyshe inherytors and inhabitauntes oute of Mounster, Conaght, and Ulster. For, fyrste, it made wastes; and notwithstanding the wastes, the captaynes therof kept ther coyne over the wastes, and accomptid suche coyne, as the same wastes shulde have come to, their coyne, if it hadde byn manurid, to a serten somme, to the value of the purchase therof, and then toke the same wastes to ther owne handes, as landes forfetyd for not bering of the saide coyne.

Item the Walshemen, marchers of the countye of Dublyn, the Geraldins, the Baron of Delvyn, and all other marchers borderers of the said fower shyres of Dublyn, Meathe, Kyldare, and Louthe, unto nowe of late, useid, and as yet, under the jurysdyccion of the said Baron, and in the countye of Kyldare, it is useid, to ceasse the wastes wythe coyne, aswell as that as manured; and what soever thing maye be founde on the same wastes, whether it be men passeing through, or catell, they doo take them for ther coyne, orelles they accompte the some the wastes shulde come to; and when it is sett, they levye theroff the hoole. And, as it saide, the said Barons kern takeith for the same wastes of other landes and villages manured, of the owners of the same wastes, whiche causeith muche wastes to contynue, more then wolde doo; and if remedye thereof be not hadde, is very lyke to come to the course aforesaide, of wastes in Mounster.

Item, the fyrste coyne of galloglasseis, callid Coyne Bon, that was ceassid in thes quarters within this 50 yeres, that Geralde, fader to Geralde, late Erlle of Kyldare, cessid in the countye of Kyldare, whiche was one Barret, haveing but 24 speres; whiche came to him, being exyled oute of Conaght.

Item

Item, the saide galleglasseis soo encreasid, in the tyme of the said Geralde the fader, that, in his tyme, they came to 120 speers; moste parte to the charge of the saide countye, whiche his sonne Geralde cessid on Iryshe oftentymes, and dyschargeid muche the saide countye of them and ther charge.

Item, the saide twoo Erlles, being Deputyes, toke noo coyne in the hert of thEnglyshe pale of the countye of Dublyn, Meathe, ne Louthe, but comeing thoroughe the same, for one nyght and one daye, to be in one place.

Item, the Baron of Delvin, being Substitute Deputie under the said Erlle, then being in England, was the fyrst that, goyng throughe the said parte, toke coyne for twoo nightes and twoo dayes, whiche was never before seen.

Item, the Erlle of Osserye, after being Deputye, in the fyrst rebellyon of the traytor this Oconour, and the Garraldynes, after toke coyne within the said quarter, for fower dayes and nyghtes in one place, whiche was never seen before ther.

Item, after, the saide late Erlle of Kyldare, upon the said presydent, toke ther coyne and lyverye, as is aforesaid, folowing the presydent of the said Baron, for 2 dayes and nyghtes; and nowe the same folowith mor and more, whiche wylle make the said quarters, that hathe lyn unto this tyme preservid after some Englyshe sort and maner, to be lyke to the rest of the merches, if hastye remedy therof be not hadde.

Item, I do remembre my self, being of thage of 40 yeres, when at the cesseing of 120 galloglassheis in the countye of Kyldare, in exchewing of thErldom therof, many Englyshe husbondes of the same countye came to inhabyt in the countye of Dublyn and Meathe at one tyme, and soo yerely others folowid, so that nowe the said countye, whiche was more parte Englyshe, as the countye of Dublyn now is, ther is not one husbondman, in effect, that spekeith Englyshe, ne useith any English sort ne maner, and ther gentyllmen be after the same sort; all by reason of coyne and: and the conversation with the Iryshe sort that takeyth yt, and the poverte that men is brought to by the same, causeyth ther gentyllmen, oneles be fewe that takeyth the same extortion, or have gayne therby, that they are not well able to set an Englyshe garment about them.

Item, the saide countye of Kyldare, and elleswhere, in marches, where the saide contynuall coyne, otherwyse callid Coynowe Bowne, is taken, was extendeid to beere the same after no indyfferent sortte; for some 20^{ti} acres many placeis is chargeid with asmuche as 100 acres in many other placeis; so that

that ther landes in favour, or hadde wylle under thErlles of Kyldare, and other marche captaines, have that fredom, and others not, so long as coyne shalbe thought of necessyte to contynue, wold be remedied, so that all landes in the same mercheis to be lyke chargeid, were reasonable. Also the captin of the mercheis of Dublyn, and his kynnesmen, callid the Walshemen, and the Baron of Slane and his kynnesmen, over and besydes ther coyne and foys, whiche is to take horssemeate and mannes meate, claymeing it for no dewe, takeith in every village under ther jurysdyction, quarterlye, serten money for ther expenceis, callid Byerahe, some of them 13^{s} 4^{d}, some 6^{s}, some 4^{s}, and others 2^{s}.

Item, moste parte of the marches makeith lawes after ther owne apetytes, with penaltyes, and for manye other offenceis, wherof the Kinges Courtes and lawes shulde have ther, and the King the forfeture, takeith fynys therfor, callid Canys, so that the King lakyth his profytes therby.

Item, if any of the pore tenauntes of many marchers have any cowe, oxe, hyde, or other vytaylle, to be solde, and selle the same to others, not offering it fyrst to the lorde owner of the soyle, his saide lorde takeyth cane, or penaltye, of the poore fermour therfor, comynly to 6^{s} 8^{d}, and yet his said lorde wolde not yeve therfor nothing so moche as the thing may be solde for to others; and, as it is saide, the Lorde of Kylkullin much useith this.

Item, in causeis of contention and debate for landes or goodes in the marcheis betwyxte parties, if any of the parties geve rewardes, callid Byinges, to the captaynes ther, or ther sonnes, or suche other, he that accepteith suche byinges takeith pleges for the same contention, and oftentymes putteith with force him in possession that gevyth the said byinges of the thing in debate, and dyffynyth the mater, so that lytill or nothing is orderid by the Kinges lawes in that marcheis; and some marcheis have set fynys, otherwyse called canys, upon suche as wolde sue at the Kinges lawes, but causyth suche debates to be determined by ther Iryshe juges, callid Brehennes.

Item, all lordes and gentyllmen, and fermers, if they be horsemen of the said 4 shyris, very fewe exceptid, that dwell withoute thes lymytes hereafter mentioned, that is to saye, fro Dublin to Taulaught, and so by the mountayne foote unto Oughtyrhard, and from thens unto Saint Wolstons, and to Lexlip, and from thens to the barony of Donboyn, Rathergan, and as the high way extendeyth from thens to Trym, and fro Trym unto Athboy, and from Athboy to Arbrekan, and from Arbekran to Slane, and from Slane to Mellyfount, and to Drogheda, and so as the see extendeyth to Dublin, takeith horsemete and mannes mete for ther horskepers, and for all other horsseis, and ther kepers, that resorteith to ther houseis, upon ther poore fermors contynually; whiche lytill

lytill precyncte it not muche above 20 miles in lengyth, ne in bredeith, and yet within the same precincte many tymes bothe some lordes and gentyllmen settyth the charge of ther horseis, and ther kepers, over ther fermors.

Item, the horsemen of this countre, to the charge of the poore fermors, have usid to have hymself 3 horseis, 3 horseboyes, and many of them one other boye to kepe his spores and hose, and to make them clene, namid a Dalten; and yet bring but one man to serve the King in his warres: whiche is greate consumption and waste of horsemete and mannes meate.

Item, it is said that many suche as be captains, and have the rule of men of this countrey, and most specially in the countye of Kyldare, wold rather have warre then peace, to thentent to have the men of warre, horseis, and knaveis, founde on the charges of the countrey, for therby they have gaynes.

Item, the forsaid oppressions, which growyth more and more dayly, and the famylyaryte and companye, that bothe gentillmen freholders and Englyshe fermors have with suche men of warre, causid most of the freholders sell ther freholdes, and them, and many fermors, to sell all that they have, and go to Ingland; and suche as here abydeyth, for the more parte, to use themselfes bothe in habyt, speche, and maner, after the Iryshe sort and fassion; so that Englyshe ordre is lyke utterly to be put awaye, oneles hasty remedy therfor be provideid.

Item, many other abuseis are, whiche aperyth in the presente booke, better then I can expresse them.

Item, asfor any enormyties or abuseis useid in the shyres of Wexford, Kylkenny, Typperare, or Waterford, I have noo knowlege therof.

Item, where by a goode Statute it is orderid, that the Deputies herbynger, or cessor of coyne, cartes, and cariages, and all other taxeis extraordynarye to be put on the countrey, the same shulde be made and cessid indyfferently by thadvise of 4 gentlemen of every barony, to thentent the poore peoplle shulde not be polled of more, then shulde be requysyt, or serve the peoplle; nowe the herbinger and cessors apointeid by the Deputie, do it sole by him or them selfes, so that therby they have more gayne of extortion, than any gentilman of goode possession have by ther landes; in exchewing wherof, the said Estatute wolde be goode to be put in execution, and audytors to be put upon them, to see that noo exaction, more then nede, shulde be taken for the singuler lucre of the cessors, or any other.

Item, if the quarter of Leynyster, wherein inhabytith the M^{c}morowes, otherwyse callid the Kevanaghes, the Byrnes, and Tolys, lying as a galle betwyxt thes quarters of Dublin and Kyldare and the counties of Wexford and Kylkennye, were reformid to the Kinges cyvyll obedyence, so that the Kinges

subjectes of bothe the quarters aforsaid, and this quarter, mought be dyschargeid of the said inwarde enymise, and to resorte to gyder, haveing no dought but of the outeward borders, the King might have in this lande a greate deale of revenus and goode obedyence, more then His Grace have nowe, and muche of the said exactions put awaye; and then the borders or merches of the said counties of Dublin, Kyldare, Carlaghe, Kylkenny, and Wexford, bordering to the said Iryshemen, in shorte proces, wolde be more welthyer and Englysheer, than the best parte of Ireland is nowe: whiche thing is facyle ynowghe to be brought to passe by suche meanes as your Mastership maye knowe, by consulteing with the Counsaill, and suche borderers as shalle please you, and them, to call to youe for that purpose.

Item, allthoughe coyne and lyverye utterly cannot be put awaye, tyll the countrey be at some better staye then it is, yet some moderation may be hadde therin by your Mastership, that it shalle not be so excessyvely takyn, as yt is, to the greate relyf of the poore peoplle.

Item, where the horssemen of this countrey have himself 3 horsseis, 3 horsseboyes, at the least, to the charge of the peoplle, and but only hymself for the werre; 2 horsseis and one horseboye were sufficient to serve the purpose.

Item, if provision were made that in stede of galloglassheis, kern, and horssemen of Iryshemen, oftyn retayned by the Deputie for to defende the townis, callid holdeinges, sometymes for a quarter, half quarter, monethe, or lesse, as the case requyre, whiche growyth to greate charge, and the profit taken by them, whiche, in effect, are but enymyse, and do but fayned service; that the said Englyshe inhabytauntes shulde provide of themselfes, in stede of galloglasseis, bowmen and byllmen, and in stede of Iryshe men, horssemen inhabyteing within thEnglyshery, to do that service when nede shall requyre, and after to attende ther husbondry, and other meanes to leve by, they wolde more faythfull and ernyst be for ther owne defence, then the oders, and the money and other charges takyn by the said Iryshemen, to reste amongest the Englyshery, whiche wolde be greatly to ther comyn weale.

Item, that the thoroughefare and boroughe townes, to thentent they shulde be the more able well to entreate the Kinges soldyors and subjectes for ther money, resorteing and passeing throughe, and also to thentent men shalle have the lesse occasion to resort upon the pore fermors, paying nothing, may be dyschargeid of all coyne and lyverye, carteinges, and other suche lyke impositions; and also that soldyors, ne others, shall take no horsemete, ne mannes meate, in the said throughefares and borowghe townes, but at suche price as the hostlers maye have a reasonable lyveing, whiche shalle incurrage them to dwell ther;

ther; elles the said townes wylle utterly decaye and men wylle not dwell in them. For the Nasse, by whiche the soldyors have byn muche releved, the housbondes, and others, are lyke to avoyde it, bycause of the excesse takeing of ther otes for nothing in effect.

Item, the soldyors, where they have dyspleasur, some of them takyth suche otys as thay have for ther horsseis, all of one man contynually, so that they leve not otys within to sowe his lande, ne to make malte for his sustenance the yere folowing; whereby the pore man is constreyned to leve his lande sowyn, and to by his malte for his provision after a deare price. Therfor it were necessary, where the soldyers do take ther ottes of every man indyfferently in a towne or paryshe, by the apointement of the counstable.

Item, wheare the opinion of manye is, that the borders is best defendeid by kern and galloglasheis, experyence do schewe, in my conseyt, otherwyse; for the baronye of Newcastell, adyoneing to the Toolys, by thEnglyshe husbondes, inhabytauntes, and copye freholders therof, and ther greate and suer vyllages, with ther Englyshe bowes and bylles, have better defendeid the same marcheis, haveing no holdeing of no kern, horsemen, ne galloglassheis, then eny other marche in this lande; and yett they lyve styll after an Englyshe sort and maner.

Item, the ofte chaungeing of Deputies, of England born, is muche the decaye of the comen weale, for therby they have the lesse occasion for the goode order of the peoplle, and is lesse favorid and dreddeid with Iryshe men and others, and have not so goode knowlege to order the peoplle, and to knowe what thinges were best to be don for the comyn wealthe, as they shulde yf they hadde contynuaunce here: therfor yt shulde be goode they allwaye to contynue, oneles apparaunt cause of mysordering of them were substancyally provid.

Item, an Englyshe man to be Deputye were muche better than one of this countrey born, bycause it is to be thought that they would lesse inclyne to the takeing of coyne and lyverye, then one of this countrey.

Item, where it is reporteid, that the Kinges pleasure to have justices of his lawes in the shyres of Wexford, Waterford, Typperare, and Kylkennye, to be resyaunt ther; in my conseyt it were goode the same justices shulde dwell in that quarters, and one of them to have the name of one of the Justices of the Kinges Benche, thoder of the Comyn Place, and one other of the Barons of thExcheker, whiche mought resort hyther at tymes, when they maye oportunytie of tyme, and be resolveyd of suche doubtes as they shulde have in ther quarters; wolde be more regardeid, being nameid Juges of the Kinges 3 Highe Courtes, then they wolde otherwyse; and they to have power to

here and determyne all plees, except royall actions, and allso the tryall of royall actions to be before them by Nisi Prius, and the King nede not to be chargeid with muche greate for geveing them, then His Grace shulde geve them being but only justyce of that quarters. And also the saide Baron myght be receyvour of the Kinges revenues in the same quarters; and by this meane the inhabytauntes of the said quarters shulde be the sonyr trayned to a cyvyll Englyshe ordre and obedyance.

Item, to thentent to bring up agayne Englyshe ordre, speche, and apparell, it were goode, first the hedde of every howse within thEnglyshe pale to be causid to weare cloke and cappe, and to use Englyshe ordre in his house, and to have long here; and so, after, to trayne the same ordre to the marcheis, when the thing is ones in use fully in the Englyshe pale; and after to cause servauntes, that takeith above 20^{s} wages, to use the same, and other servauntes to have cootes after an Englyshe making: but all, at the fyrst tyme, togeder wolde be harde to be brought to this ordre. And also a provision must be hadde for cappis of light price oute of England, for ther is none made in this countrey. And to thentent to have the chyldren to lerne Englyshe, thoughe the fader cann none, it were necessarye to have a curat, that can speke Englyshe, in every parishe, wher ther is no person bounde to resydence, or the parson, or the vycar, wher there is any, to lerne dayly the said chyldren Englyshe, and ther Beleve; takeing for ther labors of the faders. And also to have serten bowyers and fletchers sende hyther, to make childrens bowes and shaftes, and the chyldren, after scole, to use shoteing one ower or two every daye. And also to have muche bowys send hyther, at the Kinges charges, for men and chyldren, if no bowyers may be hadde, and the bowis to be solde, and the King to have some gayne therby, to thentent to cause men and chyldren to be archers, and bothe to be causid to use shewteing on hollydayes, and the counstables, with the over sight of the justice of the peace, to see this occupied and useid.

Item, also, to cause wemen to use kertelles after an Englyshe fashion, setteing awaye safren shyrtes, neckerchyfes, and safryn smokes; and no sylke to be on ther kyrtelles.

Item, for that Iryshe beggers, rymors, bordes, comyn wemen, pardoners, pypers, harpers, and suche lyke, have bygyfte money, and ther sustenaunce of the peoplle, and spyeth the countrey to ther enymyes, and set oute to them ther goodes, wherby they be ofte robbeid; that it be orderid that none shalbe sufferid to come emongest thEnglyshe men, for by ther Iryshe guyftes and minstraunlcye they provokeith the peoplle to an Iryshe order. And, to thentent that every begger shalbe knowen, from whens he comyth, that none

none be sufferid to begge, but in the paryshe where he dwellyth a serten tyme before.

Item, it were good also, that none shulde have in Englysherye no hors-kepers, but suche as were born within the same, lest they shulde espye, as the persons aforesaid, where any spoyle or praye may be hadde, and after geve knowlege therof to ther frendes, being Iryshe, or take it them selffes.

Item, for thEnglyshe husbondmen, laborers, servauntes at husbondrye, dayly, for the exchewing thoppression of coyne and lyverye, and some after they have loste ther goodes by thoccasion therof, and by spoyles and robberyes, goyth dayly into Ingland, and never after retorneyth, and in ther stedes none can be hadde but Iryshe; therfor it were good that restrainte of ther departure be made, according to the Acte of Parlyament before this therupon orderid.

Item, it shulde be good for the comyn wealthe to introduce Englyshe ordre, that one Custos Rotulorum, and Clerke of the Peace, to be in every shyre, and Quarter Sessions to be kept sometymes in the marcheis, and that Juges shulde kepe cyrcutes, and that bothe lordes and gentillmen shulde gyve ther attendaunce ther, and that suche as shulde be Juges therof to have some reasonable alowaunce for ther costes.

Item, for that povertye makeith men that they are not able to sue, and that in the Countie Courtes, for lak of knowlege of the lawe, maters under 40^{s} be not determyned as the lawe wolde, that one lerned man in the lawe shulde sytte with the Shyryf, haveing some reward for to see pore have right.

Item, bycause that aswell the sutors, as the jurors inpanellid in enquestes, be muche troblid in ofte comeing to Dublin, by reason of challengeinges of consanguynytye and affynyte within the 9th decre, and also for lacke of freholde, so that therby thenquestes ofte remayne for lake of jurors, and that ther be but right fewe, but suche as is within the said degres of affynitie or consanguynytye to gydder, if they be gentilmen, and also fewe that have freholdes to the yerely value of 40^{s}, and by reason of ther ofte resort to Dublin, causyth many freholders to spende all that they have, and to selle ther freholdes, so that within short proces it is very lyke that ther shalbe no freholder to serve that purpose; therfor it were goode to have it enacteid, that ther shulde no challenge be takyn, but to suche as were within the degreis of maryage of kyn to gydder, and that also that men of 20^{s}, or some haveing goodes to a serten value, as shalbe thought goode, to passe in tryalles; and also that all maters, except urgent causeis, to be tryed by Nisi Prius, except maters within the same shyres, where the Courtes doo sytte.

Item, for that fewe or none can have knowlege of all Statutes made in this

this lande, bycause they be kept in the Tresaurye, and no bookes made of them, by reason wherof manye offendeyth therin for ingnoraunce, and for ingnoraunce omyttyth to ensue the profe of the same; yt were necessary, and a gracyous acte, that all the same Statutes were set in prynt, whiche wolde be bought comynly in this lande, at any reasonable price whyche the sellors wolde demaunde.

CLXXXV. Sentleger and Others *to* Crumwell.

Pleasith your good Lordship to be advertised, that the 8th daye of this instant moneth we arryved at Dublin [1], at which tyme the Lorde Deputie, with diverse of the Kinges Counceill here, were upon the marches, to parle with certeyn Irish rebelles for theyr peax, and to take pledges of theym for the same: (to us summe tracte of tyme). And incontynent after his repayre and consultacion had with hym, and oders of the Kinges Counceill, of thastate of this the Kinges Realme, we proceded to the dissolucion of the armye, with noo litle busines to staye the murmurs amongest the souldiours. Howbeit, we truste it is passid in such sorte as shalbe to the honor of the Kinges Magestie, and quietnes of all the seid armye. Neverthelesse, we have as yette summe difficultye to staye the nombre assigned to remayn here, for the wages appoynted.

And further we signefye your Lordship, this daye we procede to the survey of the Kinges landes [2], towardes the parties where James Desmonde is; with

[1] In bag, "Ireland," in the Chapter House, is a letter from Agard to Crumwell, of the 27th of September, from whence it appears that he had accompanied the Commissioners from England, being the bearer of treasure; and that they went on the 26th to Powerscourt, a place of the King's, lately re-edified by Mr. Treasurer, and intended to peruse all Kildare, Carlow, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, and Wexford, and to return to Dublin for the Parliament, which stood prorogued to the 13th of October.

[2] The Commissioners pursued their object on this journey, by holding inquests relative to the state of the several counties and towns, which they visited. There are extant, in the State Paper Office, the presentments made by the Juries for each of the counties, except Tipperary, and for the towns of Kilkenny, Irish-town, Clonmell, Dungarvan, and Wexford. Most of them are very prolix, and yet none exhibits an entire picture of the grievances, under which the country laboured, and which the Commissioners were sent to redress. It is therefore thought better to give a summary of the matters contained in these inquests, than to print them, or any one of them, at length.

It was found that all freeholders, lay and spiritual, charged their tenants with coin and livery, with foy and pay, with summer-oats, with codies and coshies, with black men, with black money,

with

with whom we trust to have commonycacion, accordinge to the Kinges Highnes pleasure and commaundement in that behalf. And as causes and matter of importaunce shall occurre, we shall advertise your good Lordship accordingly. And thus Our Lorde God preserve your good Lordship with encrease of honor. Written at the Citie of Dublin, the 26 of Septembre.

(*Signed*) ANTONY SENTLEG[illegible].
(*Signed*) GEORGE POULET.
(*Signed*) THOMAS MOYLE.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BERNERS.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable Lorde Crumwell,
Lorde Privey Seale.

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with the maintenance of mustrons, and with carriage services. Nor was there any definite limit to the amount of these services, so that they were exacted at the mercy of each individual lord, or his harbinger. Thus, though summer-oats were said to be restricted to a bushel, or a bushel and a half, for each ploughland, it was found that they were demanded in a far greater quantity; the number of attendants on each horse at coin and livery was in like manner exceeded; and coshies, which were due four times a year, were more frequently demanded; and in some instances, tailors were put to coin as well as masons and carpenters; and the mustrons were employed in building not only castles, but halls, kitchens, barns, and stables, also.

Besides these services, which were universal, there were others locally or partially exacted. In the county of Waterford there were customs called "srahe" and "bonneh," in addition to coin and livery, or as modifications of them. In Tipperary, Lord Ossory was found to have exacted "boynes." Lord Kildare, and Lady Katharine Poer, not only required coin and livery for their own horses and boys, but also for those of all their guests, English or Irish, particularly when they kept Easter and Christmas. Lord Kildare also required it for the keeper of his stud, and when he had not his galloglasses at home, he assessed his kerne and boys on the country. He required from every ploughland, and from every three cottages, a workman for a week in the year to cast ditches and fastnesses on the borders; and an axeman for one or sometimes two days to cut passages. When either he, or Poer, or Ossory, hunted, their dogs were supplied with bread, and milk or butter. When the Deputy, or any greater man, came to Lady Poer, she levied a subsidy at her pleasure for meat, drink and candle, under the name of "mertyeght." When Ossory, or Poer, married a daughter, the former demanded a sheep from every flock, and the latter demanded a sheep of every husbandman, and a cow of every village. And when their sons were sent to England, a tribute was levied on every village or ploughland. Lady Poer took of a tenant, who had his horse or cattle stolen, five marks for his want of vigilance. She also took a fine for disobeying her serjeant, whether he were right or wrong; and a beef, called "kyntroisk", for refusing coin and livery; and when she took a journey to Dublin, an assessment was made for the charges of her journey.

Sir Thomas Butler assessed his horses and kerntye, to the number of twenty-five men, every night. He exacted a sheep for every castle or substantial building, besides the mustrons; and he demanded ten marks at Easter, if his subjects passed a year without galloglasses or spearmen.

William Bermyngham required sixteen quarts to the gallon in payment; and demanded a gallon of butter for every cow.

In addition to these exactions, some lords took the tenants' produce at a price fixed by the lords themselves, and prevented them from selling without leave, or obliged them to sell to one person. Others regrated provisions, and forestalled the markets in wood, coals, and victuals. And when a great captain was disposed to have a poor man's freehold on the marches, if the freeholder refused

to

CLXXXVI. Archbishop Brown *to* King Henry VIII.

May it please Your moste Excellent Highnes to be advertized, that the 11th day of September I receyved your mooste gracious letters, bering date at Your Majesties maner of Sonnynghill the laste daye of July; which perused

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to part with the property, the lord suffered the Irish borderers to destroy and rob him, until he was driven to sell.

In the towns the King's laws were usually found to prevail, but out of them, either the Brehon law, and the Statutes of Kilcash, were exclusively obeyed, or the lord exercised an option to enforce the one or the other system, as he thought most beneficial to himself. By the Brehon law, a ransom was payable for every offence, and execution took place only in those cases where the offender or his friends could not raise the money. This ransom was not paid to the injured party, but either went to the lord alone, or was divided between him and the judge. According to the Waterford presentment, the Brehon, who was ordained by Lady Katharine Poer, took for his judgment, called "oylegeag", 16d of every mark sterling, both of the plaintiff and defendant. The ransoms were found to have commonly been, for stealing a sheep, 5 marks; for drawing a weapon, 20*s.*; for drawing blood, 5 marks; for cutting a joint, 100*s.* These fines, which were called, in cases of theft, "canes," or "cannegoddes;" and in cases of murder, "heriks," "ericks," "sautes," "saultes," or "souldes," were increased at pleasure, where the offender was a man of substance.

Many instances were presented of robberies, murders, burnings, and other outrages committed by individuals named, both spiritual and lay; and besides these more serious charges, there were many complaints that the lords had erected weirs which prevented the navigation of the rivers; that they exacted rewards for fishing; allowed their ferrymen to tap casks; committed riots, forcible entries, and false imprisonments; brought up their children badly; used the Irish language and apparel; put out English tenants and took Irish; disobeyed the Deputy's summons to hostings; declared peace and war; made penal laws; proceeded summarily for debts and trespasses; extorted unreasonable customs; succoured thieves and rebels; and coveted their own lucre, rather than the common weal.

It was also presented, in several places, that the sessions were not regularly kept four times in the year, but only at the pleasure of the lord.

Besides these complaints against the laity, some were preferred against the clergy. Undue fees were exacted by the bishops, and their officials, for the probate of wills, and for judgment in matrimonial and other causes. Various priests were charged with extortion in the fees demanded for baptisms, for weddings, for the purification of women, and for burials. Some are accused of taking portion canon, which is explained, in one parish, to have been the taking, on a man's death, of his best array, arms, sword, and knife, and the same, even on the death of a wife during her husband's life; in another parish, to have been the taking from the husband, on his wife's death, of the fifth penny, if his goods were under 20*s.*, and 5*s.* if above that amount; and in a third parish, the taking of $1\frac{3}{4}d.$ in the shilling.

Some parsons, abbots, and priors were charged with not singing mass, though they took the profits of their benefices; and the jury of Clonmell charged several of the regular priests in that part, with keeping lemans or harlots, and having wives and children.

Such is the brief substance of the several presentments.

made

ded not onlie cause me to take fructefull and gracious monicions, but also made me to trymble in body for feare of incurging Your Majesties displeasures. And where Your Majestie writith unto me, I have not indevored my selff in setting forthe and preaching the sincere Worde of God, advoiding all supersticion uside ayenste thoner of the same, I may signifie unto Your Highnes, of veritie, that for my small abode here, theire hath not theis many yeres any my predecessors soo mych exercised in declaring to the people thonlie Gospell of Christe, persuading and inducyng the hirers unto the trew menyng of the same, utterly dispisyng the usurped poure of the Busshop of Rome, being a thing not a litle roated amonges thinhabitantes here.

Touching the seconde article in Your Graces letters, concernyng Your Majesties affaires here, I referr me to judgement of the moste parte of Your Highnes Counsaile here, how in that behalf I have usid my selff, being the furste spirituall man that moved the 20th parte, and furste fructes; setting forthe, in whate me lay, the like furste fructes of all monasteries, being before not mocioned. But geven ys it to this lande miserable, of whate behavoure or gesture so ever men be, to have malignors; ye, and those that be of souch subtile nature, that of others good procedinges theymselves can fynde meanes to wynne the praises, which, if their doinges were apparante, God knowith right unworthy; that I beseche God sende ons amonges us more charitie.

Concernyng the thurde and laste article of Your Graces letters, that I shulde use writing *We* and *Us*, I truste it hath not been seen in me, onleste it were at souch tyme as I, with my too Chapitures of Christechurch and Saynt Patrickes, directed our humble letters unto Your Highnes, subscribed with all our names, concernyng thaccomplishement of Your Graces letters, to the saide Chapitures and me addressed, for electing the Deane of Saynt Patrickes: which if I ded, moste humblie beseche Your Highnes to take it in good parte, for assuridlie it was by remysnes of the writer, and greate oblivion of my forseing the same; submitting my necligence unto Your Grace, uppon my demeanures here after.

Finally certifying Your Majestie that I receyved Your Graces other letters, at this season to me addressid, in the behalff of Edwarde Vaughan, the Quenes Graces servante, the contentes wherof I have fully accomplished. Beseching Your Highnes, of your moste accustomed goodnes, to accepte this my rewde letter; aunswerable, even as I were personally doing my dutie, proching on knes before Your Majestie; declaring the certentie of all the premisses with knowleging my ignorancies, desieryng of God, that hower or monyte I should prefix my selff to declare the Gospell of Christe after any other soarte, then of my parte moste unworthy have hertofore don before Your Majestie, in rebewking

the papisticall poure, or in any other poynte concernyng the advauncement of Your Graces affaires shuldnot be prompte to set forthe beninglie, that the grownde shulde open and swalow me. Certayne sacramentaries theire ben here, which in deade I have spoken ayenste, perseyving well that I have been the more maligned at; beseching the Blissid Trinitie to geve theym better grace, and that Your Grace may see redres, as, when it shalbe your determynated pleasure, Your Majestie may. So knowith God, whoo preserve Your Excellent Highnes in your Regalitie, longe to persevere. From Your Graces Citie of Dublin, the 27te day of September.[1]

Your Graces obedient Subjecte,

(Signed) GEORGE DUBLINS.

(Superscribed)
To the Kinges Majestie, his moost dreade Soverayne Lorde, be theis delyvered.

CLXXXVII. The submission of MIGHELL PATRICK to the KINGES MAGESTIE is obeisaunce, and to holde his landes to hym and his heires, after the due concourse of the Kinges lawes.[2]

PRESENS scriptum indentatum, factum inter Antonium Seyntleger, Georgium Poulet, Thomam Moyle, et William Berners, Commissionarios Domini Henrici Octavi, Dei Gratia Anglie et Francie Regis, Fidei Defensoris, Domini Hibernie, et in terra Supremi Capitis Anglicane Ecclesie et Hibernie, et in terram suam Hibernie pro rebus dicti Domini Regis agendis sive ordinandis missos, ex parte una; ac Barnardum Filium Patrici, alias dicti Makgill Patrik, terre Superioris Osserie jam possessorem, ex parte altera; Testatur, quod idem Barnardus, pro seipso, ac pro omnibus alijs terram predictam de Osseria Superiori inhabitantibus, seipsum, bona, terras, homines, ac servientes suos, ceterosque omnes in predicta terra Superius Osserie predicte sub sua potestate seu gubernatione jam existentes, dicioni, regimini, et imperio ipsius Domini Regis totaliter humilime submisit; pariterque per presens scriptum totaliter submittet, deinceps, per ipsum Dominum Regem, heredes et successores suos, ut ligeos subditos ipsius Domini Regis, gubernari et defendi: ulteriusque, idem Barnardus concedit, quod ipse Domino Regi, heredibus et successoribus suis, contra omnes

[1] The archbishop, on the same day, wrote a similar letter to Crumwell.

[2] This is published from a copy in the State Paper Office. There is another in Lambeth Library, Vol. 603, leaf 36.

alias

alias potentates, ceterasque personas quascunque, cujuscunque status, gradus, seu conditionis existunt, ut ligeus ipsius Domini Regis, sub ipso Domino Rege, seu alia quacunque persona, per ipsum Dominum Regem, heredes seu successores suos, assignata seu assignanda, fideliter obediet et serviet, ac dictam patriam de Osseria Superiori predicta, ac habitantes in eadem, pro posse suo, contra inimicos et rebelles ipsius Domini Regis defendet, ac usus legis et habitus Anglicanos, pro posse suo, in ipsa tenere et uti faciet; ceteraque omnia, que Baro de Delvyn, Baro de Slane, subditi ipsius Domini Regis in terra sua Hibernia predicta, jam faciunt, facere seu tenentur, in omnibus facere ac uti faciet, linguamque Anglicanam, pro posse suo, erudebit, seu discet, ac dictam linguam Anglicanam in predicta terra Superius Osserie, universaliter doceri faciet et procurabit; filiumque et heredem suum tali loco, prout dictis Commissionarijs videbitur expederi, ad linguam Anglicanam, moresque Anglicanos, erudendos sive ediscendos, mittet et ponet.

Dictique Commissionarij, ex parte dicti Domini Regis, volunt et concedunt, quod idem Barnardus Baro de Parliamento Domini Regis in terra sua Hibernia efficietur seu creabitur[1], et nomen et dignitatem Baronis de Colthill et Castleton habebit et optinebit; ac omnia castra, dominia, terras, tenementa, bosca, moras, et brueria, advocationes ecclesiarum, ac patronatus earundem, ceteraque hereditamenta sua, que jam habet ac possidet in predicta terra de Osseria, ex dono dicti Domini Regis habebit et optinebit; habendum sibi, heredibus et assignatis suis, de predicto Domino Rege, per servicium duorum feodorum militum; reddendo inde eidem Domino Regi annuatim tres libras, quatuordecim solidos, monete sue Hibernie in scaccario terre sue Hibernie predicte, ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad Festa Pasche et Sancti Michaelis Archangeli, equis portionibus, singulis annis solvendas.

Et ulterius idem Barnardus potestatem Episcopi Romani, in terra predicta a diu usurpatam, pro posse suo, totaliter abolebit et extirpabit, prout ceteri Barones ac ligei dicti Domini Regis, in predicta terra Hibernie, abolent et extirpant, seu aboleri et extirpari tenentur.

In cujus rei testimonium, uni parti hujus scripti indentati, penes dictum Barnardum remanenti, ijdem Commissionarij sigilla sua apposuerunt, alteri vero parti ejusdem scripti indentati, penes ipsos Commissionarios remanenti, predictus Barnardus sigillum suum apposuit. Datum 8 die Novembris, anno regni Domini Regis supradicti 29.

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[1] He was not created a Peer till 1543, and then received the title of Baron of Upper Ossory.

CLXXXVIII. CULOKE *to* BRABAZON.

In Gallwy, the 10 day of Novembyr 1537.

RYGTHT honorabull, and my espessyall good Master, Wyllam Brabsoun, the Kynges Tressurer in Irlonde, I hertely recomand me unto Masterschyppe. And you shall undyrstond of the newys of this partes of Conazt, sens I vrot unto you laste. Sir, her ys comm a kynes man of Vylloke Bowrkes from Romme, the wych whent for to sped, and so to haw the Bysshopryke of Clonfert, whos nam ys one Rowland Bowrke, so that the sayd Rowland Bowrke ys dayly a mongys hys frendes with in Clanrycart, in company with Make Vyllam and Vylloke o Bowrke; so that your Mastershype shall undyrstond that the Kynges Gras dyd yew the sayd Bysshopryke be for one to the Doctor Nangyll[1], Hawstyn Frer, and a pone Ys Gras ys yefte was consecratyt, and hade pessabuly possessyon of all the sayd Bysshopryke untyll now; for this Rowland Bowrke haw brouge from Romm many benyffys and desspensasyons with in Conazt, and ys haydytt by hys frendes so moch, that the Kynges Bysshope dar not goo in to no plas a brod, so that I wold dessyr your Mastershype, by reyssonn Make Wyllam and Vylloke o Bowrke do say that they be the Kynges sugetes, that you vold caws my Lord Depute to wryte hys secret leter messe unto Make Vyllam and Wylloke Bowrke, for to take the sayd Rowlond Bowrke, and send hym to the Kynges lawys to Dulyng, other hels that a streyt leter unto the Mer of Gallwy for to stop all the revenuys and costoms of Gallwy, for the Bysshopes be halff, untyll such tym that Make Vyllam and Vylloke do caws the Kynges Bysshope to haw ys pessabuly and sur possessyon, has he haw had be for. For all lyes in Make Vyllam and Vylloke Bourke.

Malazelyn O Madyne, Lord of A Madens contre, all ys men was with A Conor robyng the Englys pall, and a captyn of galloglas, Make Suuyne, and ys son, they mad som 2 hondryt men, was with A Conor lyke maner, the wych they broug a sertyn som of kyne, that they gat in A Conor ys company, of the robyng of the Henglys pall, and ys in Clanrykart, with in Make Vyllam ys own jordysyon, and ther dwelles; the vych Make Vyllam ys a reset. Hother newys her ys non, but Jhesu perserv your Mastershyppe in honor.

By youres to hys power,

RYCHART CULOKE of Dulyng, Marchand.

(*Superscribed*)
Unto hys rygtht trosty Mr Vyllam Brabsson,
the Kynges Tressurer of Irlond, with honor
thys be delyvert.

[1] Richard Nangle, Provincial of the Augustines in Ireland, was promoted to the see of Clonfert by King Henry VIII., and consecrated in 1536. Roland de Burgh obtained from Pope Clement VII. a provision for the same see, and disturbed Nangle in the possession of it. Eventually De Burgh made his submission, and did fealty to the King, and in 1541 obtained the Royal Assent.

CLXXXIX. Sentleger, &c. *to* Crumwell.

After our most humble recommendacions unto your good Lordship. Pleasith the same to be advertised, that we have surveyed the most parte of the Kinges landes within the counties of Catherlaugh, Kilkenny, Tipperary, Waterford, Dublyn, and Kildare, where we have seen diverse goodly mannors and castelles, the more parte of theym ruynous, and in great decaye, the townes and landes aboughtes theym depopulate, wasted, and not maynured; wherby hath ensued derth and scarcetye of all manner vitailles. Litell sute, as yett, is made unto us for any of the same wast landes, albeit such castelles and fortresses, as by us have bene thought most necessary to be warded and defended, (the castelles and fortresses by your good Lordshipes letters restrayned from our order oonly excepted) we have furnysshed with such nombre of menne, as by our discrescions doo seme convenyent for the defence of the same, and such wast landes, and oders adjoyning the seid fortresses and castelles, to theym letten in ferme. Nevertheles moch paynfull to the souldiours to lyve upon theyr wages; and before this tyme shulde have fynisshed the survey of the Kinges landes here, if the Lorde Deputie, by deliberate advise of the Kinges Counseill here, hadde not taken with hym such parsons, as shulde accompanye us in the seid survey, for the repressing and exiling of the traytor Brian Okonner, lately by the Kinges power here expulsed the contre of Offalye, which, contrary his promyse, and fayned humble sute made unto us saulfely to come to Dublyn, and there to take order with us, aswell for such evydences, artillary and stuff, as we alledged he hadde of the Kinges Highnes under his order and rule, as for his humble submyssion and sutes to be made to the Kinges Magestie, falsely and trayterously, with a great nombre of horsemen, galowglasses, and kerne, invaded the seid contre of Offalye, and by force putt out his broder, assigned by the Lorde Deputie for the saulfe custodie of the same contre.

And ferther we advertise your good Lordship that we have parled with James of Desmonde[1], in the feldes withoute the towne of Clommell; and not perceyving

[1] The Commissioners, on the 15th of September, in pursuance of their instructions, wrote a letter to James Fitz John, adverting to the variance between him and James Fitz Maurice, and requiring him to repair to them, and declare his title, to the end that the King might take order therein concurrent with justice. A copy of their letter is in the State Paper Office.

The articles referred to in the text are as follow:

"The Articles of summission of James Fitz John of Desmond, son and heire to Sir John of "Desmond decessed, chalenger to the Erledom of Desmond, and nowe in possession of "the same, made and exhibited to the Kinges Commissioners the 18th of October, in the "29th yere of the Reigne of our Sovereigne Lorde Kyng Henry the Eight.

"Furst, the said James knowlegeth, promyseth, and byndeth hym self to be the Kyngis obediens "subjecte,

perceyving any towardnes in hym, departed, withoute any conclusion making. Notwithstanding, the seconde daye after, his secretary came unto us with his

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" subjecte, and to doo His Grace soche servyce and dutie, as any Erle, or other of his degre, " within the land of Irland, shall doo, according to the Kynges lawes and estatutes.

" Item, that he shall assist and mayntayne the Kyngis judges, and other His Gracys offycers and " mynystres, aswell to execute the Kynges lawes, as to levie and receive the Kyngis revennues and " profettes, in all parties under his powre and rule.

" Item, he havyng the preferment to have the lesse of Crom and Adare, and other the late Erle " of Killdares landes in the countie of Lymeric, shall pay to the Kyngis offycers the rentes and " profettes of the same; or ellis he shall suffre the Kyngis officers to lette, aswel the same, as all " other the Kynges landes and profetes in Mounster, in ferme to others at their plesure; the " fermours whereof he shall defende against all men.

" Item, that soche taxes and benevolences, as be, or shalbe, graunted to the Kinges Highnes by " Parliament or otherwise, and as shalbe levied and received within the rules of thErle of " Ossorie, the Baron of Delven, or any other noble man within this lande; he shall suffer the like " to be levied and received to the Kinges use every where under his powre and rule.

" Item, that he shall not allye hym self, ne confeder with the Kynges ennemyes nor rebells, " neither shall supporte, ne maynteyne, any soche against the Kyng, nor his Deputie.

" Item, he shall defende and mayntayne the Kyngis cities of Lymyric and Corke, and the towns " of Yoghill, Kynsale, Kilmahallocke, and other incorporate townes in thois parties; and shall " supporte, defende, and maynteyne all merchaunt men, and other the Kyngis subjectes, salvely to " passe and repasse every where under his rule; and if he be not of powre of hymself therto, " thinhabitauntes of the said cities and townes shall aide and assiste hym for that purpose.

" Item, the said James promyseth and graunteth, that all thInglisshe lordes and gentlemen of " Mounster shalbe upon the Kyngis peax, and at thordre of His Grace, and his Deputie; and " if any of them refuse the same, he to persecute them; saving that soche of his name, of the " Geraldines and others, as holden their landes of his antecessours oonly, shalbe at his awne " leding and order. And yet nevertheles, if any of them disobey thorder of the Kyng, or his " Deputie, the said James shall not oonly refuse hym, but also persecute soche disobeir with " violence.

" Item, where James Fitz Maurice, sone to Maurice Fitz Thomas of Desmond, claymethe to be " Erle of Desmonde, as sonne and heire to the said Maurice, the same James Fitz John now in " possession of the said Erledom, by descent from his said father, in disaproving the clayme " of the said James Fitz Maurice, alledgeth him to be bastarde, and traditor of highe treason " against the Kyngis Majestie; the said James Fitz John mynding, nevertheles, to shewe hym self " obedient to the Kyngis Majestie, is contented and promyseth to abyde and performe the order, " judgement, and diffynytion of the Kyngis Majestie, of in and upon the title and right of the said " Erldom, and the possession therto belonging; which bastardie and treasons the said James Fitz " John is redy to prove, as it shall please the Kinges Highnes to ordre.

" For performance of all the premysses, the said James Fitz John, having especiall confidence " and trust in the Kyngis most Excellent Majestie, hath promysed to delyvered to the said Com- " missioners Thomas, his eldist sonne, to be presented by them to His Highnes, to remayne at his " gracious pleasure."

In the last paragraph the words " promysed to " are interlined in the original. The State Paper Office contains another copy of the submission of James of Desmond, differing from the above in no material point, except that the words " hathe delyverid " remain unaltered. Both are dated on the same day, 18th October, 29 Hen. VIII., and are written by contemporary hands, but not by the same person.

masters

masters signet, affirmyng that he hadde by the same sufficient auctorite to conclude with us upon certeyn articles, alledging that his master, for feare of the capitayns of his galowglasses being in his company, the tyme of our commonycacion with hym, durste not procede to effecte. The copie of which articles we doo sende your Lordship herin enclosed; and although he hath not as yett performed any parte therof, we bene enformed to here from hym shortely.

The Kinges causes, in His Graces Parliament here, take good effecte; wherin, as causes or matter of importaunce shall occurre, we shall eftsones advertise you.

We bene nowe entred to the Vicethreasourers accompte, and upon the determynacion therof, shall procede to the survey of the residue of the Kinges landes here, and therupon make an extente and estymate of the reveneux of the same. And for that in our procedinges we have perceyved diverse thinges worthie reformacion, moche tedious to be written to you, wherin the Kinges Highnes pleasure, and your good Lordshippes, is requesite further to be knowen, we therfor, after our dueties in such thinges as we maye order doon and accomplisshed, doo entende to accelerate our retourne, for the better expedicion of the same. And thus Our Lorde God preserve your good Lordeship longe in honor. From Dublin, the 15 of Novembre.

Yours at commaundement,

(*Signed*) Antony Sentleg?
(*Signed*) George Paulet.
(*Signed*) Thomas Moyle.
(*Signed*) Willm̃ Berners.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable the
Lorde Pryvaie Seale.

CXC. Crumwell *to* Sentleger and Others.[1]

After my ryght herty commendations. Ye shalbe advertesid that I have receyved your letters, datyd the 15th day of Novembre last passed, the hole effecte and tenor wherof I have fully and entyerly declared unto the Kinges Mageste. Whose Grace, for aunswer therunto, furst hathe and takyth your gode diligens and dexterite, used aswell in the surveying of his landes, and setting

[1] Printed from a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office.

furthe

furthe of His Graces affayres in the Parlement ther, as also in other thinges conserning your charge and commission, veray acceptably, and to his greate contentment and satisfaccion of mynde; geving unto you for the same right harty and condigne thankes.

And as touching the rebellious attemptate of that traytor, Bryan Oconor, His Mageste moche merveleth that he coude with his deceytfull submission and wyly wordes, so invegalle and blynde His Graces Depute, and som other of the Counsel ther, as to geve any credains, or in any wyse trust suche a traytour, or beleve that he wold be true to His Majestie, that so trayterously used hym self ofte tymes afore ageinst His Grace, brekyng and violating the feythe and truthe of alegeaunce he ought to His Highnes, our Souveraigne and naturall Prince. Albeit His Grace doubteth not, but for suche force and pusans, as you wryte, his said Depute, by the advice of the Counsell, hathe levyd and sett furthe for repressing and exiling the said traytor, Bryan Oconor, shal eassely overcome and overthrow all His Graces rebellys, and pouer contrary ther, and redube the attempt of his malyce; yett, nevertheles, His Majestes pleasur, that using your offices ernestly, aswell in this, as in other poyntes of your charge and commission, schalbe playne with the said Depute, and declare unto hym his inconsiderat and neclegent oversight, to suffer hym self to be thus begyled and traped by the deceptfull submission, paynted wordes, and promyses of so arraunt a rebell, as after his person was in place suerly and savely to be kept, yet to suffer hym to be so orderyd, that he might, at his pleasur, evade, stert, and stele away, to do suche myscheffes; so that by the meane of your gode monytion and warnyng, on His Magestes behalf, the said Depute, and the rest of His Graces Councell ther, may be more circumspect, and in tymes comyng be better advised, how to deale and observe, with a strayghter order and keping, personages of suche disposition, when the case shall require. Farther his gracyous pleasur is, that for asmoche as it may be thought the said Brian Oconor, without som suport of other that encoraged hym, wold not have attemptid suche a trayterous invasion, you shall employ your lyke diligens, dexteryte, and polecy, to try out and enquyre all maner persones, that in the same attemptat had any enteligens or secret practyse with hym, or in any wyse gave unto hym any succour, help, assistens, or comfort, or by ther playne and manyfest wynkyng at his preparations and doinges, encouraged hym to be the bolder to take on hym suche temeryte; so that, by your gode encerchement and inquesition, the truthe may be knowen, and the dispositions of mens hartes ther disclosed and openyd, to thentent His Mageste, advertised therof, schall so provide for the same, as other schall have no suche occasyon gevyn, nor do the lyke displeasur in tyme comyng.

Con-

Conserning Jamys Fitz John, clayming hym self Erle of Desmond, whose articles of submission you have, in a copye, sent to me inclosed within your said letters, His Highnes wyllith that shall procede to intreate with hym upon thoze articles, and assay to gett his open assent and true submission to that, and suche other as you may chaunce therwith to thinke most expedient and necessary, ever putting hym in gode hope of the Kinges benygne favor largely to be extendyd upon hym, when His Mageste schall perceyve his gode disposition and feythfull inclynation so to have submytted hym, and so procede with unto the very knott of the hole conclusion; wherof, in all diligens possible, you shall incontynently advertes His Majeste, by whose speciall advice and pleasur to be declared unto you accordingly, the hole matter may be knytt up and concluded, as shalbe by His Highnes thought most resonable and convenyent. And wher the said Jamys Fitz John alegyth bothe bastardy and trayson ageinst Jamys Fitz Morys, the Kinges pleasor is you shall precysely thartycles and poyntes of the said trayson, and wryte what evydens he can geve bothe of the same and of the bastardy, declaryng unto hym that in [*case*] he shall frankly remytt his maters to His Graces arbytrement, he may be assured His Mageste schall take away no parte of hys just right and title from him, if he schall justefy the same, anything as aperteyned; but shall otherwise so order hym, lyke his benigne and most gracious Soveraigne Lorde, as he and his posteryte schall have gode cause to pray for hym, and thinke them selfes happy of ther reconcyliation to ther true and bounden obediens, and subjection of His Mageste.

Fynally, wher you wryte that in your procedinges you have perceyved divers thinges worthy reformation, moche tedious to be wryten, His Highnes pleasure is, that, notwithstanding any prolixite or tediousnes, you shall, afor your comyng, with all possible celeryte, advertes His Grace amplely and largely of the same; to thentent that if any required your dexterite, or the sending of any commissioners thider, you may, at your nowe being ther, reforme hit afore your comyng and retorne, as moche as schalbe necessary. Wherfor fayle you not in gode diligens to sende full advertesment therof in wryting; praying you to advertes me, from tyme to tyme, of all maner occurrantes ther, and to use celeryte in advertesing His Mageste of all the premisses, and fulfilling of the rest of your commission and charge ther; and then shall I gett His Graces leve and pleasur for your returne hether accordingly. Thus fare you hartely well. From the Kinges manor of Otlande, this 10th of Decembre, the 29th yere of His Graces most prosperous Reigne.

Your loving Frende,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

CXCI. CRUMWELL *to* GRAY.[1]

AFTER my right herttye commendations to your Lordshyp. Where as by this berer, your servaunte, I receyved certain letters from youe, the contentes wherof requyreing none aunswer to be at the leaste spedely dyspaccheyd, I wyllyd him to remaiyne heere, tyll a ferther oportunytye of wryteing thyder occurre. And the same being nowe hapened by the advertysement of Ochonnor nowe enterpryseing, yt was thought meate, that a poste shulde be dyspaccheyd with dylygence; whiche parte he shulde have furnysheyd, yf it hadde not byn his chaunce to have byn absent. Nowe, being desyrous to retorne unto you, I thought convenyent, aswell to wryte this for his excuse in his long abode, as to advyse you eftsones to handle that matter of Ochonnors with suche a dexteryte, as he may be hanngeyd, upon the terryble examplle of all suche traytours. The expulsyon of hym was taken very well, but the permyssyon of hym to have suche a scope to worke myschyff, at his pleasure, as no dought he must nedes be remayneing in dyspayre of restytution, was neyther wysedom, not yett good presydent. Redubbe yt, my Lord, in the juste punyshement of his traytours carkas, and lette his treason be a warneing to youe, and to all that shalle have to doo for the Kinges Magestye ther, never to trust traytour after, but to use thaym, withoute tracte, after theyr demerytes. And thus fare you hartyly well. From Otelandes, the 13th daye of Decembre.

Your Lordshypes assuryd,

THOMAS CROMWELL.

To the Lorde Deputye.

CXCII. ARTICULI cujusdam federis inter DOMINUM DEPUTATUM, ac ceteris Regie Majestatis Consiliarijs in Hibernia, et THERENCIUM OTHOLE, spectantes ad pacem firmiter observandam stabiliendamque ex parte illius Therencij, amicorum, adherencium, et ejusdem sequacium, facti decimo octavo die Decembris, anno regni Regis Henrici Octavi vicesimo nono.

PRIMO, pax illa in presentiarum inita permanebit inconcussa usque ad mensem Maij triennio futurum, qui erit in anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo.

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[1] Printed from a contemporary copy in the State Paper Office.

Preterea

Preterea, idem Therencius habebit omnes et singulos terminos, quos pater suus, Arthurus Othole, pacifice tenebat quadraginta annos ante datum presentium, et non alios.

Insuper, in quacumque expeditione sive hostium invasione, idem Therencius mittet ad Dominum Deputatum duos equites, cum duodecem turbalionibus, habituros victualia a Domino Deputato, quousque illius terre melius colantur.

Item, non adjuvabit, aut auxilium prestabit, subveniet, nec hospicio admittet, fovebitve, ullum Regio nostro adversantem aut rebellem, maxime Petri Fitzgaraldi filio famulantes vel adherentes.

Item, quod ejusdem Therencij frater, Arthurus Oge, eandem pacem servabit, pro cujus assertione ipsemet Therencius non minus astringitur quam pro seipso.

Item, si aut ipse Therencius, aut frater ejus predictus, hujus pacis fidefragi quovis pacto arguantur, tunc uterque eorum, conjunctim aut aliter divisim, titulum aut jus quodcumque vel habent, vel saltem se habere simulant, in prediolo de Fercullen penitus omittent, ac in regios usus de cetero conversum, sine controversia, agnoscant, si idem Therentius infra unum mensem proximum non satisfaciet de injurijs per eum factis.

Item, pro universis malis et injurijs per eos Regijs subditis illatis, aut contra, utraque pacis quieta et libera in alterata fuerunt, quoad hujus pacis dies advenerit.

Item, in hujus pacis securitatem, Dominum Ormoundensem Osseriensemque, cum filio suo Domino Jacobo, vulgariter dictus Butler, sponsores ac assertores obtulit.

Item, si quisquam Therencij aut Arthuri servulorum hanc pacem clam dictus temerarie infrigerit, modo domini injuriam pacientibus digne respondeat, pax illesa manebit.

Item, quod dictus Therencius, neque ejus germanus, Arthurus, vel aliquis nomine eorum, exigant nec exigant tributum vel tributa a subditis Domini Regis infra limites Anglicanos, nisi solum ea que per quadraginta annos elapsos consuevit seu consueverunt recipere.

CXCIII. BRABAZON *to* CRUMWELL.

PLEASITH it your honorable Lordship to be advertised, that after the arryvall of the Kinges Commissioners here, when thei toke their progresse in their survey into the west partes, as, to the counties of Kilkenny, Watterfford, Tipperare, and others, I accompanied them still, with such number of men as I, under my rule, had for their safegard. And in their progresse at Kilkenny, apon assuraunce, there cam to them the traytor Bryan Oconnor, makyng humble peticion and sutes to them, who yave hym reasonable aunswerez. Notwithstandyng, after their departure from thens, in breif tyme after, the said Bryan, accompanyed with divers gallowglasshes and kern, marched towerdes Ofayley, wherof his brother, Kaer, had rule under my Lord Deputie, and so sodenly cam apon hym, that he was not able to resist hym. At which entre he killed part of Kaers kern, and drove hym furth of the cuntrey, and brake certeyn castells there. My Lord Deputie, heryng this, with all convenient spede assembled the Kinges retynue, and others of the countrey, and marched towerdes Ofayley, whereas the said traytor lay, and could not well entre the cuntrey, the waters and waiez were so high and depe, onlez daunger shuld have ensued. Wherfore he at that presentes retorned. Howbeit to a castell named Brackland my Lord sent secretlie one of his retynue, who kept the same in safetie, to his thether retorn. The Kinges Commissioners and I then beyng in remote partiez westward, heryng of the false demeanor of the traytor, made all convenient spede, that might be, aboute the survey, and retorned to my Lord Deputie; and incontinent there was an ostyng appoynted to expelle the traytor, so that my Lord Deputie, havyng with hym the Kinges retynue, the Lord Chauncelor, the Baron of Delven, the Baron of Slane, and other lordes and capteyns of thEnglisshree, the maier of Droghdagh, and oon of the bailiffes of Dublyn, with their cumpaniez, and certeyn other townesmen, and my selff, with divers Irisshemen, and too batell of galowglasse, went thorogh Magoghegans cuntrey, who went with hym in to Ofayley, and so cam to the said castell, named Brackland, and camped there by the castell that night. But assone as the traytor had knowledge that my Lord Deputie did approche nigh to Offayley, he fled in to Odyns cuntrey, to the which cuntrey my Lord Deputie did pursue hym, and cam to a town named Castellanbryck, 8 milez from Brackland; and Richard Butler, with his cumpeny, enterd into another part of Ofayley, and resorted to my Lord Deputie at the said town, which was well stored with corn, so that we lay there certeyn daiez and had good refuge. And, for that there was a river, and mores, and bogges betwene hus and a greit

part

part of Odyns cuntrey, where our cariagez might not passe over, part of the army was sent furth to doo certeyn exploites there, and elliswhere; and ther encampyng them selffes in a town, havyng no sure watche, sumwhat before day the galowglassez of the traytors, havyng sure espiall of them, cam sodenlie in to the town, and there slewe of Englisshe and Irisshe aboute 11 persons, and taried not, but fled there way in all haste, when thei sawe the cumpeny gaderyng towerdes them: and, as I am enformed, there was but oon galowglasse sleyn, and divers were hurt; and there the galowglasse lost their standert. And so after their retorne to the camp, and refresshed, diverz of them and others went in to the said part of Odyns cuntrey, and taried there oon night, and burned all that was left unburned. And so my Lord Deputie retorned in to Offayley, and duryng his abode in those cuntres, the traytor, ner his adherentes, other then is before reherced, never made eny shewe or semblie. The traytor then sendyng his messangers to my Lord, to be ordered as he and the Councell wold have hym, and so to cum to Dublyn. My Lord Deputie then rode before to Dublyn, and left me and others to see the conveiaunce of the Kinges ordynaunce in safetie; who, before my cummyng, had made and delivered his letters to asserteyn the Kinges Grace, and your Lordship, of all occurrauntes. But who were the principal layders and comforters of Bryan Oconnor, to reduce and bryng hym in to Ofayley, as hereunto there is no true knowledge, that I can lerne. There haith bene divers persons examyned aboute it. The grettest knowledge and perfitenes that I have, is by a letter sent to me from Galwey, herein enclosed. And my Lord Deputie, beyng at Dublyn, the Commissioners, and the Councell, a sauf conduyt was sent to the said Bryan for his repaire to Dublyn. But shortlie herein to conclude, the said traytor, and his brother Kaer, fell to agrement and concord, so that, at this presentes, thei both remeyn in Offayley.

And whereas I have bene necligent and remisse to certefie the Kinges Majestie, and your Lordship, of all occurrauntes here, I thought it not requesite to write of the traytor, unto thend therof had bene sene; and also for that, as I am enformed, our letters be so variable, oon from an other, which maketh me in dowbte to write perticulerlie be my selff; for I am in dowbte that every thing, that is writen and spoken to your Lordship from hens, is true. Wherfore it is good not to yeve hastie creduyt, but at the cummyng whome of the Kinges Commissioners, every thing concernyng the Kinges Majestie his affaires here shalbe fullie and hoolie declared to His Grace, and to your Lordship; who, seth their hether cummyng, have taken greit peyns and travaill, aswell in their survey, as in all other thinges committed to their trust. And thei use every man, that haith to doo with them, so discretlie and gentillie, that here all

all men be pleased with them. They have proceded well in their affairez, as in makyng of leases, cessyng of fynez for pardons; and now they are in hande with myne accompt concernyng the Kinges revenues here[1]: so that I thynck thei will have fynysshed all thinges here by Candulmes.

Advertising further your Lordship, that such soldeours, as here doeth remeyn, ar not able to liffe, and serve the Kinge in jorneys, apon ther wagez that is nowe lymyt unto them; for all maner vittaylles here be verie dere, and I doubte not but the Kinges Commissionerz here so fynde it, and will declare to your Lordship the truthe theroff at their retorne. But, in the meane tyme, the best that may be done shalbe done therein, for manie of theme tarie rather for love, than for eny wagez. Here lacketh mutche artillerie, and in especiall, bowez. Howbeit I thynck my Lord Deputie will shortlie send oon over, with a proporcion for such thinges as here wanteth.

Where as it pleased your Lordship, of your goodnes, to move for me to be fermor to the Kinges Grace of Duleke and Colpe, apperteynyng of late to the monasterie of Lanthonie in England, (as here was bruted) sum of this cuntrey opteyned the Kinges letters patentes of suche parcelles as lay in safegard, and of the best of them; which, if they shuld have taken effect, had bene prejudiciall to the Kinges Grace, for no man wold then have taken such parcelles as lie in Westmeth, and in the borders. For which consideracion the said graunt is repelled, so that nowe I entend to take of the Kinges Commissionerz here all the hoole landes; and, be it waist or not waist, to pay asmuch rent as ever was paied for it, so that by my takyng, the Kinges Grace shall not lose oon peny rent. And for that I thynck there wilbe sutes made to your Lordship herein, I shall humblie desire youre Lordship to make aunswere therein, as by your Lordship shalbe thought expedient.

Advertising further your Lordship, that herein enclosed I have sent a note of all such Actes, as have passed seth the begynnyng of this present Parliament.[2] And whereas I shewed the Kinges Commissionerz an Act, that every

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[1] His account as Under-treasurer of Ireland, for three years ending at Michaelmas 1537, which is now extant in the State Paper Office, signed by the four Commissioners, Chief Baron Delahide, and Baron White, with a memorandum that a duplicate of it remained in the Irish Exchequer.

[2] The Parliament was dissolved on the 20th or 22d of December. As the printed Statutes do not comprise all which were passed, nor distinguish between the three several sessions of this Parliament, in which they were passed, it may be useful to subjoin the note inclosed by Brabazon on this point.

" Actes passed at the furst Cession, the furst day of May, anno 28 Henry VIII.

" Furst. An Acte for the Succession betwene the Kinges Grace and Quene Anne.

" An Acte for the Kinges Highnes to be Supreme Hede of the Churche.

" An Acte for the Furst Frutes of Bushops and Persons.

" An Acte

every knyght should be demorant within the shire wherof he was elected, and every burgesse in like case, with other thinges comprehendyd within the same, or elles the hoole Parliament to be voied; which when thei sawe it, thought that it was requesite to dissolve the Parliament; which at their retorne

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" An Acte of Atteyndour of certain Traytours and Rebels.
" An Acte for the landes of Absenties dwelling out of the land to the King.
" The Repele of Ponynges Acte for this Parliament.
" An Acte of Subsidie graunted to the King for ten yeris, at 13s 4d out of every plough land " tilled. †
" An Acte for sclaundring the Kinges Grace, or the Quenes Grace.
" An Acte for Apeles not to be made to the Bushop of Rome.
" An Acte repelyng an Acte of Legittimation at the petition of thErle of Osserie. †

" Actez passed at a Cession, the 15 day of September, anno supradicto.

" An Acte for the Lordship of Lexlep in to the Kinges handes. †
" An Acte confirmyng the Suppression of the Priorie of Saynt Wolstons. †
" An Acte for Delahides landes of Moyclare in Carbre nowe in the Kinges possession, and of all " other his landes aftir his deth.
" An Acte for certeyn landes in Athirde, during the none age of Barnewalles heir of Dronmagh. †
" An Acte that Irishmen shall have no tributes.
" An Acte that men seising in ther own goodes stollyn, shall have them without suyng of apele.

" Actes passed at the last Cession, the 13 day of October, anno 29.

" An Acte of Succession betwen the Kinges Grace and Quene Jane. †
" An Acte for the Furst Frutes of Abbays.
" An Acte for thUsurpation of Proctours.
" An Acte for the confirmation of Pardons graunted by the Comissioners. †
" An Acte repelyng a graunt made upon certain tithes apperteynyng to Dueleke. †
" An Acte for restraynyng of aliaunce, by mariage and fostryng, withe Irishmen. †
" An Acte against the Bushop of Romes pouer.
" An Acte for the libertie of the countie of Wexford, to contynue during the Kinges pleasure. †
" An Acte for the twenty parte of the Spiritualtie to the King.
" An Acte for the Irishe habite and tonge to be excheued.
" An Acte confirmyng the suppression of certain Abbays.
" An Acte for Woll to be restrayned.
" An Acte for the Profe of Testamentes.
" An Acte concernyng the Faculties.
" An Acte declaryng thentent of the repele of Ponynges Acte.
" An Acte confirmyng the liberties of the town of Wexford. †
" An Acte confirmyng Leases made of the Kinges landes by the Comissioners.
" An Acte for Penall Statutes to be commensed within certain yeris.
" An Acte that it shall not be requisite to fynd suyrtie befor the Crowner upon pardons graunted " at this tyme. †
" An Acte for putting down of Werres, that bethe upon the ryvers in the counties of Kilkenny " and Waterford.
" An Acte for putting downe of Werres upon the ryver of Boyn in the countie of Meth. †
" An Acte for the parsonage of Dongarvan in to the Kinges handes.
" An Acte confirmyng certeyn ordynaunces to be made by the Comissioners. †
" An Acte for leazers of corne in hervest."

Of the above, the Acts thus marked † arenot in the printed statute book.

whome,

whome, thei will declare to youre Lordship, and see that remedie therein shalbe provided.[1]

And as concernyng Jamez of Desmond, he both writeth and speketh feyr; but as hereunto, I can see nother good ner evill that he doeth, but worketh for his owne purpose. Howbeit the opinion of meny men is, that he will doo right well; but I am of the contrarie opinion.

And to advertise youre Lordship of yong Garret[2], who as I am enformed lieth aboute Crome and Adare, my Lord Deputie, not onelie by sendyng of letters, but also by privey messyngers, doeth and haith done the best he can to atteyn hym. Thus committyng your honorable Lordship to the custodie of God. From Dublin, the 30ti day of December.

Your humble Servaunt,

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and his moost singuler good Lord, the Lord Privey Seall, this be delivered.

(*Signed*) Willm Brabason.

CXCIV. Gray *to* Crumwell.

My singuler good Lord. After my moste hartye and loving recomendations, I commend me unto yowre good Lordship. Pleasith the same to be advertised, that wher I was contynuing owre Sovereigne Lord the Kynges Parlyament at Dublyn, the 19th day of October last past, I was sertified, abowte 10 of the clock before none, by Kayre Ochonour, and other of myne owne sarvauntes, howe that the arrant traytour, Brene Ochonour, was entryd into the Kynges countrie of Ofalle the nyght next before, and had expulsid thens the said Kayre, whoo then fought with the seid Brene, and ther was slayne of both sidis 9 or 10 parsons. The seid Brene was soo accompanyd of horsmen, galloglas, and kern, that the seid Kayre coude not resyst hym. Wherupon I reparid the seid 19th daye to the borders of Ofalle, to the Kynges manour of Rathanngan, and ther immediat wrot oute letters to dyverse lordis and capytanis of the Kynges subjectis for thyr repayre unto me, to that intent to have entred into the said Ofalle. Howbeit, ther fell soo gret rayne before that tyme, and then, that it was not possyble for us to have entrid into the seid Offalle withowte gret daunger and lostes of men and horsys, the waters wer then soo high rysen; and so contynued for the more part, tyll it was the 10th day of November next after. Howbeit I remayned upon the borders

[1] See p. 534.

[2] Gerald Fitzgerald. See pp. 344, 367, 467.

joynyng

joynyng to the seid Offalle, for the defens therof, tyll the 30th day of October then next. After that, I sett forwardis towardis His Gracis cyttie, as well to gyve thankis, laude, and prays to God for that comfortable newis, that I had oute of Walis, that His Grace had a Prynce[1], as to have consultyd with His Gracis Comyssioners and Counsaile for the expulsing of the said arraunt traytour oute of the said Offalle agayn. After wyche consultation it was agrede by them that a mayne jorneye, for 21 days vitaillis, shold be sett forward towardis the seid Offalle the 12th day of November last. At which day with the armye assembled, and sett forwardis towardis Mageochagains countrie, which borderith upon the seid Offalle, and toke the seid Mageochagains pledges, and also Omollmoys[2] pledges, for thyr securite to His Grace; who in propir parsons repaired with me in to Offalle. And thens the seid traytor fled, and went into Odoyns countrie, wher I pursued hym, and distroyd and burnt all the countrie, wher was grett store of corne; and all we burnd and distroyd. And so the traitour fled into Ocarrollis countrie. Then I reparid bak into Offalle, and in too placis ther, one namyd Kyllegh, an abby of Observauntes Freers, and a nother namyd Castell Geshill, in which two places ther was corne inowe to have susteynid a thowsond men a yere, of which we broght gret store into the Englissh pale, and burnd the rest. And owte of the seid abbye of Kyllegh I broght a peyer of orgons, and other nesessarie thinges for the Kynges collage of Maynoth, and as muche glas as glasid part of the windous of the chyrche of the seid collage, and much dell of the windous of His Graces castell of Meynoth.[3] Then the seid traytour sent to me, that he wold have byn contentid to have submyttid hymsylfe to the Kynges Grace, and to abyde suche ordre and determynation, as schold have ben thoght resonable by the Lord Chaunsceler, the Kynges Under Tresaurer, and me; and, at the last, he was contentid to abyde my sole ordre, so as he myght have sauff conducte. And here upon I brake with the Kynges Comyssionors and Counsaile; and it was thoght good by them that he shold have had sauff-conduct, which was made, and send unto hym, and he reseyvid the same. But for any trust or confidens, that I had in his promyse, the troth is, I never had non, but was contentid to here what he wold saye, to dryve of the tyme tyll the long nyghtis wer passid, for the eas and securyte of the Kynges subgectes; and in the mean tyme to have provided for his indembnyte, to the

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[1] Edward, born on the 12th of October 1537. See Vol. 1. p. 570.

[2] The Indenture between the Lord Deputy and Cahir OMulloy, Captain of Fercalgh, dated at Kyllegh in Offaley 28th November 1537, is in Lambeth Library, Vol. 603, leaf 84.

[3] In the State Paper Office is a counterpart of this despatch, written on the same day to the King, with a few omissions; the first of which is this sentence relative to the organs and the glass.

uttermost that I coude immageon or devysid. And was comyng unto me and to the Counsayle, and too of myne owne servauntes, oone namyd Mathew Kyng, and the other John Russell[1], in his companye; and as he came to the borders of Byrmynghams countrye, at a passage namyd Kynayfadde, ther cam his brother Kayre unto hym, and ther they two comonyd together a whyle. After whyche commynycation, the said traitor said to my sarvauntes, that he wold not cume at me, nother at the Kynges Comyssioners, and so departid; and the seid Kayre, his brother, with hym. Which Kayre, by cause of the effectuall sarvyse that he dyd unto the Kynges Magestie, syns my comyng into this countrie, at severall tymes, and as the same did evydentlye apere to parte of the Kynges Counsaile, I interteynyd hym, in effect, aswell as I ded any sarvaunt that I had, and gave hym many grett gyftis at severall tymes, and spescially at this last jornye, where I assure you he dyd hardelye at the skyrmysh made upon my men by part of the seid traitours men, so that ther was no man ther that dyd better than the sayd Kayre. This notwithstonding, the seid Kayre, syns that tyme, craftelye and falslye degressed from his dutie unto the Kinges Majestie, contrare to his othe and feithfull promyse, made unto the Kyng before his Counsaile here in as large wyse as any man mought doo. The cause, whye that I dyd not advertise the Kynges Majestie of this my prosedinges before this tyme, was to have sene thend, whether the seid false traitour wold have kept his poyntement, acording his seid offre, so that I myght have sertified the Kinges Majestie of the hole syrcumbstaunces therof. Ensuring yowre Lordship, yf the lordis and capitayns of this countrie, that wer assembelid in my companye this last jorney, had asforwardlie sarvyd the Kynges Majestie, according thyr bondin dewtys, ageynst the said traitour, as I saw they myght, I doubt yt not, by the help of God, that the traytour eyther shold have byn taken, slayne, or putt to flyght, and most part of his retinue put in lyke hassard. But they wold by no means observe the orders wherunto ther hondis wer subscrybyd, aledging the onsesonable tyme of the yere, and the dangerus passage of the depe fordis, which wer passid in ther presens to gyve them corage, as well by my sarvauntes, as by my sylffe, and the Tresaiorer of the Warrs; but that helpid not, wherby the jorney toke not so good effect, as I doubt not yt wold, yf every man had done his dutie. But I see nowe, by experyence, that the marchers here desyrith not the distruction of the Kinges enemyes, by cause ther by ther pyllage of the Kynges subgectes shold sese, which is the gret part of thyr lyving, to the undoing of the Kynges subgectis. Morover, for trouth, yf such, as I have pledges for in my hondis

[1] In the letter to the King, Gray does not give the names of his servants.

for

for the accomplysshment of ther trouth and bondin duties to the Kinges Majestie, and suche other as of dutie owe obedience unto His Grace, doo their duties unto His Highnes, the seid arrant traytour nother shalbe able to cume in Offalle, nother yet in any other quarter nygh the same.[1] And wher of late your Lordship wrot unto me, howe that I myght have byn assured to have had the said traytours parson in suche place, as he shold have byn so ordered, that he shold not have takyn that boldnes, audacite, and hardynes to have conspyryd and attemptyd so high an attemptat; my Lord, I assure your Lordship who so ever gave yow that information, he enformyd you untrulye; for after that I toke his cheffe castell, and brake it, and expulsid hym owte of his countrie, I was contentid, at the desyre of thErle of Ossereye, whoo suyd instantlye for hym unto me, that he shold goo with two or thre horsmen to suche of his frendis, as wold gyve hym mett and drynk tyll the Kynges plesure wer knowne, so as he cam not in to M^{c}hylphatrikes contrie, Ocarrollis contrie, Odoyns contrie, nether in non other countrie joynyng to Offalle. But to say that ever I myght have had his parson in suche places, that he shold have byn so ordered, that he shold have done no hurte, I never knew of no suche thing. Yet have I gone aboute to trap hym, as muche as I coude, and have offered grett sommes of moneye for his apprehension.

Morover, I beseche your good Lordship to be so good lord unto me, as you have alweys byn, to be a mediatour unto the Kynges Grace to gyve me lysens to repare unto His Exelent Majestie, which shold not be a lyttill to my coumfort to se His Grace, yf it wer not but for one monyth, or as short whyle as yt shold please His Grace, for dyverse causes that I have to move His Grace in, for the good ordres of the countre, to prolyx to wryght; and to provide me for a bedfellow, which, next the sight of His Majestie, and the setting forth of His Graces affayres, is the cheffe cause that I wold desyre to repayre thether; trusting, in my absens, so to provide for the saufgarde of his subgectis here, that they shold stond in good scecuritie tyll my retorne. Over this, my synguler good Lord, according my bondyn dutie, I both have daylie doo my best in avaunsing His Graces affayris here, and am reddye, at all tymys, to adventure my lyffe, when causis shall reqwere the same. Howe be yt, His Grace, and also your Lordship, doo well knowe that, withowte convenyent furnature, that will lyttill avayle[2]; for I have shyftyd the best that I coude,

[1] The rest of this paragraph is omitted in the despatch to the King.

[2] The rest of this sentence is omitted in the despatch to the King. In Brabazon's accounts, as Treasurer of the Army in Ireland, he took credit for Lord Leonard Gray's salaries, as Lord Marshal, as Lord Justice, and as Lord Deputy of Ireland. His salary, in the first capacity, was a mark per day, for five months, and in the two latter, £51 5*s*. 8*d*. per month, for nineteen days as Justice, and for nine months as Deputy.

to maynteyn all thinges for His Graces honour, and have borrowid such summes of monye here, for the setting forth of His Gracis affayris, as wer sufficient to put a far rycher man then I am oute of credens, being here but a straunger, and unpaid holye this 15 monythis, and resceyvid not oone grott for myne owne stypend, nor yett paid of an hundryth and 40 poundis, whiche I borrowed a yere a goo, and more, and delyvered the same to the Under Treasaiorer, to the payment of serteyn northen men which wer dischargid. Besydis this ther is non artyllarye, in effect, here to sarve His Grace, as His Gracys sarvaunt Barnardyn Devalloys [1] can informe Hys Majestie, whoo reparyth unto His Grace for the same cause; and also His Gracis Commyssioners, at ther retorne, I trust will declare the same, to whome I have delyverd a boke of parcellis. And this I beseche God send yow as well too doo, as I wolde my sylffe. Wrytten at the Kynges castell of Meynoth, the last day of Desember.

Assuredlye youris,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

To the Ryght Honorable, and my spesyall good Lord, my Lord Pryvie Seall.

CXCV. AGARD *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

MY moste bownde dewttye unto your honorable Lordschipe remembred. It maie pleasse the same to be adverteyzyd, that syns they arryvall of the Comyschioners here, the have bynne in they west parttyes, at Kylkennie, Clumen, Caschell, Watyrforthe, Dungarvan, Waxsforthe, with the countie of the same. With them went Mr Thezaurer, with all his retynew. And syns ther commyng from thence, they have bynne in the counties of Meythe, Dublyn, Louthe, and Uryell.[3] Trewlye they have takyn great paynz, and in ther bussynes here do usse them verrey dyscretelye, and, in espeschiall, Mr Sentleger, whom, by reason of his dyscreschion and indyffrensye towardes everye man, is hylye commendyd here; and ryght well he is worthie. I ham in greate dowbt to writte my mynd to your good Lordschipe, regardyng your Lordschipz hye honor, and my symplycete. Howbeitt, yett I doo remember the hyeghe graces that God hathe gyvyn to your Lordschipe, befor others, in havyng respecte to the

[1] He was Master of the Ordnance in Ireland. He is called in the letter to the King De Valoys, and in Brabazon's accounts De Wallys.

[2] Holograph. From the Chapter House, Bag marked "Ireland."

[3] If inquests were taken in these, as well as in the southern counties, they do not appear to be extant.

qwallytes

qwallytes of everye person; for trewlye, my good Lord, my mynde and herte is myche more fervent in my faythefull servyce, then my mowthe can utter. My good Lorde, iff it were your good Lordschipz pleasure, that Mr Sentleger were at whom with your Lordschipe, and with hym the Cheffe Justes and the Maister of the Rolles; at the comyng whom of the Comyschioners, your Lordschipe I thinke schall know thinges, whiche were nessessarye to be knowen, and I feare me will nott be writtyn, to they cum.

Trewlie my Lorde Deputtye hathe made a costlye ostyng apon OKoner; on of the greattyste armys that ever I saw in this land. Howbeit, they are comyn whom, and nothir takyn peax, pledges, nothir brynt but sum of his contrey; and my Lord Depute was at whom 2 daies before othir the armye cam, the ordynaunce, or Mr Thezaurer; wherat manye men mervell that he wold soo doo; leyvyng them to cume thorrow the fastyste passe in all OKoneres cuntrey. And now Caire OKonor, whiche was at the Kynges peaxe, and wayttyd apon my Lord Deputie thithir, is now gowne from it, and at peaxe with his brothir, beyng the Kynges enemye, and at this daie bothe in ther cuntrey agayne. I feare ther be sum fawlte; whiche God amende. All the lordes and gentylmen, with manye of the comuns that were ther, have bynne here with they Comyschioners, of complaynt that they beyng in the mydes of the Kynges enemys cuntrey, in servyng the Lorde Deputye, as in the Kyng ther maisters qwarrell, hade takyn from them ther horssys, and ther harnes, and soo kepte frome them, excepte they raunsomyd them for a fynne; and manye cam whom on footte, whiche grevythe them sore. The Marchiall toke them; at whos comaundement, he beste knowethe. Mr Richard Butler cam thorrow Myken Phatrykes cuntrey, OCarrolles, and Odyns cuntrey, and mette my Lorde Deputye, and dyde ther bryng with hym a good cumpanye, as all the armye dothe reporte, excepte a fewe. Othir newes here as yett is non, but at the comyng whom of Mr Sentleger, your Lordschipe I dowbte not schall know all. But the Blessid Trynyte have your good Lordschipe in His mercyfull tewyscion, and sende us here ons, that the hedes here maie favorablye and charytablye sett forwardes the trew Worde of God, with trew justes, and the swerde with dyscrẽschon, and with owt covetos, or prevey extorschion; and your Lordschipe long lyffe, with helthe, and myche increasse of honor. At Dublyng, this laste daye of December.

Your poore obedyent servaunt and dailye Bedman,

THOM̃S AGARD.

(*Superscribed*)

To his Ryght Honorable and moste synguler good Lorde, my Lorde Prevey Seale, yove this in London.

CXCVI. Sentleger, &c. *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honorable, aftre our humble dueties. Pleas it your good Lordship to be advertysed, we have, the 21th of this instant monyth of December, received your letters dated at the Kyngis Highnes manor of Otelande, the 10th of this same monythe, by the which apperith your goodnes towardes us, in setting fourthe oure powre servyce don to His Majestie here; for the which we most humbly thank your good Lordeship. And nowe to advertyse you of oure further procedynges: we have holly fynysshed the survaye of suche His Majesties landes here, as we convenyently maye attayne unto, and have lesseid a great parte of them to suche as we have thought mete to have the same. Some wastes there be, which we can not asyet lesse. We have also sette forthe the Kingis most gracyous pardon, and have alredy for fynes twoo thowsand markes in money and obligacions, and moche more wolde have ben levyed, in case that men had not of late ben sore charged with servyce doyng to His Highnes here, whereby we be constrayned to loke on them with more favourable eye. We trust to make somme reasonable summe more, within thies 14 dayes.

And as touching the Parliament, we have clerely dissolved the same, for dyvers causes. First, at the instant sute of the Lordes and Commons, who were sore charged, aswell by the long contynuaunce of the same, as also many of them in daunger comyng thereunto, constrayned to passe the countres not very obedient to the Kyngis Majestie. Second, for that the Kyngis causes and commune weall ben in the same well fynysshed, as shall appere by the notes of the Actes passed, herein enclosed. And, thyrdly, for that that in serching emonges olde Actes of Parliament here, we fownde that the Parliament mowght not well be holden, as it was; as shall also appere unto you by the note of the same herein enclosed[2]; but we trust we woll so use the same, on oure returne, that there shalbe small daunger therin.

And

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[1] Printed from the original letter in the State Paper Office, from which the signatures have been cut off.

[2] The list corresponds with that transmitted by Brabazon: see p. 526. The old Act alluded to, 16 Edw. IV. is not in the printed Statutes. It is as follows:—

" Statutum editum in Parliamento, tento apud Dublin, die Lune in Festo Translationis
" Sancti Edwardi Regis, anno regni Regis Edwardi Quarti sextodecimo.

" Item, al requisicion dez Comens, Ordeine est, enacte, et establie par auctorite du dit Par-
" liament, que desore enevaunt nulx chivalers dez countees, ne citeceins dez citees, ne burgeises
" dez bourghez viles, dicest terre dIrlande, ne soient admittez de apparer en ascun Parliament en
" apres de estre tenus deins cest terre, saunz lez ditz chivalers, citeceins, et burgeises sonnt
" demourers

And as touching Okonnor, and the countre of Offalye, althoughe the Lorde Deputie, at his there being, sent somme of his capitaynes into Odynnes countre, nyghe unto the said Offalye, to praye and spoyll the same, for lacke of good watche in the nyght, loste 5 or 6 Englishmen, of the which one Henry Hoke was oon, by whose necligence the chaunce happened; yet the said Lorde Deputie drave the said Okonnor owt of the said Offalye into the said Odynnes countre, the more parte of the which countre the said Lorde Deputie also prayed and burned. And Okonnor, although he was in maner asmany men as the said Lorde Deputie, and also had thadvauntage of his stronge countre, yet durst he never showe his face to geve skyrmysshe nor fyght. But fynally the said Lorde Deputie, after longe paynes by hym and the sowldears there taken, and the said Okonnor in woodes and bogges, where no man coulde approche hym, but to great disadvauntage, returned home; after whose returne the said Okonnor humbly sent unto the Lorde Deputie, requyring his favour, affyrmyng that he wolde com to hym apon salve conducte. But after that, intysed by his brother Kayr Okonnor (to whose custodie the countrie of Offayle was by the Lorde Deputie commytted) falsely confedered and agreed to gether, so that none of them bothe ar nowe to be trusted. We assure your good Lordeship, that the same countre is moche easlyer wonne, then kept; for whensoever the Kyngis pleasure be to wynne the same agayn, it wilbe don without great difficultie, but the keping thereof wilbe bothe chargeable and

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" demourers deins mesme le countie, cite, ou burgh vile, de quele ils, ou ascun de eaux, sonnt " nosmes; et si ascunz chivalers dez countees, citeceins dez citees, ou burgeisez dez burghez " vilez, sonnt admittez de estre ou apparer en ascun Parliament, en apres de estre tenue deins cest " terre, et nient demourauntez deins mesme le counte, cite, ou burghe vile, de quele il est nosme " en le dit Parliament, que toutz Actez faitz en le dit Parliament soient voides, et de nul effecte " en ley: Et que chescun chevaler del countie dicest terre apparaunt en ascun de lez ditz " Parliaments, poet expendre de possession de fee symple, fee taile, ou frange tenement deins le dit " countie 40^{s} per anne, forprise lez chivalers del vile et counte de Drogheda: Et que par mesme " le auctoritie ne Proctour soit admytte en ascun Parliament pour ascun Erchevesque, Evesque, " Abbe, Priour, Chapitre, ou Clerge, saunz que mesme le Proctour soit resident deins mesme la " diocie, de qu eleil est nosme: Et que par mesme lauctorite, nul Parliament en apres de estre " tenue deins cest terre, ne soit forsque une ou deux foitz proroge ou adjourne apres le commense- " ment del mesme; et si ascun Parliament en apres de estre tenue soit pluis sovent foitz adjourne " ou proroge, que une ou deux foitz, come il est avaunt dit, que adonqes toutz Actez apres de estre " faitz soient voidez et de nul effecte en ley: Et que chescun Seignour Espirituale et Temporale " seaunt en la Meason du Parliament soient en lour robez du Parliament, sur peine du forfeitour a " chescun Seignour Espirituale et Temporale 100^{l} al use due Roy de estre levez: Et que chescun " Juge et Baron del Eschequier soient en lour habites et covertetes en temps del terme en tiele " manere et fourme, comme lez Juges le Roy et Barons del Eschequier en temps del terme usaint " en Engleterre: Pourvieu, quaunt a lez robez, que ceste Acte ne preigne lieu tanqe al Fest del " Pasque proschien avenaunt."

difficyll;

difficyll; for, onelesse it be peopled with others then be there alredy, and also certen fortresses there buylded and warded, if it be gotten the one daye, it is loste the next. We shall further enfourme the Kyngis Highnes and your good Lordeship in this mater, at oure returne. And as touching thassuraunce of the said Okonnor, there is no more trust in hym then in a dogge, nor he was never yet in place, where either the Lorde Deputie, or any other, mowght have put hym in salve keping, but alwayes he cam under salve conduct, and at the first tyme that he was dreven out of the said countre of Offayle, his bonde was not, but that he mought resorte where he wolde to his frends, or ellys where in the Kyngis domynyon here (Offayle onely except), so he made no confederacye ayenst the Kyngis Highnes: and for that he hath as yet his plegges in warde, but neither he, nor very fewe of the Irisshmen esteme their plegges, in case they see their advantage.

And as touching James of Desmonde, althoughe that, sythen his submyssion under his hand and seall, he hath advertysed us by his lettars that he wolde in all poyntes performe the same; as yet we see no pese thereof performed, although we have used asmoche diligence therein, as we can possyble, and have nowe late dispatched one other messenger unto hym, with letters, to incowrage hym frely to performe his said promysses, advertysing hym howe the Kyngis Highnes taketh in good parte his said submyssion.[1] And as we here

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[1] They, in the first instance, met James Fitz John's articles (printed p. 517.) by articles delivered to his agents, Welsh and Gould (who appear by the Vice-Treasurer's accounts to have been paid for their services by the government); and then, upon the receipt of the King's instructions of the 10t of December, enforced those articles by a letter to James himself.

" Articles delivered by us, Antony Seyntleger, George Poulet, Thomas Moyle, and William
" Berners, Commissioners assigned by the Kinges Highnes, to our loving frend and
" fellowe William Welshe Esquier, Maire of Yoghill, and to Patrik Gold of Kylmallok,
" secretary to the Right Honorable Lorde James Fitz John of Desmond, of which we
" the said Commissioners require to be certefyed by the said Lord James, with spede.

" First, that the said Lord James doo clerely, as the Kynges true faithfull and obedyent subjecte, " relinquishe the fals and usurped power and auctoritie of the Bisshop of Rome.

" Item, to certefie us of the clere title that the said Lord James hath to the Erledom of Desmond, " and the bastardy of James Fitzmorice nowe in England.

" Item, that where it is graunted unto the said Lord James, under the Kinges Highnes Great " Seale of Irelande, that he shall not, but at his awne free libertie and pleasure, be compelled to " comme to eny Parliament to be holden within the said land of Ireland, that we may be certefyed " by the said Lord James, by his writting, that all suche Actes, as shalbe concluded in eny suche " Parliament herafter to be holden, shalbe by hym, and his, perfitely observed and kepte, as they " shall in all other places under the Kinges domynion and obeysaunce.

" Item, to certefye us, under his writting and seale, what entertaynment he will yerely give to the " finding of James Fitzmorice, nowe in England, for his entertaynment there, and what suretie the " Kinges Magestie shall have for the same yerely to be paied.

" Item, what entertaynment the said Lord James will yerely give to those fourty gonners, which he

here from hym, and in other occurrentes here, we shall not fayll, God willing, to advertyse you, from tyme to tyme.

And

" he requireth to have of the Kinges Magesty, for to assiste hym in his warres, and reducyng " of Mounster to perfite obedience.

" Item, where the said Lord James requireth to have in ferme of the Kinges Majesty suche " landes as late were the Erle of Kildares in the countie of Limerik, as Crome, and Adare, and " other landes there, to certefie us what yerely rent he will yeld to the Kinges Majestie for the " same, and the names of the landes, and what assuraunce or certenty His Grace shall have for the " same yerely to be paied.

" Item, where as yonge Gerald Fitz Gerald, second sonne to the late Erle of Kildare, hath with- " drawen hymself from the Kinges Magesty without grounde or cause, His Grace, nothing myndyng " to the said Gerald Fitz Gerald, but honor and welthe, and to have cherisshed hym as his " kynsman, in like sorte as his other brother is cherisshed with his mother in the Roialme of " England, we require the said Lord James of Desmond to writ unto the said Gerald Fitzgerald, " advising hym in like sortes, as his uncle, the Lord Deputie, hath doon, to submitte hymself to the " Kinge, his Soveraign Lord, and if he will not so doo at his gentyll monicion, then to procede " ayenst hym, and his complices, as ayenst the Kinges rebelles and disobaysauntes.

" Item, if the said Gerald Fitzgerald doo, at the monicion of the said Lord James of Desmond, " submitte hymself, and comme to the said Lord James of Desmond, upon certificat therof to us " the said Commissioners made, we the same Commissioners concede, that the said Gerald Fitz " Gerald shall have the Kinges most gracious pardon for his said absentyng, and for all other " offences doon to Our said Soveraign Lord, and to be from thensforth taken as the Kinges true and " loving subject. WILLIAM WALSHE.

PATRIKE GOWLLS."

" Right Honorable, After our moste harty commendacions. This shalbe to advertyse you, that we " cannot but mervyll that your goode Lordeshyp, consydering the sundery letters sent unto " the Kinges Magestye our Soveraigne Lorde, the Lorde Deputye, and us, and also your promyse " and submyssion under your sealle and writeing to His Magestye, unto us made at Dungarvan by " youre loving frynde and felowe, Mr. William Welshe, and your secretorye, dothe not, accordeing " to your said letters and submyssion under youre sealle, performe your said promyseis. We " advertyse youe that apon your letter sent unto us, dateid at your manor of Lorgar the 8th of " Novembre, whereby youe assureid us to have performyd all your said promyseis, and bonnde, we " immedyatly wrote unto Our saide Soveraigne Lorde, advertysing him of your said submyssion " and promyse, whiche His Highnes, by his most gracious letters lately sent unto us, takeith in " verye goode parte, and hathe by the same commaundeid us further to treate with youe, bothe for " knowlege howe and what wyse youe wyll and can prove the bastardye of Jamys Fytzmorryce, " and the traytorous wordes by him spoken agaynst His Grace, as also howe ye wolde use " those 300 men, that ye wrote unto His Highnes to have, for the reduccion of hoole Monstre unto " his obedyence. And forasmuche as we, trusteing upon your promyse and wryteing, as to the " promys of a noble man, have, as before is said, advertysed Our said Soveraigne Lorde asmuche " to your favor as we coulde possyble, we dought not, but ye wyll, accordeing your said promyse " and bonde, not only performe the same, and sende unto us your sonne, with as muche spede as " may be, but also advertyse us, by your wryteing, of the saide bastardye of Jamys Fytzmorryce, " and his traytorous wordes, and howe ye wylle use those 300 men, in case the Kinges Highnes " wylle sende them unto youe; to thentent that we maye agayne, with all spede, advertyse His " Grace therof, in suche sort as yt may redounde to your honor and his contentacion. Me " semeyth ye shulde call to your remembraunce the nobylytie of youre predecessors, Erllys of " Desmounde, what nobylytie they lyvyd in dureing suche tyme as they were obedyent to ther

And where in oure last letters to your good Lordship we wrote that dyvers thinges here were worthy reformacion, wherein it were convenyent to knowe the Kyngis pleasure, and yours, and the same tedeouse to write; the trowthe is, one cause specyally caused us to wryte the same. In oure survay of the counties of Kylkenne, Typerarye, and Waterforde, we perceived the great lacke of thoes parties was lacke of mynystracion of justice; and thoes countres being distant from the other 4 sheres obedyent to the Kyngis lawes, the justices of the same cowlde not convenyently repaire to the said other 3 sheres: wherefore we thought mete to move the Kyngis Majestie, that his pleasure mought be to appoynt two substancyall lerned men to be justices, and to be recyant in the said towne of Waterforde, whiche standith very propys for the said 3 shyres, and also to appoynt other offycers there, aswell for mynystracion of justice, as yerely to ryde their cyrcuites in the said shyres; which thing will not be don without great charge, and so not mete for us to doo without knowlege of the Kyngis Highnes pleasure, and yours; and also no lerned men be here mete to exercyse the said romes or offyces, but of necessytie they must be sent owte of Englande.

We trust so to ordre all other thinges here, that be in oure compasse to doo, that His Majestie shall not nede in a good season to sende no commyssioners hyther, to doo suche thinges, as we shall leve undon. We trust, within 3 wykes, bothe to accomplisshe theffect of our charge here, and also to perfyt the Vicethesaurers accompt[1], and to leve suche recorde thereof, and also of the survay, as the lyke thereof hath not been in Irelande this long season.

" naturall Soveraigne Lordes, the Kinges of Ingland. And dought ye not, but your selff maye esyly " attayne to the same honor, yf ye ernestly and unfaynydly do folowe the obedyence that ye have " begonne with the Kinges Magestye, our Soveraigne Lorde. For, thankes be unto Godd, ther was " never King of Ingland, that was to be comparyd to him in honor and puyssaunce, nor yet " in benygnytie. Wherfor, for the love of Godd, take the goode tyme that nowe is offerid " youe; for yf ye nowe, at this tyme, do not performe that ye have so often promyseid, be ye well " assuryd, ye shalle not onely dysparrayge your honor, but inforce us to wryte unto His Magestye, " as we fynde youe; whiche we knowe well wylbe gretly to your hynderaunce. We have sent his " moste gracious pardon for youe unto Mr. Wyse of Waterford, whiche His Highnes dothe " lyberally, wyth goode wylle, geve unto youe, and shalbe unto you delyvered, whensoever youe " make delyverye of your sonne accordeing youre promyse. We intende no more to wryte unto " you in this behalf, wherfor we hartyly pray youe that we may knowe youre determynate " mynde in this premissis by this berer, and that with spede, for we intende to retorne very shortly " into Ingland, by Goddes grace. And where ye wrote unto us, that at your being us at Clomell, " Donoghe Obryne prayed your tenauntes of ther goodes, and slewe some of theym, we have " writen unto him in that behalf, and here sent youe his aunswer to the same, herein inclosyd. " And thys moste hartyly fare youe well. Wryten this 25 of Decembre."

[1] See p. 526.

Humbly

Humbly beseching your good Lordship, as oure most especiall truste is in you, to obtayne lycence of the Kyngis Majestie for oure returne, not for that we be wery to sarve His Grace, but forbycause we be very loothe to spende any more of his thesaure, then we see tyme to sarve hym. Jesus preserve your good Lordship. From Dublin, the second of January.

(*Superscribed*)
To the honorable and owre synguler good Lorde
the Lorde Pryvate Seall.

CXCVII. Archbishop Brown *to* Crumwell.[1]

Right honorable and my synguler good Lorde, my bounden dutie premysed. It may please your Lordeship to be advertised, that within the parties of Irelande, which grevith me very soare, ye, and that within the dioces of Dublin, and province of the same, where the Kinges poure ought to be best knowne, where it hath pleased His moste excellente Highnes, thorough your good Lordeschipes preferment, to make me, under His Grace, a spirituall officer, and cheef over the clergie; yet, that not withstanding, neither by gentill exhortacion, evangelicall instruccion, neither by oathes of theym solempnie taken, nor yeate by threates of sharpe correccion, can I persuade or induce onye, either religious or secular, sithens my commyng over, ons to preache the Worde of God, or the juste title of Our moste illustrious Prince. And yet, before that Our moste dreade Soverayne was declared to be (as he ever was in deade) Supreme Hed over the Church commytted unto his Princelye cure, they that then coulde and wolde, very often even till the right Christians were wery of theym, preache after tholde soarte and facion, will now not ons open theire lippes in any poulpett, for the manifestation of the same, but in cornars, and souch company as theym liketh, they can full ernestlie utter theire opynions; and somotche as in theym lyeth, hyndereth and plokith backe amonges the people the labor that I do take in that behalff. And yet they be borne ayenste me, and especiallie the Observauntes, which be worste of all others; for I can neither make theym swere, ne yet preache amonges us, so little regarde they myn auctoritie. And that commyth, so ferr as I can judge, of the extreme handeling that my Lorde Deputie hath usid towardes me, whate by often enpri-

[1] From Lambeth Library, Vol. 602, leaf 104.

 sonment,

sonment, and also expellyng me myn owne howse, keping there no hospitalitie at all. And so contemptuouslie he vilipendeth me, that I take God to recorde, I had, but that hoape comforteth me, raither forsake all, then to abide so many ignominiouse reproaches. But if your Lordeshipe wolde, for the good love and mynde that you bere unto the mere and sincere doctryne of Godes Worde, and also unto the advauncement and setting forthwarde of Our moste excellent Princes right title, sende either unto Maister Theausorer, the Chief Justice, the Maister of the Rolles, or any too of theym, whome I thinke meate for that purpose, sotche a straite commaundement over me, and all other ecclesiasticall parsons, as I perseyve the Kinges Grace hath sent of late in to Inglande to the shereves of every shere; I wolde (God willing) so exequte myn owne office, and pricke other forthwardes, that ben under neth me, by thauctoritie theirof, that His Grace and your Lordeschip shulde well alowe my faithfull harte and diligent service. For untill that souche a thing, or more vehement, com amonges us, it is but vayne to loke after any amendyment here, but alwaies expectacion of the former abuses. And to proave the same, theire is never a Archbushop, ne Busshop, but my self, made by the King, but he is repelled, even now, by provision. Agayne, for all that ever I coulde doo, mought I not make theym ons, but as I sende myne owne servauntes to do it, to cancell out of the canon of the Masse, or other bookes, the name of the Busshop of Rome; whereby your Lordeschip may perceyve that myn auctoritie is litle regarded. I have advertized your Lordeschip, dyvers tymes, whate inconvenience mought fall for lake of dispensacions; for, in that poynte, they be compelled to sew to Rome. Wherfore I think good, that, with all celeritie and spede, it were necessary that we had dispensacions, a Vicar Generall, and a Maister of the Faculties. Theire is of late comen in to Ireland from Rome a pardon, motche consonante to a pardon graunted by Julious the Seconde, in tyme of the warres bytwene the Frenche King and hym; and that was, that they that wolde enyoie it, shulde faste Wensday, Friday, and Saturday next after they hard furste of it, and on the Sonday consequentlie ensuyng to receyve the Communyon. And many, as it is reaported, hath receyved the same. But if so traditorous a facte, and like flagicious iniquities, shulde passe, neither justelie examyned nor condinglie ponysshed, being commytted while the Kinges Graces High Commyssioners ben here, seing theise men so redy and prompte to admyt the Busshop of Romes letters, and so sturdie and flynthie ayenste our Prynces poure; whate will men thinke? I cannot in my conscience, considering myn othe and allegiance, let souche enormities escape, but make juste relacion, that the Kinges Majestie may have sure knowlege how unfaithfull a soarte he hath in this lande; and namelie the Spiritualtie, which seducith

seducith the reste. The Lyving God knowith my harte, who ever prosper your Lordeschip with immortall felicitie. Amen. From the Kinges citie of Dublin, the 8th Day of January.

Your Lordeschipes at commaundement,

(*Signed*) GEORGE DUBLIÑ.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honerable and his moste especiall good Lorde, the Loarde Prevaie Seale, be theis letters delyvered.

CXCVIII. CONCORDIA[1], facta inter PETRUM OMORE, sue Nationis Principalem, et KEDAGH OMORE, et RODERICIUM OMORE, et eorum fratres, 14° die Januarij Anno regni Regis Henrici VIII. 29°, Anno Domini millesimo quingentesimo 37, coram Domino Leonardo Grey, Deputato Domini Regis, Antonio Sentleger, Georgio Poulet, et socijs suis, ac alijs de Consilio Regali, apud Dublin'.

Petrus Omore.

IN primis concordatum et assensum est per partes predictas, quod omnia spolia et dampna quecunque per dictum Dominum Omore prefatis Kedogh, Roderico, et fratribus suis, et e contra per eos dicto Domino Omore, nuper capitanei de Lexia, perpetrata, restituentur et reformabuntur secundum arbitrium et judicium Domini Jacobi Butleri, Domini Mac Gilpatric, et aliorum de sequacibus utriusque partis per ipsos Dominum Jacobum et Dominum Mac Gilpatricum eligendorum; et si ipsi, per eos sic electi, in aliquo discordes fuerint, tunc dictus Dominus Butlerus et Mc Gilpatricus id determinabunt; et si ipsi in aliquo discordes fuerint, tunc Dominus Deputatus et Consiliarij Regij id determinabunt.

Item concordatum et assensum est per partes predictas, quod campanile, alias dictum clogas, de Shraidbaily, in Lexia, semper erit in custodia et possessione gubernatoris seu curati ecclesie ibidem; et quod neuter partium predictarum ullum jus aut titulum eidem vendicabunt.

Item, quod dictus Petrus Omore de cetero habeat et possideat eadem dominia et superioritates in terris et dominijs, que ipsi Kedagh, Rodericus, et fratres sui nunc possident, que predecessores predicti Petri, tanquam capitanei

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[1] In the handwriting of Alen, the Master of the Rolls.

de

de Lexia, ibidem exigere et habere consueverunt, absque molestatione et impedimento ipsorum aut sequacium suorum.

Item, assensum est per predictas partes, quod Dominus Omore, et successores sui, capitanei de Lexia, solvent singulis annis, imperpetuum, Domino Regi, heredibus et successoribus suis, tanquam eorum supremo et capitali Domino, viginti mercas legalis monete Hibernie, excepto illo anno quo contingat Dominum Deputatum habere centum et viginti Scoticos sustentatos in Lexia; et Dominus Deputatus habeat eos ibidem supportatos, nisi per quadraginta dies, et uno anno tantum.

Item, assensum est inter partes predictas, quod ab omni jure clameo et titulo terrarum et possessionum in Baronia de Reban, que Comes Kildarie quondam habuit ibidem, penitus et perpetuo sint exclusi omnes de Lexia; et quod Dominus Rex, et heredes sui, eosdem redditus habeat, et habeant, annuatim, quos Comes Kildarie habuit pro terris suis in Lexia.

In quorum fidem et testimonium partes predictæ, pro seipsis et omnibus eorum sequasibus, prestiterunt juramentum pro premissis perimplendis; ac Dominos Comitem Ossorie, Dominum Jacobum Butlerum, et Dominum McGilpatricum admiserunt et dederunt intercessores concordie hujusmodi conservande.

CXCIX. King Henry VIII. *to* Sentleger, &c.

Trusty and right welbeloved, We grete you well. Latting you wytt, that We have seen and perused your letters, with the note of suche Actes, as have ben passed ther in our High Court of Parlement now dissolved, whiche you dyd lately addresse to our right trusty and welbeloved Counselar, the Lorde Prevy Seale. And perceyving, by the contynue of the same, how discreatly, and conformably to our expectacion, and to our trust reposed in you, ye have proceded in our affayres ther, comytted unto your charge, We do for the same geve unto you our most harty thankes, assuring you that We shall not fayle so to remembre your honest travayle and procedinges, as the same shall redounde to your comfortes, in tyme comyng.

And wher as, by that parte of your letters whiche touchith Ochonor, and John of Desmonde, it aperith unto Us, that al thinges ther be not in so gode stay, as We wold wysche; our pleasur is, that you schall wey the state of the lande, and the inclinacion of every offycer ther, that hathe any charge under Us. And in case, by your wyesdomes, you shall perceyve ther shalbe any

any suche faccions amonges them, as might, after your departures, put any thing in perill or jeopardy, to our dishonur, or to the trobyll of the countre, you shall then contyneu your demor ther, and dispache unto Us a poste, with letters conteyning the playnnes of every thing, that We may provyde for the same, as the case shall require. And if so be, that weyng thus the state of all thinges ther, and the disposicions of all our Counselars, you shall thinke, that you may retorne, leaving all thing in suche a stay, as no daunger can ensue, though any man wold sew hym selff other wyse then were convenyent; then We be contentyd that, our affayres comytted to your charge being fynesched, for so moche as you can do in the same, you shall make your retornes unto Us at your libertes acordingly. Willing and comanding you, and every of you, to kepe thes our letters secrete, and in case any thing be to be wrought and donne, for avoyding of any inconvenyens, to do hit, as of your selffes, without disclosing of this advertesment and monycion; trusting that you wyll looke upon all thinges there with suche a faythfull and vygelaunt eye, as you may eyther leve al thinges, or preserve al thinges ther, in suertie and stey, tyll farther ordre may be taken for the sertein establishement of the same. And, amonges other thinges, We desire and pray you, in case you shall not shortly repayre your selffes unto Us, at the leaste to sende hither, by the next poste, an extract of our hole revenues ther, and of the charges groing agein out of the same. And fynally our pleasur is, that in case your retorne shalbe shortly, you shall bryng wyth you in your company our trusty and right welbeloved Counselars and servauntes, the Cheff Justyce, and the Master of the Rolles ther, to thentent We may confferr with the same upon sertein thinges touching the weale of that our lande; and if you shall upon any consideracions protracte your demorre, then We wele that you shall dispache them before unto Us with all convenyent diligence acordingly. Yeven under our Signett, at our manor of Grenewyche, the 17 day of January, and the 29th yere of our Reigne.

CC. King Henry VIII. *to* The Spiritual Lords of Ireland.

By the King.

Trusty and welbeloved, We grete you well. And forasmuche as, by the relation and advertisement of our Deputie and Counsaile there, We have perceyved how that lovingly, and lyke our faythfull subjectes, having regarde to the greate charges We have been at for your defences against the malycyous attemptates

attemptates of the Garaldynes, and others our rebelles there; and mynding partely with some gratuitie to redubbe the same, and so to encrease our revenues, as We may the better defende youe in all eventes, without exhausing of our treasoure here, youe have graunted unto Us a certain yerely and contynuall rent, in augmentation of the revenues of our Crowne, of the 20th parte of all and every your promotions, benefices, and possessyons within that our lande of Ireland: lyke as for your conformyties therein We gyve unto youe our right harty thankes, assuring youe that We shall never put the same in oblivion; soo We desire and pray youe to be now soo diligent in the leviation thereof, from tyme to tyme, that We may have cause no lesse to esteame your thankfull myndes in that parte, thenne We doo now thankfully accept your loyall procedinges in the graunt of the same.

To the Lordes of the Spiritualtie
in Ireland.

CCI. Gray *to* Crumwell.[1]

My moost harty recomendation premised to your right honorable good Lordship. It may pleas the same to be advertisid, that the hows callid Christes Churche, within the Kinges citie of Dublin, is scituate in the highe place of the same, like as Poules in London, where the comen congregations of Parliamentes and greate Counsailles hathe bene used to be selebrated; being visitid by the Kinges Comyssioners, was founde originaly to be foundid a secular Churche Metropolytane. Wherfore the Kinges Majesties Comissioners here, by auctorytie of ther Comission, have remyttid and restorid the said hows to ther prestine and originall foundation, by the name of Deane and others, as the said Comissioneres more amply by ther letters advertisid your Lordship, as I am enformed. Wherfore, if it soo bee, I beseche your Lordship to be good lord unto this berrer, Sir Robert Castell, late Priour, by your Lordships comendation, and nowe Deane of the same, concernyng thoptaynyng of the Kinges Majesties coroboration and confirmation, upon suche ordre and alteration as the said Comissioners have taken, appering by ther certificate, touching the dissolucyon of their religiousnes, and restoring them to ther furst fundation, according the

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle G.

petition

petition of the said Comissioners; whiche in my mynde were a charitable and meritorious acte. As knowes God, who preserve your right honourable good Lordship in felicytie, with increace of hounour. Writtin at the Kinges castell of Maynothe, the 19th day of January.

Your Lordships assured,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

To the Right Honorable and my singuler good Lord,
my Lord Pryvie Seall.

CCII. THE MAYOR AND ALDERMEN OF DUBLIN *to* CRUMWELL.

PLEASITH your honorable Lordshipe to be advertised, that our Soverayne Lorde the Kynges Hyghe Commissioners here in this his land of Irlande, in consideration that the Cathedrall Chirche of the Blessed Trinite of the Kynges citie and chambre of Dublin standith in the middes of the said citie and chambre, in like maner as Paules Church is in London, hit is the verie station place, wher as the Kynges Graces honorable Parliamentes and Counsailles ar kepyn, all sermons ar made, and wher as the congregacions of the said citie, in processions and station daies, and at all other tymes necessarie, assemblith, and at all tymes of the birth of our mooste noble Princes and Princesses, and othir tymes of victorie and tryumphe, processions ar made, and "Te Deum laudamus" customablie is songe, to the laude and praise of God, and the honor of our said Princes and Princesses; and in consideration that if the said Chirch were suppressed and put downe, being in the myddes of the citie, it wold be a great desolation and a fowle waste and deformitie of the said citie, and a great comforte and encoraginge of our Soveraine Lords the Kynges Irish enymyes: the said Commissioners, of ther awne discretions, and by thadvice of the Kinges Counsaill, and partlie at thinstance of the Maire and Aldermen of the said Citie, hath taken suche ordre therin, that the said Chirch shall stand, and hath caused the Priour and Convent of the same to chaunge ther habites, and in the styde of the said Priour and Convent hath made a Dean and Chapter, to have the rule and governaunce of the said Chirch and possessyons of the same accordinge to ther furst fundation. Besechinge your good Lordshipe to solicite the Kinges Highnes, that the said ordre, taken be the said Commissioners, mai stande in perpetuall contynuaunce with our Soverayne Lorde the Kynges mooste gratious confirmatyon in and upon the same. And

thus the Blissed Trinite preserve and increase your honorable Lordshipps honor, longe to endure. Dated at Dublin, the 23 day of Januarie.

Your assured lowinge Servauntes, The Maire and Aldermen of the Kynges Citie of Dublin.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable Lorde Prive Seale of Englandes good Grace.[1]

CCIII. SENTLEGER *to* WRIOTHESLEY.

RIGHT Wurshipfull, and myne especiall frende, after moste hartie recommendations. Althogh I have, by my last letters sent unto you, advertysed you of thoccurrentes here, yet we have daylie newe and newe. Sethe the sendyng of thoes same letters, the Baron of Delvyn, who was oon of the best marchers of this countre, ys departed to God, whose sowll Jhesus pardon. I assure you the Kyngis Highnes hath a grete losse of hym. His sonnys sonne[2], who is his heere, is the Kyngis warde, and not paste 12 or 13 yeres of age. Yf the Kingis Highnes staye the gyfte or sale of hym, untill our returne, I think it shalbe beste, for many causes, which I shall shewe you at my returne. I have wryten the same effect to my Lorde Pryvate Seall by Robet Cowley, who can informe his Lordship of many thynges here passed sythe our arryvall. Lyke as I desyred you, in my said last letters, to accelerate our returne, so I eftsonys requyre you, as my very frende; the causes why, were over tedyous to wryte. Monye and vytailles be here very dere; and I trust I have to long abstayned from brybery, to begynne nowe. I write no more, but God sende you aswell to fare, as your harte can thynk. From Dublyn, this 10th of February.[3]

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Wurshipfull
Maister Thomas Wryothysley Esquyre.

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[1] Sealed with the corporate seal.

[2] Richard, son of Sir Chritopher Nugent, (who died before his Father) became, on his grandfather's death, the 8th Lord Delvin.

[3] The letter bears the appearance of originality, though it has no signature.

CCIV. Sentleger, &c. *to* Wriothesley.

Maister Wryothysley, after our most hartie commendacions. This is to advertise you, that we be now at a good poynt with the Vicethesaurers accompt here, which hath ben a tedyous werk, aswell for the intrycat busynes thereof, as also for lack of good recordes, aswell concernyng the Kyngis olde inherytaunce, as also other landes and possessions, commen to His Gracys handes by atteynder, or otherwyse; for none in effect ben here, but suche as hath ben lately made by the said Vicethesaurer.

And as concernyng suche other maters as we have here in charge, we truste, in very shorte tyme, to be at a good poynt, for asmoche thereof as lyeth in our possybilitie to doo, except oonly Jamys of Desmondys case, in whome as yet we fynde no faythe, neither in worde nor writyng; yet have we sent unto hym, sythe our being with hym, 5 or 6 tymes, and alwayes received from hym fayre promyse, and nothing performed. We have nowe presently a messenger with hym, who hath ben there more then a monyth. What the cause is of his long demur we knowe not, but if we here not from hym within 3 or 4 dayes, we will again sende unto hym; and if that we have not then suche assurance as he hath promysed, we think it foly to gyve any further faith either to his worde or wryting.

And where we, in our laste letters, dated the second of January, sent unto my Lorde Pryvey Seale, desyryng his good Lordeship to opteyne us lycence of the Kyngis Majestie for our returne, we think that, after the same obteyned, it may chaunce the messenger to tary at the see coste for passage a long tyme, as we our selves dyd. Wherefore, God wyllyng, such ernest busynes as we nowe have in hande to serve His Grace oonys perfected, we intende with all spede to returne, onlesse we have contrary commandment from His Highnes, for our long demur here shalbe but charge and losse of tyme. And thus most hartely fare ye well. From Dublin, the 11th February.

Your loving Frendes,

(*Signed*) Antony Sentleg?
(*Signed*) George Poulet.
(*Signed*) Thomas Moyle.
(*Signed*) Willm̃ Berners.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Wurshipfull
Maister Thomas Wryothysley, Esquyre.

CCV. SENTLEGER *to* WRIOTHESLEY.

MAISTER Wryothysley. After the writyng of my letter, and my servaunt with the same in the ship to goo forward, I received a letter from the west partes of Monster, from a frende of myne, which advertysed me that Jamys of Desmond, and John Fitz Gerrard Oge, a nye kynsman of his, be both departed to God[1], and that the said Jamys sonne hath taken Morys of Desmond, brother to the said Jamys, prysoner. If the tydynges be true, I think it no grete losse of their dethe, for as yet I never sawe fydelitie in the said Jamys. I and my fellowes have sent with all spede to knowe the trowthe thereof. I hartely desyre you to informe my good Lorde Pryvey Seale thereof, for I have no leasure to wryte to his good Lordship therein, the ship went in suche haste, for losyng of his tyde. And thus fare you aswell as your harte can thynk. From Dublyn, this 13th of February.

Your assured lovyng Frende,

(*Superscribed*) (*Signed*) ANTONY SENTLEG[?].

To the Right Wurshipfull and my assured Frende,
Maister Thomas Wryothysley, Esquyer.

CCVI. LORD BUTLER *to* SENTLEGER, &c.[2]

AFTER moste harty commendations unto you. Having receyved, as yesterevyn, here at Clomell, your letters, bering date the 22 day of February, perceyving by the contentes of the same the procedinges of OConour, before the receipt wherof I advertised you further therin, and of other matiers. And where ye write of the combynation of the Kevanaghes, my Lorde my father, as yisterday, did write to you suche knowledge as he had therin, with other matiers, and his advyse for the remedy. And if I here noon other from you of any better likelehode of OConours appoyntement with you, I entende, on Wednysday next, to resorte into OMeaghers cuntrey, to devyse there to enfeble his strenght. My Lorde my father, and I, sent into Conaght to OMaddyn and others of the Irishrie, whoo, withoute doubte, were in a redynes, and setting forwardes to aide OConour, were it not our procurement to the contrary; and

[1] This information proved untrue, at least as to James Fitz John Fitzgerald, who lived till 1558. Both Maurice, and John Oge, Fitzgerald were brothers of James.

[2] From the Chapter House, Miscellaneous Bundle, marked $A\frac{6}{1}$.

fearing

fearing we shulde have invaded theme, refusid, as they afferme, horsses and other wadges of OConour, upon my promysse to theme, whiche I woll see perfourmed, as they shalbe noo losers therby, God willing. They have thus withdrawen them from OConour, and further promysed to send me knowledge of all other his devises, and assistens in their parties of Conaght, and be gides to me for invasion of suche attemptatours, yf the waters and floodes of the Shenyn be abatid, and the fordes opyn to passe. And as for these parties of Mounster, I trust that my Lorde my father, and I, nowe have takyn suche ordre therin, as the better quyetnes shall followe, and the Kinges Majestie the better served.

My Lorde Deputie hath written unto me a letter, the coppie wherof, with a coppie of my aunswere therunto, I do sende unto you herin closid; deasiring you to retourne my servaunt, this berer, with your pleasures to me in the premisses, with as convenient spede, as ye can. And thus moste hartilly fare ye well. From Clomell, the 4th day of Marche.

Your assured lovyng Freend,

(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To my assured lovyng Freendes Mr. Anthony Sentleger, Mr. George Poulet, Mr. Thomas Moyll, and Mr. William Barners, Esquyers, the Kinges Majesties Commissioners.

CCVII. SENTLEGER, &c. *to* CRUMWELL.

RIGHT Honorable, after our humble dueties. This is to advertise your good Lordship, that the first of Marche we receyved the Kyngis Highnes moste gratyous letters to us directed, dated at Grenewiche the 17th of January, to us no small comforte, to see His Majestie to take our powre servyce in so good parte by the setting furthe of your good Lordship; for the which we rekone our selves to be to you gretely bounden; and for thaccomplishment of the same His Highnes letters, we will, God willing, endevor our selves, to the uttermost of our small powres, to advertise your good Lordship of the occurrantes here.

Sethe the receipt of the said lettars, Okonnor, who hath, sithe our arryvall here, moche disturbed his cuntre, by the good meanes and polycye of the Lorde Deputie, the Lorde Ormond[1], the Lord Jamys his sonne, and other of the

[1] The Earldom of Ormond was restored to Lord Ossory 22d February 1538.

Counseill

Counseill here, is not oonly drevyn to extreme mysery, but also constrayned to com, at bydding of the said Lorde Deputie, to Dublyn; where he hath, in presence of the said Lorde Deputie, and us, with other of the Counseill, holly submyttyd hym self to the Kyngis Majestie, his lif and lybertie saved; humbly beseching all us to be peticioners to His Majestie for hym, whose submyssion we think shalbe to the cuntre no small commoditie and quyett; the specialties whereof, with all other occurrantes here, we trust to shewe unto your Lordship at our returne, whiche we truste shalbe very shortly, considering that the cuntre, thankes be unto God, is nowe in better case, then it hath ben of long tyme paste.

And where we advertised your good Lordship of the small truste and confydence we had in Jamys of Desmond, by reason of the long tracte of his resolute answere upon tharticles of his submyssion; yet neverthelesse he hathe not onely delyvered his sonne, according his first promyse, to the handes of Maister William Wyse, of Waterforde, to be delyvered unto us, (for whose comyng we loke every howre) but also hath affirmed by his secretary, and writing, all that he afore promysed. And were it not for somme other causes in thoes parties, for the which we have somewhat tracted the tyme, we had, or this, repaired to the Kyngis Majestie. We leve to write the long circumstance of our affaires, because of our shorte returne. And thus we pray God in honor long to preserve you. From Dublyn, the 8th of Marche.

Youres at commaundement,

(*Signed*) ANTONY SENTLEG?
(*Signed*) GEORGE POULET.
(*Signed*) THOMAS MOYLE.
(*Signed*) WILLM̃ BERNERS.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable the
Lorde Privey Seale.

CCVIII. ALEN *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

MY humble dutie remembred, I commende me moste hartelie unto your good Lordship. Your letters from Grenewiche, of the 16ten of Januarie, I received at Dublyn the first of this moneth; in the aunswering wherof I wol not, at this season, moch troble your good Lordship, considering that I purpose

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

shortelie

shortlie to resorte thider in the cumpany of the Kinges Commissioners. But as to that ye willed me to conferr with Mr. Selynger, and certen your frendes, so that by our meanes suer proof mought be had of soch wordes, as hath been spoken by some of the Commissioners against you[1]; at our comeng ye shal knowe

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[1] The following documents relative to this subject are in the State Paper Office:

"Interrogatories of articles ensuying, ministrid before Maister Anthonye Seyntleger, "oon of the Kinges High Comyssioners in Irlande, concernyng sklanderous and "reprocheous wordes spoken of my Lorde Previe Seale, by Mr. George Poulet, or "any others.

"Yff, directly or indirectly, ye have herde these wordes ensuyng, or of like sentence, prolatid "or spokyn by any man, and who did speke the same?

"1. That the Kinges Majestie hath callid my Lorde Prevye Seale villain, knave, bobbyd him "aboutes the hedde, and thruste him out of the prevye chambre.

"2. Item, that the Kinges Highnes hath nedeles consumed and wastid moche thesaure in this "lande, for the daunting and subduyng of the Geraldynes, whiche might have bene perfectid by "othir meanes with a smale summe; and the substaunce of the Kinges thesaure being consumyd "and spent in this lande might have bene sparid and preserved.

"3. That my Lorde Prevye Seale was procurer to the Kinges Highnes to exhauste and "disburse the said tresure, and that he is the veray instrument and abettor to the Kinges "Highnes to disperple and give away the possessions and landes of the offendors, which be "acrued to His Grace by atteynders, soo that litle or noothing shall remayne to the Kinges "profict, for recompence of all his tresure spente upon this lande.

"4. That by prevye meanes it shalbe beattin into the Kinges Majesties hed, howe his tresure "hath nedeles excessively bene wastid and consumyd, and all by procurement of my Lorde "Prevye Seale, and by his meanes and solicitation, all the Kinges profictes and revenues, that "accrued to His Highnes in recompence of his great expensis and chargis, gevyn away "by synister meanes; and when this matier shalbe soo beatyn into the Kinges hedde, in what "case shall then my Lorde Prevye Seale remayne? &c.

"5. Item, that my Lorde Pryvee Seale hathe wrought to his awne confusion and dethe, and "of late tyme was veray nere the same, and escapid veray narrowly, and procedith still in his "workinges hastely to his dethe.

"6. Item, that the Kinges Highnes hathe 6 times somoche revenues, as ever any of his "noble progenytoures had; and all is consumyd, and goon to noght, by meanes of my Lorde "Prive Seale.

"7. Item, that noo lorde or gentilman in Englande berith love or favor to my Lorde Pryvee "Seale, by cause he is soo great a taker of money, for he woll speke, solicite, or doo for noo "man, but all for money.

"8. Item, that my Lorde Prevye Seale, for some practise, hath sent unto this lande a Walshe-"man, to Saint Patrickes Purgatorye, to enserche and have intelligence pryvely of a certain "prophesye, that a pellycane shulde come out of Irlande into Englande, whiche shulde doo "many mervaillous thinges."

Answers of ALEN.

"John Alen, Master of the Rolles, and oon of the Kinges Counsaill in Irlande, required, and "upon his faith and honestie, adjured to declare, what he hathe harde, and sworne befor the "Kinges Cunsaile in Ingland.

"To the first article he saithe, that attending upon the Kingis Commissioners in the survey of "the Kinges manors and landes, ridyng betwixt Ballycutland and Kylcaa, the Monday after the "Feaste of Saint Michael, Mr. George Poulet, both then, and dyverse other tymes, passing in "the

knowe the trowthe therof, to be justified by certen witnes examyned therupon. Nevertheles by your letters ye note me otherwise, then my letters sent to Mr.

" the said jornay, did reaporte dyverse thinges unto him, in the reproche of my Lord Prevye " Seale; and, ameng other thinges, the said Monday, comonyng with the said John Alen of the " ordre of the Kinges garrisones in those parties, he said, my Lorde Pryve Seale had writtin " letters to him and his fellawes, that they shulde not dispose and ordre suche garrisons, as the " Lorde Butler had in his custodye, wherof I rehersid then Catherlagh, Kilca, and Castel " Dermot to be parte of the same, whiche garrisons we went to viewe, being in maner in sight " before us. ' Well,' said he, ' by Goddis Body, if the Kinges purpose be lettid, that we shall not " put garyson in theme, I shall ley it in his lappe, for there is neither he, ne the best lorde in " Englande, if the King take a thing in the hedd, that dare speke or move him to the contrarie. " He hath wonne that advauntage of his lordes. And as for my Lord Prevye Sealle, I wold " not be in his case for all that ever he hathe, for the King beknaveth him twice a weke, " and sometyme knocke him well aboute the pate; and yet when he hathe bene well pomeld " about the hedde, and shaken up, as it were a dogge, he will come out into the great chambre, " shaking of the bushe with as mery a countenaunce as thoughe he mought rule all the roste. " I,' saith he, ' standing at the lower ende of the chambre, perceive theise matiers well ynogh, " and laughe at his facion and ruffes, and then my brother [1], and my Lorde Admyrall [2], must " drive a meane to reconcile him to the King agayne.' And he saith further that the said " Mr. Poulet reaportid, as he was informed, thinges of like effecte to Thomas Cusake of " Cousingiston.

" To the seconde article he saith, that passing in the said jornay, the said Mr. Poulet, commyng " from Wexforde to Rosse, spake unto him wordes of like sence; howebeit afterwarde, when he " had better experience of the cuntrey, he said dyverse tymes, that the King never spent money " better, ne it had behoved His Grace to a forborne the spending therof for the double of " the same.

" To the thirde and fourthe article he saithe, that after their retorne to Dublin, the said " Mr. Poulet, passing to the survey of the lordships of Lexlipp, Maynothe, and others in those " quarters, the said John Alen being appointed to attende upon him to survey the lordships of " Lexlipp and Maynoth, after the survey of Lexlipp, the same Mr. Poulet determyned to " lodge that night at the said John Alens house, whiche is not above a myle from Lexlipp. And " riding comynyng togidthers towardes his house, the said Mr. Poulet, upon occasion of the " gifte of the landes gevyn by the Kinges Majestie to the Lorde Butler, said, the same procedid " by my Lorde Pryvee Seales meanes, who had caused the King bothe to spende his tresure to " recover the lande, and, after all his charges, he is agayne the oonly meane and instrument to " cause him to give away his revenues; with further wordes of theffecte expressed in the said " articles, or of more vehemencye then there is mencioned. Saing further, that my Lorde " Previe Seale had be soo handelid and tauntid by the Counsaille in these matiers, as he " was wery of theme, soo as by this conveyaunce he and his fellawes were sent hither in com- " mission, but for a flym flawe to stoppe the ymagynacion of the King and Counsaile in that " behalf. ' Howbeit,' saith he, ' that shall not helpe him, for I woll finde the meanes to put the " matiers in the Kinges hedde, after that wise as shalbe to his displeasure; and yet shall he not " knowe, whiche way it came.' And the said John Alen saithe, that Mr. Moyle, oon of the " Commyssioners, shewid him, that the said Mr. Poulet shewid him parte of the premysses, as " concernyng the cause of their sending hither.

" To the fifte article the said John Alen cannot certaynly depose, for he remembre not

[1] Sir William Poulet.

[2] Sir William Fitzwilliam.

" that

Mr. Wriothesley do comprehende, or yet my meaneing therin, as Mr. Sentleger knoweth, who was privaie to the same, and my intente therein; which thing, if

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" that the said Mr. Poulet said any suche thing to him, but, as he was informed, he said like " wordes to the Chief Justice.

" To the 6th and 7th article he saith, that the said Mr. George Poulet said unto him, passing " in the firste jornay into Mounster, the wordes, in effecte, comprised in the same articles, " savyng that he said not to him that he was great taker, but the greatest briber that ever was in " Englande, whiche wordes, as I was informed, he spake to Mr. Moyle.

" To the eight article he saithe, he harde noo suche comonycacion of the said Mr. Paulet, " but as he hathe bene informed the same Mr. Poulet made a like reaporte, as in the said " article is mencioned, to Maister Moyle. (*Signed*) JOHN ALEN."[1]

Answers of Chief Justice AYLMER.

" First, at Kilcay ther was reported by Mr. Pawlet to the Lord Deputie, that he wold laugh, " when he see my Lord shake his hedde, when he came owte of the Privy Chamber from the " King, when the King had wel pomelled him about the pate.

" Item, when he came home he wold laugh at this geare, with my Lord of Norfolke, Mr. Tresorer, " and my Lord Admyrall, when thei wer secretlie together.

" Item, he wolde hitt my Lord, and me, secretelie, and that non of us shuld knowe from whence " it came, by secrete information to the King.

" Item, that he wold find the meanes that the Master of the Rolles shuld have an 100£ in " Dublyn paid, if he wold finde the meanes that he mought goo into Inglande, and then he wold " cause the Lord Butlers hedde to be striken of.

" Item, that the King had taken more of his subjectes, and that he had mor revenues, then six " Kinges befor him, and yet all was spente, and all by meanes of my Lorde, which ravened all " that he culde gett.

" Item, he said to the Master of the Rolles, riding towardes his howse, in the survey; ' Oh!' " said he, ' if ye had founde the meanes that I mought have goon home, when I wold have goon, " by Goddes Bodie the Lord Butler shuld have lost his hedde, or this; howbeit, I wol so com- " passe the matter, that he and his promoters shalbe wipped therfor, for I wol so worke my matters, " that the King shalbe informed of every penny that he hath spente here; and when that gret " expenses is oones in his hedde, it shall never be forgotten; ther is oon good pointe. And then " I wol informe him, how he hath geven away to oon man 700 markes by yer, and then will the " King swere ' By Goddes Bodie, have I spente somoche mony, and now have given away my " londe.' Ther is annother pointe that shall make him smarte, that hath made him spende somoch " mony, and to give away his lande, for ther is non but my Lord Privay Seale, that hath made " him bothe to spende his money and give away his lande. For ther was never King so deceyved " by man. But I will hitt him by mean of my frendes.' Then said the Master of the Rolles, " ' Take heede; for, and you make your self so conyng in the matters of this cuntry, ye may " chance to be here agayne shortelie.' ' Nay,' said he, ' I will do it, and I woll not do it; for I " wol worke my matters so secretlie, that I woll whipp my felaws that take his parte, and thei " shal not know from whens it cometh.'

" To the 5th article I, Gerald Ailmer, Chief Justice, say, that I perceyved by divers communica- " tions had with Mr. George Pawlet, that he was not my Lord Privey Seales frende; and among " other his communications, betwixt the Currogh More and Waterford, within the countie of

[1] In the original, Alen signs the bottom of each page.

if it had been kept secrete, as it was not, many thinges in this behalf had goon more at large: but men had perseverance, that thei wer noted therin. But, my Lord, ther is no mor. Either be ye gretlie disceived in me, or, that mor is, I am moch disceyved in my self; orelles (if so pour a man, as I am, may be accompted or accepted for your frende) I am your frende in deade, so as I wolde all men shuld knowe, that, the King my Master excepted, I am yours, against all men; and so being, in this or any other matter, withoute respecte of any person, I wol shew my self accordinglie. And thus omitting to write of any thoccurrauntes here, until our repaire, I most hartelie beseche God to graunte your Lordship long and prosperous lif. From Dublyn, the 9th of Marche.

Your Lordships most bounden,

JOHN ALEN.

(*Superscribed*)
To my most especiall good Lorde, my Lorde Crumwell, Lorde of the Private Seale.

CCIX. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

AFTER my most hertye and lovyng commendations. This shalbe to advertise youre Honorable Lordship, that after the cruell and extreme handeling of Brene Ochonour, as your Lordeship heretofore hath bene advertisid, nowe of late, the prosedinges of the said Brene, by his gret labors and humble submyssyon, shall apere unto youre good Lordship by certeyn artycles here inclosyd[1], whiche yow

" Waterford, he said, that the Lord Privay Seale drew every daie towardes his deth; and that " he escaped verie hardelie at the last insurrection, and that he was the grettest bribour in " Ingland, and that he was espied wel ynough. And the Master of the Rolles shewed me divers " tymes in the said journay, that the said Mr. Pawlet, by soche wordes as he ded here of him, " was not my Lord Privy Seales frende."
This latter paper is wholly in Alen's handwriting.

[1] " The maner and forme of the parliament betwene Lorde Leonarde Gray, the Kinges our " Soveraign Lorde Hys Highnes Deputie of Irelonde, and Bryan Ochonour, holden in " Offale the second day of Marche, in the 29 yere of our Soverayn Lorde.

" In primis the sayd Bryan Ochonour desyrid to parle with the sayd Lorde Deputie the day " aforesayd, but the sayd Bryan wolde in noo wyse come into the Englyshe pale to parle. Wherfore " the saide Lorde Deputie dyd commaunde hym to put all his retynue thre myles from the place, " where he wolde parle; unto whiche the sayd Brene agreid, and soo dyd.

" Then the sayd Lorde Deputie dyd put in order at the least 800 men or their abowtys, being " horsmen, fotemen, and kerne; and the day aforesayd, the sayd Lorde Deputie, with the sayd 800 " men, cam to a forde called Kennofad, on the bordars of the Kinges countre of Offale aforesayd.

" To whyche place the sayd Bryan sent to the sayd Lorde Deputie, showing hym, that he had left " all

yow shall receyve by this berer, youre sarvant, Matheu Kyng, who hath bene with me in all my prosedinges ageynst the seid Brene, unto whom I beseche youre Lordship to gyve credens. And at the repayre thyther of our Soveraygne Lord the Kynges Comyssyonors, which wilbe with all convenyent spede, they will declare playnlye, and at large, to youre Lordship the holl circumstauns of every thing, as towching the seid Brene, and other our said Soveraigne Lordis affaires here. And thus Our Lord have your Honorable Lordship in his most tender tuyssion. From our said Soveraigne Lord the Kynges cyttie of Dublin, the 11th day of Marche.

Assuredly yowers,

(*Signed*) Leonard Gray.

(*Superscribed*)

To the Ryght Honorable, and my singuler good Lorde,
my Lorde Privie Seall.

" all hys retynue according hys sayd appoyntement, and desyrid that the sayd Lorde Deputie " showlde come over the sayd forde into Offale, with suche companye as was agreyd betwyxt the " sayd Lorde Deputie and the sayd Bryan, whyche at the least was to the nombre of 350 " horsemen, kerne, and gonners, and that the residue showlde stay on that syde the forde, unto " suche tyme as he had parlyd with the sayd Lorde Deputie. And for further securitie of the same " parliament, the sayd Bryan dyd put in plege hys eldyst sonne, and hys fourth sonne, and hys " chapelen, during the sayd parliament, in the sayd Deputies handys.

" Then the sayd Lorde Deputie, regarding the Kinges honor, and hys securytie, before hys " comyng, sent over into the sayd Offale 12 horsemen to serche the same, for doubt of treason. " And as the sayd Bryan had declaryd by hys messinger, as towching hys retynue, the same was " true. And then the sayd Bryan hym self, with 12 horsemen, cam to the place appoyntyd, " withowt harnys, hym self and hys 12 men; after whyche tyme the sayde Lorde Deputie made " proclamation, that noo man of hys, uppon payn of dethe, showlde move owt of hys standyng, " tyll the trompett had blowen alarum, yf nede soo requyrid.

" Then the sayd Lorde Deputie dyd set hys watche apon a high hyll, with on trumpeter and " foure horsemen, and comaundyd the trompeter, apon payn of dethe, to sounde alarum, yf he saw " cause why, or els nat. And then the sayd Lorde Deputie hym self, and 12 horsemen with hym, " well harnysshid, and appoyntid with bowes, speris, and gonnes, cam to the place appoyntid, whych " was a playn felde, nat past a quarter of a myle from hys companye; and theyr the sayd Bryan, " with hys sayd 12 horsemen, mett the sayd Lorde Deputie with humble reverence, submittid " hym self to the Kinges Highnes, confessing hys offencys, and their dyd utterlie refues all hys " title and interest that he had in the sayd countre of Offale, and in all blacke rentes, and fees, " that ever he had, or usid to have, of eny of the Kinges subjectes; and suche wages as he " had, to be at the Kinges pleasure: and further the sayd Bryan theyr dyd desyre the sayd Lorde " Deputie for to make intercession for hym, in wryting, to the Kinges Highnes, that he myght have " the sayd countre to ferme of the King, and that he wolde pay owt of every plow lande thre " shyllynges and foure pence Iryshe by the yere.

" Also the sayd Brian dyd their desyre the sayde Lorde Deputie, that in caes the Kinges " Highnes pleasure were, that he showlde nat have the sayd countre of Offale as Hys Graces " fermour, that then the sayd Bryan myght have hys lyeff, and to be put at large, and after to avoyd " owt of the same, and that he, nether none of his, never to medell further withall, but the same to " be at the Kinges Highnes pleasure.

CCX. Ormond *to* Sentleger.

After most harty commendacions unto you. This shalbe to advertise the same, that I am right sory that I cannot nowe, upon your departure, have communycacion with you, to debate in such thinges as mygh redounde to the Kinges honor and proffite, and the reformacion of many abuses. Nevertheles, like as I have declared to my sonne, the Kinges Thresaurer, my mynde in many thynges concernyng the same to be opened unto you, so shall my further devises for that purpose, at this tyme, appere unto you by the contentes of this letter ensuing.

First and principally, that my Lord Deputie, till the somer tyme, take a good perfite peax or treux with Oneyle, Oreylye, and other of the Irishry in that parties, as he may be sure of a stey there; likewise to practise with the Birnes, and the Tooles, for this season, to thentente that if Oconor be not at suche poynte as shalbe both honorable and commendable to the Kinges Highnes, we may, at all handes, set for his confusion, standing at suche poynte of suretie with the other borderers. Howe beit, if Oconor stand to any good order, assuredly there is nothing so nedefull nowe to be attempted, as the enterprising of howe to dismynisshe the M^c^morrowes, and Kavanaghes; for they have lately so surely bounde together, as they, that have bene many yeres in mortall hate togethers, taketh nowe one parte, yee, and with one assent concluded to stick in one quarell against the Inglishry of this lande.

And forasmoche as my sonne Richard[1] is nowe the Kinges Constable in Fernys, which standeth so in the middes of them, and being so long tyme in their possession, as it occasioneth, together with their chalenges for tributes of the Kinges countie of Wexford, them to make thies combinacions. And this I will affirme, that were it not that I am full glad my said sonne doo so stand in place propise for to execute high service to the Kinges Highnes, though it be daungerous, I wold not, for a great proffite to hym, suffer hym

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" Also the sayd Bryan made promise their to the sayd Lorde Deputie, to come to the Kinges " cytie of Dublyn on Tuysday the fyft day of Marche then next following, to fulfyll all suche " promysis as ys aforesayd. Where he cam accordinglie before our Soveraign Lordes Hight " Commissioners and Counsayll.

" Also the sayd Bryan, for hys good abering towarde our sayd Soveraign Lorde, hys Deputie and " subjectes, tyll hys gracious pleasure were knowen, put in plegg, for the securytie of all hys " promisis, one of hys sonnes into the sayd Deputies handis."

The submission of OConor will be given in p. 560.

[1] Richard Butler, who was created Viscount Mountgarret by Edw. VI.

as yet to enterprise to inhabite there; for so longe as the Kavenaghes ar of eny power, it shalbe right necessary to my said sonne to be well manned and appoynted; tho, howe be it, I have sumdeale provided other possessions for hym nigh that parties, to thentente he shalbe the better able to doo good service in Fernes. And therfor, in my mynde, it is the highest enterprise to be attempted in this lande to dystroye the Kavenaghes; and likest to take effecte, my Lord Deputie setting well to it, with the Inglishry, Mr Sentloo, with the countie of Wexford; and I, with my power, on the other parte, no doupting so to worke in it, as they shalbe of little power, God willing. And, considering the Kinges Highnes hath no great army here, to inhabite, or yet moche to invade, therfore ther cannot be a more liker thinge to enterprise for us all, then the same. And I trust, besides my service in that, I shall stey all Monster that meane season, wherin also we shall have right great advauntage; for thies Kavenaghes ar invironed with us, the Inglishry, otherwise then Oconor, who bordereth with the grettist Irishry. If this thing be further delaied for eny other consideracions, that then this somer, for asmoche as the Mores in Leys be in devision, therfore to repaire Woodstok, and to enhabite and recontynue to the Kinges Magestyes lordship of Fassagh Rebane, with other castels and landes in Leys; and to goo aboute that the Irishry in that parties, as M^c^gilpatrik, Okarroll, Omeagher, and others, be bond to a further subjeccion to the Kinge, with a knowlege to His Grace of an annuall profite, which, with power and polesy, we shall, God willing, enforce them to agree unto.

And in asmoche as James of Desmond hath put in his sonne into the Kinges handes, for his duetie and service to be contynued to His Majesty, ye can have no better tyme, then this sommer, lykewise to begynne an establishment of good ordre in Mownster, which I trust shall take good effecte. And where as hetherto they were accustumed commonly to aunswere to suche matters that I wold begynne, they wold take like order; I have therfore so begonne nowe, if they followe, it shalbe honorable and profitable to the Kinges Highnes, and an universall commen weale. And hetherto, though I have bene as willing, as any erthly creature, for reformacion of many abuses in thies parties, where I have the rule under the Kinges Highnes; yet, in that, to this tyme, I have had somoch busynes, aswell agaynst the Geraldynes, as the Irishry, I was enforced to give, in maner, to the inhabitauntes of the same their owne talentes and willes, applieng to their appetites, or otherwise could not defende the countie, nether be able to resist the malignacion of myn adversaries, having alonely therby numbre of men, with which power I have alwaies so served the Kinges Highnes, as I trust hath bene to His Graces good contentacion. And nowe, in that partely the occasion of lak of a more civile ordre, or conformytie

of

of obedyence, som deale is seassed, and having also to hart moch your good and holsome exortacion for that purpose, I have bene in thies parties, with other the Kinges Commissioners, where we have assessed the first frutes, and 20^{ti} parte of all spirituall promocions, to be annually levied to the Kinges use. Therto thies counties of Waterford, Tipperarie, and Kilkenny. I have also proclaymed, over all the countie of Tipperary, that no caines, allyiegs, errikes, Irishe brehons, nether that lawe, rahownes, and many like exaccions and extorcions, shall seasse, with reformacion for the grey merchuntes, and the Libertie Corte to be duely contynued, as the Kinges lawes require. And as for the countie of Kilkenny, for lak of auctoritie, as I have in the countie of Tipperarie of the Kinges Majesty, I, and the inhabitauntes, were, and ar, in falte of admynistracion of justice, to use the abuses hetherto there contynued; the peple being bred in suche ignoraunce, as they knowe not justice. Howe be it, I have often perswaded many of them to be converted, which to doo I can scarsly have their assentes, for the lustes they have to caynes and other abuses, torning to their proffit, as it doth to myne. But, fynally, I am thus determyned to drive them therto, so as, what soever orders or devises you shall determyne therin to be put in effecte, I shall have suche respecte therto, as neither their will, ne any particler commoditie to myself, or to them, shall refrayne me to se the same perfitely executed, God willing; but in stede therof must be devised first, howe justice shalbe otherwise mynistred emongest them. I have also mocyoned them to be contrybutaries to the charges of officers, to have justice resydently executed here. And albeit the like ignoraunce therin maketh them dull and deffe, as their wittes be not open, or can perceive the benefite, that may followe; yet having chiefly in myn ies my duetie to the Kinges Highnes, and next that being enclined to their utilities, I will put in effecte suche reasonable thinges to that purpose, and other like, as you shall will me to put in execucion; being assured that your wisdomes, like as the matter, and reasonabilitie therof, shalbe by you substancially paysed, so woll you have regard to the countreis there bring up rudenes and ignoraunce, as the execucion may stande to take his perfeccion with the devises so invented, as the Kinges poore subjectes in thies parties may alwey be defended.

My sonne James shewed me, also, your letter concernyng the aluring of the glalloglas nowe with Oconor, and for their intertaynment; I am contente to retayne them for that purpose, and doo loke for their commyng. And the same Oconor sent to one Edmond Mc Swyne, a great capitaign of galloglas, of gretter power ferre then Oconors galloglas, to retayn. Wherupon I have sent for hym, and woll rather intertayne hym at myn owne charges,

charges, then to see hym to be entertayned or waged with Oconor, who also cesseth not to allure Irishmen, in every quarter, to his owne sorte, wherin I cesse not to worke the hindring therof.

In conclusion, for that the Kinges Highnes, by His Magesties owne mouth, and his Graces letters to me directed, willed me to consult with His Graces Counsaill upon such conclusions, from tyme to tyme, as shuld be devised for the good state of this land, and likewise willed his said Counsaill to ensue my devises therin; therfor having moche respecte to my charge in that behalf, I shall most hartely desire you, with all convenyent spede, to assertayn me of your orders and devises, to be so executed in this lande, to thentente that, percase, myn experience, having any ferther knowliche therin, may lede you to a perfaiter way in somme thing concernyng the same. Praieng you to give full and ferme credence in the premisses, and in suche other thinges on my behalf, as this berer, my steward, shall declare unto you. And thus Our Lord send you grace aswell to prospere in the Kinges affaires, as your gentyll hartes can thinke. Written at Fytherd, the 12th daie of March.

Your assured Frende,

P. Ormond & Oss'.

CCXI. Gray *to* Crumwell.

After my mooste hartye and lovyng recommendacions. Theys shalbe to advertyse youer good Lordeship, that after the fyrst submission of Bryan Ochonour to Our Soveraign Lorde, the Kinges hight Majestie, yn Offale, yn the open felde, as I advertysyd youer Lordeship of late by my other letters; at whych tyme Kayr Ochonour, brother to the sayd Bryan, not being there, sent to me that he was contentyd to submitt hym self lykewyse. Notwithstanding the sayd Kayres promysse, and pledge put yn for the same cause, yet he nether cam to Dublyn to me, ne to noo wher elles, to offer hym self to our sayd Soveraign Lorde, according to hys promysse, lyke as the sayd Brene dyd, but delayed the tyme. Wheruppon, by thadvyse of our said Soveraign Lordys High Commissioners here, I practysyd soo with the sayd Bryan, and with my servaunt Stephin Apparye, that they hunted the sayd Kayr, and had suche esspyall upon hym, where he was yn a strong house, envyroned abowte with water, maryses, and gret depe dyches, with strong hedges apon the topp of theim, and theyr had hagbushes and handegonnes. Howbeit he was soo harde besett

besett abowte, that he was dryven to rune away in hys shert, and toke a boote and fledd into Odempsyes countre; yn soo myche, that he scapyd narrowlye with lyeff. And after spoylid the sayd house, and toke suche horsys and catell as they founde, and brake doune hys dyches, and made smoth worke. And apon the morowe he cam, apon saveconducte, unto my sayd servaunt into the Kinges castell of Rathangan, and with hym from thens to the citie of Dublyn, where he made hys humble submission, lyke as the same shall appere unto youer good Lordeship articlewyse in a bill hereinclosyd.[1]

My

[1] The following is printed from a contemporary copy of the submission. There remains also in the State Paper Office a contemporary translation of Brian OConor's submission, without that of Cahir OConor subjoined.

" Forma submissionis Domini Barnardi Oconour, nuper Domini et Capitanei de Offaley,
" facte Domino Regi coram Domino Deputato, Commissionarijs Domini Regis, et
" alijs de Consilio Regali, apud Dublin, 6to die Marcij, Anno 29no Regis predicti.

" Inprimis, promittit se posthac perpetuo fidelem et ligeum esse Domino Regi, sicut ceteri " subditi et ligei Domini Regis sint, aut esse debent, et mandatis et preceptis Domini Regis, et " ipsius Locumtenentis et Deputati terre sue Hibernie, pro tempore existentis, parebit.

" Item, promittit se posthac jurisdiccionem et auctoritatem Romani Pontificis non admittere, " nec ab alijs, pro posse suo, admitti, recipi, aut uti permittet.

" Item, promittit, tam nomine suo, quam omnium consanguineorum suorum, se nullos redditus, " qui dicuntur nigri redditus, aut alias exactiones, ab aliquo subdito Domini Regis, de cetero " exigere, clamare, seu ullum jus, titulum, aut clameum in eisdem exactionibus, tributis, aut " nigris redditibus, quoquo modo posthac vendicare.

" Item, quo ad eas sexaginta mercas, quas ipse et quidam antecessorum suorum, clama- " bant habere a Domino Rege, tanquam annuale munus seu stipendium pro servicio et ministerio " eorum impendendis Deputatis Domini Regis, pro defensione subditorum dicti Domini Regis, " promittit se posthac dictum stipendium nullo modo exigere, petere, aut clamare; sed pro suo " servicio graciam solummodo Domini Regis expectabit, ac liberalitate Domini Deputati maneat " contentus.

" Item, humiliter petit, quatenus Dominus Rex, ex sua gratia, dignetur concedere sibi, per " literas suas patentes, quod ipse, et exitus sui, sint liberi status, et homines legales, more Angli- " corum; et quod sit Baro de Offaley, atque habeat sibi et heredibus suis ex regia donatione " portionem terrarum in Offayley, quas nunc illic possidet per partitionem, more patrie, tenendam " de Domino Rege secundum leges Anglicanas; ac quod simili auctoritate, fratres sui, et alij " possessionarij terrarum ibidem, terras quas nunc possident habeant sibi et heredibus suis; ipse " et omnes alij et heredes sui, reddendo Domino Regi, annuatim, de qualibet carucata terre, " tres solidos et quatuor denarios; et quod carucate terre in Offayley, quociens Domino Depu- " tato visum fuerit, ac necessitas emergerit, onerantur et assidentur belligeris pro defensione " subditorum Domini Regis, eodem modo sicut cetere carucate terre inter regios subditos " onerantur et assidentur. Igitur humiliter petit, quod Dominus Rex, et Deputati sui, pro tempore " existentes, suscipiant suam protectionem et defensionem contra omnes alios, prout suscipiant " defensionem Anglicorum.

" Et ulterius concedit predictus Barnardus, quod Dominus Deputatus, et subditi Domini Regis, " silvas et obstacula in confinibus de Offayley, versus regios subditos scituatas, ad eorum libitum " abscindant et funditus derumpant, viasque et passagia plana et aperta illic faciant, quociens- " cunque et quandocunque eis placuerit.

" Et dictus Barnardus, quousque Dominus Rex hanc suam summissionem duxerit acceptare vel " refutare,

My Lorde, I beseche your honorable Lordeship to remembre my late sute unto you, as concernyng my repayre unto my sayd Soveraign Lorde, for suche considerations as I then wroght unto your good Lordeship; and I trust in God, thys countrey ys now in suche a towardnesse of good conformytie, that I may repayre thyther, for so short a tyme as I desyre, withowt any gret danger here to be taken in my absence; lawde and prayse to God and to my Mayster. Beseching youer Lordeship to be good lorde unto my powre nevew Dudley, thys berer, in hys furtherance to the Kinges Majestie for hys good servyce here done. And thus I desyre God to send your good Lordeship long lyeff, to youer hartes moost desyre. From Dublyn, the 17 day of March.[1]

Assurydlie yours,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable and my very good Lorde,
the Lorde Pryvye Seall.

CCXII. JAMES WHITE *to* CRUMWELL.[2]

My humble dutie premisid to your honorable Lordship, as moost bounden dayly to pray for the prosperous and continuall felicite of the same. Beseching Almyghty God, that the service, wherin I have entrid and ernistly intend to serve the Kinges Magistie all the dayes of my lif, specially in the excersising the office of justice of His Highnes libertie of the countie of Weisford, which I have by your honorable Lordshupis oonly preferment, may be so acceptable, as your good Lordshup shall have noo cause to thinke the same evill bestowed

" refutare, sub protectione et tutela Domini Regis manens, filium suum Donatum Domino
" Deputato tradidit in obsidem pro pace interim servanda. " BERNARDUS OCONNOUR."

" GERALDUS WELCHE
" GERALDUS OCONNOUR } Testes."

" Cair Oconours
" Submission.

" Memorandum, quod in festo Divi Patricij, apud Dublin, anno predicto,
" coram Domino Leonardo Grey, Deputato, Antonio Sentleger, et socijs suis,
" Commissionarijs Domini Regis, et alijs de Consilio Regali, Carolus Ochonour,
" frater seu germanus dicti Barnardi Ochonour, in premissos articulos omnes
" et singulos sponte consensit, ac eorum contenta pro parte sua observare et
" tenere promisit, atque pro firmiori cautela de sua in hac parte servanda fide,
" Tadeum, filium suum, dicto Domino Deputato tradidit in obsidem."

There is also in the State Paper Office a copy, at length, of Cahir OConor's submission, in Latin, similar in substance to that of his brother Brian.

[1] A similar letter was on the same day written to the King, which remains in the State Paper Office.

[2] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle W.

on so simple a person as I ham. Your honorable Lordshup may be advertisid that the said countie, and also the counties of Waterford, Kylkeny, and Tiperarie, were in no better quiet this hundred yere, than they be nowe; and that certayne devises ben devised and sent to the Kinges Highnes, and to your Lordshup, by thErle of Ossorie, and my Lorde Butler his son, not oonly to exonerat the said counties of divers unlawfull chargis and exaccions, that have ben of long contynuaunce of tyme exactid and taken of the Kinges subgiettes of the same counties, but also how justice, by thorder of the Kinges lawes, may be mynistrid emonges the said subgiettes. The Kinges Solicitour, Mr Cowley, and I, have but latly perusid all the said counties, and by vertue of the Kinges comission we have taxed and made an extent of the valu of the 20 parte, and the furst fruitis of all benefices in the said counties, and have retornid the same in to the Kinges Chauncery here.

The first Sonday of clen Lent, I being at Waterford, oon Doctour Sall, a gray frere, made a sermon there, and amonges other thinges said thes wordis; "No man "have auctoritie to breke or put down churchis, and make them prophan places, "as they do nowe adayes in divers places, or els Saint Paule is a lyer." Mr Mayer of the citie in contynent had him taken, and put in securytie, and forth with made certificat both of the taking of him, and of the said wordes, to my Lorde Deputie, and the Kinges Counsaile; and, by ther letters, agayne the said frere is sent hithir, and lyeth in the castell of Dublin. So as now, what for fere they have to preche ther ould traditions, and the litill or noo good will they have to preche the veritie, all is put to scilence. Yet, thankes be to God, the Kinges Magiste hath oon Catholic citie, and oon champyon, the Lorde Butler, in this lande, that dar repugne against the detestable abusions of so sundry sectis, as this miserable land is in maner overflowen with all, whos pharasaycall serymonies and ipocricy, of so long tyme contynued here, hath not oonly trayned and broght the people, in maner, holy from the knowledge of God, but also in an evill and erronyus opinion of the Kinges most noble Grace, and of all thos, that, under His Magiste, bee the setters forth of the true Worde of God, and repugnatours against thos abuses.

It is a pitie to hyere the comen voice speking of the discrepaunce and division betwen the Lorde Deputie and Kinges Counsaile, saying that he foloeth not ther advices, nor they his unstable apetittis. His inventions and procedinges is supposid to be such, conforming him self moche to the counsaile of thos that were great about thErle of Kildare and his suster, that he hath, in maner, alyenatid from him the apetittis of the Kinges most treu and faithfull subgietes. And for me to presume to wryte further of thaffayres of this land, it be cummes me not, seing Mr Sentleger, being a father of discression, of all

all the men that ever I sawe com in to this land, his felawes being associated with him in the Kinges High Commission, and others of His Graces Counsaile, beyng rype and full of the knowledge and experience of the estate and hole procedinges of this land, repayrith thether nowe, which amply woll declare the same. Never the lass, I shall endevoyer my self from hens forth diligently, acording my dutie, advertise your honorable Lordshup the occurrantes here, as tyme and mater shall serve from tyme to tyme, God willing, who send your honourable Lordshup many long yeres to contynue in honorable felicite. From the Kinges citie of Dublin, the 28 day of Marche.

Your Lordshups moost humble
and bounden Oratour and Servaunt,
JAME WHITE.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Right Honorable and my moost especiall
good Lorde, my Lorde Pryve Seale.

CCXIII. LORD BUTLER *to* KING HENRY VIII.

MY moste humble duetie premised to Your most Excellent Majestie. It may please the same to be advertised, that Your Gracis Comyssioners here have consultid with my Lorde my father, me, and others of Your Majesties Previe Counsaill here, coveyting the subversion and extinguisshing of abusions and enormyties usid here; and fynally have devised certain rules and orders, wherby Your Highnes lawes and good civilitie may be plantid and establisshid, to the encreas of Your Majesties honor and profiete, and the comen weale of Your Graces subjectes, whiche procedith in good sorte, trusting consequently to have good successe. To the furthering wherof I shall endevor me to doo my diligence, as Your Graces Comyssioners here may more amplye expresse to Your Highnes. And undoubtidly I thinke nothing more necessary to induce the people to good civilitie, then sincerly and truely to set furthe the Worde of God to the people here, as hath by Your moste Excellent Highnes bene dilatid and pronuncid within Your Graces Realme of Englande, as a lanterne to all other good Christen Princes to ensue the same; wherby they might see and perceyve the longe fraudelent tradicions, and detestable abusyons of the papisticall secte and pharaseycall sorte, of the whiche there be to many of high degrees here; and the good people to be led by true doctryne to the veray infallible light of trouth. And for my parte, I, as oon professid of Christes religion, shall not omytt for any feare, persecucion, or other respect, to

further and set furthe the same effectuelly, to the uttermoste of my power, according my bounden duetie to Christe, and undre Him to Your Majestie: wherin the Archebisshopp of Dublin hath, by many predicacions, veray fruytfull now of late dilatid, more then ever I harde in this Your Graces lande, of the trouthe and pleynes worthy high thankes. Beseching Almighty God to contynue Your moost Excellent Majestie longe in felicitie. Written at Your Highnes citie of Dublin, the last day of Marche.

Your most humble and bounden
Subjecte and Servaunt,
(*Signed*) JAMES BUTLER.

(*Superscribed*)
To our Soverain Lorde the Kingis moste Excellent Majestie.

CCXIV. THE FOURME OF THE BEADES.

YE shall praye for the Universall Catholicke Churche, both quicke and ded; and especiallye for the Church of Inglande and Ierland. Furste, for Our Soveraine Lorde the Kinge, Supreme Hedde in yerthe immediate under Godd of the saide Church of Inglande and Ierlande. And for the declaracion of the truthe thereof, ye shall understande, that the unlaufull jurisdiction, pour, and autoritie, of longe tyme usurped by the Bisshop of Rome, in Inglande and Ierlande, who then was called Pope, is now by Goddis Law justelie, laufullie, and uppon good groundes, reasons, and causes, by autoritie of Parliament, and by and with thole consent and agremente of all the Bisshopes, Prelates, and both the Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge, and also thole Clergie both of Inglande and of Ierlande, extincte and ceasid for ever, as of no strenght, valew, or effecte, in the Church of Inglande or Ierlande. In the whiche Churche, the said hole Clergie, Bisshopes, and Prelates, withe the Universities of Oxforde and Cambridge, have accordinge to Goddis Lawes, and upon good and laufull reasons and groundes, knowleged the Kinges Highnes to be Supreme Hedde in yerth, immediate under Godd, of this Church of Inglande and Ierlande; whiche ther knowlege confessede, being now by Parliament established, and by Goddis Lawes justifiable to be justelie executed, so ought every trew Christen subjecte of this lande not onelie to knowlege, and obedientlie recognise the Kinges Highnes to be Supreme Hedd in yerthe of the Churche of Inglande and Ierlande, but also to speake, publishe, and teache theire childern and sarvantes the same, and to shew unto theym, how that the saide Bisshop of Rome hathe herretofore usurped not onelie uppon Godd, but also upon our Princes.

Princes. Wherfore, and to thentent that ye shulde the better beleve me herein, and take and receyve the truthe, as ye ought to doo, I declare this unto youe, not onelie of myselff, whiche I know to be trew, but also declare unto youe that the same is certified unto me frome the mought of my Ordinary, thArch-bisshopp of Dublyn, under his seale, whiche I have here redy to shew youe; so that now it apperithe playnelie that the saide Bisshop of Rome hath nother autoritie, ne pour, in this lande, nor never had by Goddis Lawes. Therfore I exorte youe all, that ye deface him in all your premars, and other bokes, where he is namyd Pope, and that ye shall have, from hensforthe, no confidens nor truste in hym, nor in his bulles or letters of pardons, which, beforetime, with his jogelinge, castes of byndinge and losinge, he solde unto youe for your money, promysinge youe therfore forgyvenes of your synnes, where of trewth no man can forgyve synnes, but Godd onelie; and also that ye fere not his greate thunder clappes of excommunicacion, or interdiction, for they cannot hurte youe: but lett us put all our confidence and truste in our Savior, Jesus Christe, which is gentill and lovynge, and requyrith nothinge of us, when we have offendid Him, but that we shulde repente and forsake our synnes, and beleve stedfastelie that He is Christe, the Sonne of the Lyving Godd, and that He died for our synnes, and so forthe, as it is conteyned in the Credo; and that through Hym, and by Hym, and by non other, we shall have remission of our synnes, a pena et culpa, accordinge to His promises made to us in many and dyvers places of Scripture.

On this partie ye shall praye, also, for the prosperous estate of our yong prynce, Prynce Edwarde, with all other the Kinges issue and posteritie; and for all Archbishopes and Bisshopes, and speciallie for my Lord Archbisshop of Dublyn, and for all the clergie, and namelie for all theym that preachith the Word of Godd puerlie and syncerelie.

On the second partie, ye shall praye for all erles, barons, lordes, and, in especill, for the estate of the right honourable Lorde Leonarde Graye, Lorde Deputie of this land off Ierlande, and for all theym that be of the Kinges moost honourable Counsaile, that Godd may put theym in mynde to geve souch counsaile that it maye be to the pleasure of Almightie Godde, and welthe of this lande. Ye shall praye also for the maior of this citie, and his bretheren, withe all the comminaltie of the same; or for the parichens of this parochie, and generallie for all the temporaltie.

On the thirde partie, ye shall pray for the sowles, the be departed owt of this worlde in the faithe of our Savior Jesus Christe, whiche slepe in reste and peax, they may rise agayne and reigne with Christe in eternall liff. For theis, and for grace, every man say a Pater noster, and an Ave.

CCXV. GRAY *to* CRUMWELL.

AFTER my moost harty and lovyng comendacions. Thys shalbe to advertisse your honorable Lordeship, that I reken, in my owne opynion, that I can noo lesse doo then to advertyse your good Lordeship of the procedinges of Mayster Antonye Sayntleger and hys associates, the Kinges High Commissioners yn thys land of Irelond, now repayryng unto our sayd Soveraign Lorde; whoo I assure your Lordeship, sens their comyng into thys londe, have not onlye gyven me substancyall counsayll in all my procedinges for my sayd Soveraign Lorde, but also hath byn contynuallye as paynfull and circumspect, and also dyligent in all our sayd Soveraign Lordys affayres, as eny men mowght be, as I suppos; and hath usyd theim selvys so soberlye, wyselye, and discretlye, that they have not onlie dyvysed substancyallye many good orders here for the redresse of dyverse abuses, but also have well satisficed the Kinges pore subjectes with suche gentyll yntertaynment, as the same subjectes beth ryght well contentyd and pleasyd; in which their doinges thei have disservid high thankes.

Moreover, yf yt shall please your Lordeship to understond, that the 30 day of March last past Brene Ochonor cam to the citie of Dublyn, and theyr, before the Kinges Commissioners and Counsayll, made hys humble submission to all theim to be mean unto the Kinges Highnes to be good and gracius lorde unto hym, and theyr offeryd unto theim to abyde by hys former promyse made to the Kinges Highnes, whych is to be fermour of Hys Gracys countre of Offale, bering theyrfore to the Kinges Majestie 3^s 4^d of thys monye for every plow lande yn the same, Hys Grace being soo pleasyd, and clerelye to discharg Hys Highnes subjectes, for ever, of all maner of tributys, blackrentes, and other imposicions, that he, or any other, being capitayn of that countre, hath used to have of theim; and further that he wolde be the Kinges true subject, and obedyent to hys lawes, and prosses theyrof, and that all the inhabitantes of the sayd countre of Offale showlde be lykewyse; and to hys powre he, and the sayd inhabitantes of the same, to use Englysshe habytt and condicions. And further before the sayd Commissioners and Counseyll he offeryd, havyng onlye promysse of hys lyff, to repayre to the Kinges Highnes, with the sayd Commissioners, their to abyde hys moost gracius determinat order.

Beseching your Lordeship that ye wyll gyve credence unto your servaunt, thys berer, Antonye Budgegood, in suche thinges, as he shall informe your good Lordeship of for my self. From Dublyn, the fyrst day of Apryll.

Assurydlye yours,

(*Signed*) LEONARD GRAY.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable and my verye good Lorde,
my Lorde Pryvie Seall.

CCXVI. Agard *to* Crumwell.[1]

My moste bounde dewttye to your honorable Lordeschipe remembryd. It maie pleasse the same to be advertezid, that now, thankes to God, the accomptes of Mr Thezurer is at an ende, soo that by the same, parttlye, his good and faythefull servyce schall appeare; but yett the paynfull servyce of his boddye, takyn as well in watching and lyyng in his harnes withowt the dorrys, daie and nyghte, in froste and rayne, at his manyefolde jurnes into the cuntreys of the Kynges henemyse, more paynfull, I maie boldlye sey, then enye man in Irland at this daie, contynewellye to the Kynges hye honor, the greate infeblyng of His Graces enemys, and the comforthe of his subjectes here. And now his trewthe in his servyce I truste to His Grace schall appere, and to your good Lordeschippe, that it maie pleasse the same to call to your honorable remembraunce, that now, seyng all the Kynges Hyghenes landes be sett for the space of 21 yers, in whiche lettyng raymaynyd all or the moste of his perqwesytes towardes the fyndyng of his howsse, wherfor he now schall not be of abyllyte to mayntayne the same, accordyng as he hathe donne befor tyme; whiche thing he ofte revolvyng in his mynde, dothe sore greve hym not to be soo able now, aftyr hys longe contynewaunce here, to kepe his men to gethir in his howsse, as he hathe in tyme paste. My good Lorde, it is nott his 6s 8d the daie[2], that hathe kepte his howsse, but his good provyzion of his fermys and mylles, whiche now be lett to othirs, owt of his handes. I thinke iff all in Irlande, othir Englysche or Irysche, schuld be examynyd, the wolde sey it hathe, syns his fyrste settyng uppe of hitt, benne kepte contynewallye the moste to the Kynges honore, of enye howsse in Irland. If I schulde excepte the Lorde Deputtes howsse, I myght doo, for the forme of speykyng, but yett then I schulde offende my conschiens, in speykyng agaynste it. My good Lorde, he hathe hythirto contynewed here to your honor, and his honestye, whiche I truste at the comyng whom of Mr Comyschioners, it schall by his accompte appere; and by sum of them be thorrowlye schewed to your good Lordschipe; whiche the reste schall afferme, thowghe it be sumwhat agaynste ther mynde, as it is thought here. And as for Irland, excepte it be a verrey few, whiche owe ther hertes to the Garroldyns, and are bronde at the hertes with a "*G*" for the same, I thinke the will sey ther never cam man of

[1] From the Bag "Ireland" in the Chapter House, No. 24.

[2] This was his stipend as Treasurer of the Army. As Vice-treasurer he had £66 13*s.* 4*d.* a year.

nis

his degree lyke in favor thorrow the lande, as he is. Wherfor, my good Lorde, all thes premyssis consyderyd, I dowbt nott, but thos, that befor this have bowthe writtyn and spokyn, schall have that whiche they willid to hym, and he hys trewth and his honestye for ever.

As for they estate of the Kynges affayris in this lande, it dothe not becum me to writte, nor I schall have lesse neede to writte to your good Lordschipe of them, for here comys over with Mr Comyschioners, the Cheffe Justes, the Maister of the Rolles, Robert Cowley, and Thomas Cusake; at whos comyng I truste your good Lordschipe schalbe fullye acertaynyd off all matters here, And of the estate of perssons here, as well as of othirs, whiche now comys over. Trewlye, my Lorde, the Cheffe Justes, I thinke, hathe ever donne, and dailye dothe, as acceptable servyce, and as paynfull, as enye man lyvyng. And the Maister of the Rolles, my Lorde, he is a fathir of witte, for thorow his dyscrete handlyng of hym selphe is the cankyrd mynd of sum knowen. And, scheurlye, he was never in his offyce, as the comun voice gowithe here, that ever handlyd hym selphe therin better, then he dothe towardes the poore comuns here. And towardes your good Lordschipe, I dare well sey, he beyris his herte with trewthe, as myche as enye on man dothe in this land, and also to thoos that to your Lordschipe belonges. As for Thomas Cusake, my good Lorde, I truste bowthe Mr Sentleger, and all othirs, will reporte his trewth and good servyce contynewellye to Mr Thezaurer, syns his fyrste comyng into Irlande, and moste espeschiall syns he was accusid for this 2 yers, and more. Wolde to God, your Lordschipe knew the trew and faythefull herte that good Mr Sentleger berythe towardes your good Lordshipe. Ther is non in this land, that longes to your good Lordschipe, that hathe lakkyd enye thing that he myght doo; and for his dyscreschon, I thinke, and soo dothe the moste here, that he were mete to be of enye Kynges Councell cristyn. I can not gyve hym the preys that he is worthie. M^r^. Moile is evyn towardes us here, as he is. He is wyze and well lernyd, the whiche hathe donne myche good here. M^r^. Berners hathe handlyd hym verrey well towardes Mr Thezaurer in his accompte, as I thinke Mr Thezaurer will declare to your good Lordschipe; and soo hathe Mr Pawllett.

In that, my good Lord, I have at your good Lordschipes comaundement, as my bounde dewttye is, donne suche poore servyce as your good Lordschipe dyd comaunde me, I trust faythefullye and trewllye, and I never hade pennye wage for me and my servaunt, for the space of this 3 yeres and this halfe, nor pennye in reward; and of late I have procuryd a benefyce for a sune of myne here, whoo is but 15 yers of age, and for lakke of knowledge, I entryd therin, and have it in posseschon. And now, as I ham enformyd, Mr Pawllett and

Berners

Berners have gottyn a tytlyng therof, and do intende to put me to troble therfor, becawsse I have noo lycence. Mooste humblye beseching your honorable Lordschipe to be my good lorde, that I maye have a lycens therfor, or elles trewlye I ham in dowbte they will put me to troble. I thinke it be by reason of the Lorde Deputtye, whiche is my heyvye lorde. God judge me, I never gave hym causse; but becausse of takyng a ferme of the Kynges, whiche is to me on of the deryste fermys in Irland, I doo susteyne losse inowghe by the Lorde Deputye, thowghe he invent not this. Mr. Berners is the putter forwardes of hitt, as Mr Sentleger can farther schew your good Lordschipe. God knowith, it is in a maner all my lyvyng. My Lorde, I have sett uppe broode loomys, and a dyehowsse ther, trustyng in God, within this yere, to sett 100 or mow on worke, iff I maie be suffryd. But onles it be by your good Lordschipes helpe, that I maie have the Kynges letters, that the poore towne of Tryme maie be excused from ostynges and jurneys for 7 yers, with the lordschipe of the Bektyffe, elles the Lorde Deputtye will in a maner undow them, and me bowthe. The be the Kynges towns, and the sorriste in dekey of enye place in the Inglische pale in Irlande, and more lyke to flee owtt of the townne, then to abyde, onles they have ayde the soner. This was past by Acte of Parliament, both the Comuns and Lordes, but he wolde not passe the Ryall Assent therto. I moste humblye thanke your good Lordschipe for your letter sent to my Lorde Deputtye here in my favors; howbeit, as yett he is verry hevye to me, and I have noo favors therbye. Maister of the Rolles, Mr Justes Thomas Cusake, with all othirs, can sertayn your good Lordschipe how he handylles me. This I beseche Jhesu, preserve your good Lordschipe in long lyffe, and myche increace of honor. At Dublyn, this 4th daie of Apperill.

Your obedyent Servaunt
and dailye Bedman,
(*Signed*) THOMAS AGARD.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Right Honorable Lorde and Maistyr,
my Lorde Pryvey Seale, delyver this,
where he is, with spede.

CCXVII. AGARD *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

My moste bounde dewttye to your honorable Lordshipe remembred. It maie pleasse the same to be adverteyzid, that of all the affayris in thes partyes, as well the estate and demeanour of perssons, as of the estate of the cuntrey, Robert

[1] From Crumwell's Correspondence in the Chapter House, Bundle A.

Cowley dothe adverteyze your good Lordschipe, whiche undowbtyd can do it soo well as enye on man in this lande. And syns his departure, here is noo newes, nothir bysynes, but all aftyr on rate; soo that here as yett the blude of Criste is cleane blottyd owte of all mens herttes, what with that monstyr, the Byschope of Roome, and his adherenttes, in espeschiall the false and craftye bludsukkers, the Observauntes, as they wilbe callid moste hollyeste, soo that ther remaynz more vertu in on of ther coottes and knottyd gyrdylles, then ever was in Criste, and His Paschion. It is herde, my good Lorde, for enye poore man to speyke agaynste ther abussyons here; for excepte it be the Archebyschope of Dublyn, whiche dothe here in preching sett forthe Godes Worde, with dew obedyence to ther Prynce, and my good Lorde Butler, the Master of the Rolles, Mr Thezaurer, and on or 2 mow, whiche are of smalle repytachons, here is ellys noon, from the hyeste, maye abyde the heryng of hitt, spirituall, as they call them, nor temperall; and in espechiall, they that here rewle all, that be the temperall laweers, whiche have the Kynges fee. All othir matters, at they comyng whome of Mr Comyschioners, your Lordschipe schall have oppnyd at the large; in espechiall by good Mr Sentleger, to whom all that owe ther trew faithe, herte, and servyce to your good Lordshipe are dett boundyn to hym. And also the Master of the Rolles, and Mr Cheffe Justes, doo come with hym, whiche I truste schalbe to your good Lordschips contentachon. This I beseche Jhesu to preserve your good Lordshcipe in helthe, longe lyffe, and mych increace of honour; moste humblye desyryng your good Lordschipe of pardon in this my rewde writtyng, whiche is dew. At Dublyn, this 5 daye of Aprill.

Your obedyent servaunt at commaundement,

THOMAS AGARD.

(*Superscribed*)
To my Ryght honorable and moste synguler good Lorde and master, my Lorde Pryvey Seale, yove this at London.

CCXVIII. PATRICK BARNEWALL *to* CRUMWELL.[1]

PLEACE it your goode Lordecheppe to be advertyssed, how that, thankes be to God, and the Kynges Hyghnes, wiche have dysburssed a gret tresure for the defence of His Graces pore subjettes thais hys land, this same His Hyghnes land is oroght to a good staye, and moche the bettyr by the polices and menes

[1] From the Chapter House, Bag marked "Ireland."

of

of my masters the Commyssioners; who, Y doo assure yowr good Lordecheppe, hath don the Kynges Majeste acceptable service, and hath used suche dylygens, and taken suche peynnes, as noo man licley coude have taken; and in espescyall thosse, that had the hyryng of the acompt, and Y recken they knowe moche of the mysdemenurs here, and the redresse of the same, soo that hit shall be nessesary that they be well harde, and ther devysses followit, as the cause or matter shall purport. And acordyng my declaration unto yow of Master Tresorer is demenure, truyth, and honeste towardes God, and the Kynges Hyghnes, Y trust, and doo nothyng doute, but the same pleinly shalt appere unto yower good Lordscheppe, as well by his accompt, as by the declaration of the Comyssioners and audytors of the same, soo that he ewyr hath bene, and schall be, God beyng pleasyd, fownde a trewe honeste man to his Master in all his prosedynges and doynges, what soo ewyr surmysse, falxe ore untrewe reporte, hath be made ore had to the contrary.

All the Actes sent by your Lordechip be inacted, excepte only for the ordyr of the clerkes, wiche Y thoght to be necessary; but yeyt suche suyt was made to the contrary, that hyt toke noo effect. Other Actes were made by the devysse of my masters the Comyssioners, wiche Y am assured they wyll declare unto your Lordcheppe.

Yf your Lordcheppe thoght hyt mette that ther shold be a house of Chaunsery here, where suche as were towardes the lawe, and other yong gentlemen, moght be togedyr, Y recken hyt wold doo moche good, as Y have declared, ore now, unto your Lordecheppe; and, in espescyall, for the incresse of Inglishe tonge, habite, and ordyr; and all soo to be the mene as suche as hath, ore shall be, at stody in Ingland, shold have the bettyr in remembrans ther larnyng. For defawt wherof now, in effect, wee doo forgyte moche of that lytyll larnyng that we atteynd there.

My Lord, by the procurement of a sertayne person, who were not able to paye hys offyr, Y was inforsed to paye 200£ for one of the Kynges wardes, hawying but 18£, ore ther abowtes, in possession; where as Y dyd take hyt, Y was at appoynt with the Comyssioners for one hondyrte poundes, and therof paid to Mr Tresorer fyfty poundes at that tyme; and yeyt as good as he, ore bettyr, was boght for a hondyrt markes, ore lasse. And by the advysse of Master Tresorer, trustyng that by your Lordcheppe is only mene Y shold be dyscharged of as moche therof, as yow thoght mette, Y boght the said warde, knowyng the same nevyr to be worth that mony. And furdyr, my Lorde, the Justice Houth, and Y, hath in lesse serteyne possessions lately belongyng to the late Priory of Cartemell in Ingland, and aftyr the same was geven to the Kynges Hyghnes, as well by the Acte of Subpression in

Ingland, as by spescyall Acte here, wheren every man is lesse was saved. And now lately hyt hath be moved to my masters the Comyssioners, that our lesse for the 2 partes shold have bene woyde, by cause the Kynges Hyghnes was intituled to the 2 partes of the proffitt, seyng ther abaens at the tyme of the makyng of the lesse. My hole trust is, that your Lordcheppe wyll be good to me therin, and at the leste to be the only mene that we shall have the benefitte of the Kynges lawes in the same. And thoght we had noo ryght, yeyt Y trust my fellew, and Y, shold be as goode fermers for the Kynges Hyghnes to the same, as others; and dyverse hath more proffitt in their lesses, then we have in hit.

Part of the Comyssioners was mynded, amonges other theynges, to ordyr that the Kynges Attorney shold mayntene and confesse plees for the Kyng; where that the Kynges Serjaunt, for the tyme beyng, hath alwaye used to mayntene plees, and confesse the same, for the Kynges Hyghnes, as the case dyd requyre; as by the recordes therof pleynly maye appere, for thes towe hondyrt yeres and more. But yf your Lordecheppe take hyt soo best, Y wyll be ryght well pleasyd with all; but yeyt, yf the Kynge wold be soo pleased, Y wold be sory to losse, duryng my tyme, suche comodyte, as other havyng my office have had in tyme past, onlesse that suche defaut were fownd in me, that Y were not mette to have the same. And in as moche as your Lordecheppe was the only of my preferment, Y shall humbly dyssyre yow to ordyr me in the premisses, as to your dyscret wyssedomes shall be thoght mett, God wyllyng, who have your good Lordecheppe in His blessed tuyssion. At Dublin, the 5 daye of Apprill.

Yours,

(*Signed*) PATRIKE BARNEWALL.

(*Superscribed*)
To the Ryght Honorable Lord Crumwell,
and Lorde Preve Seale.

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